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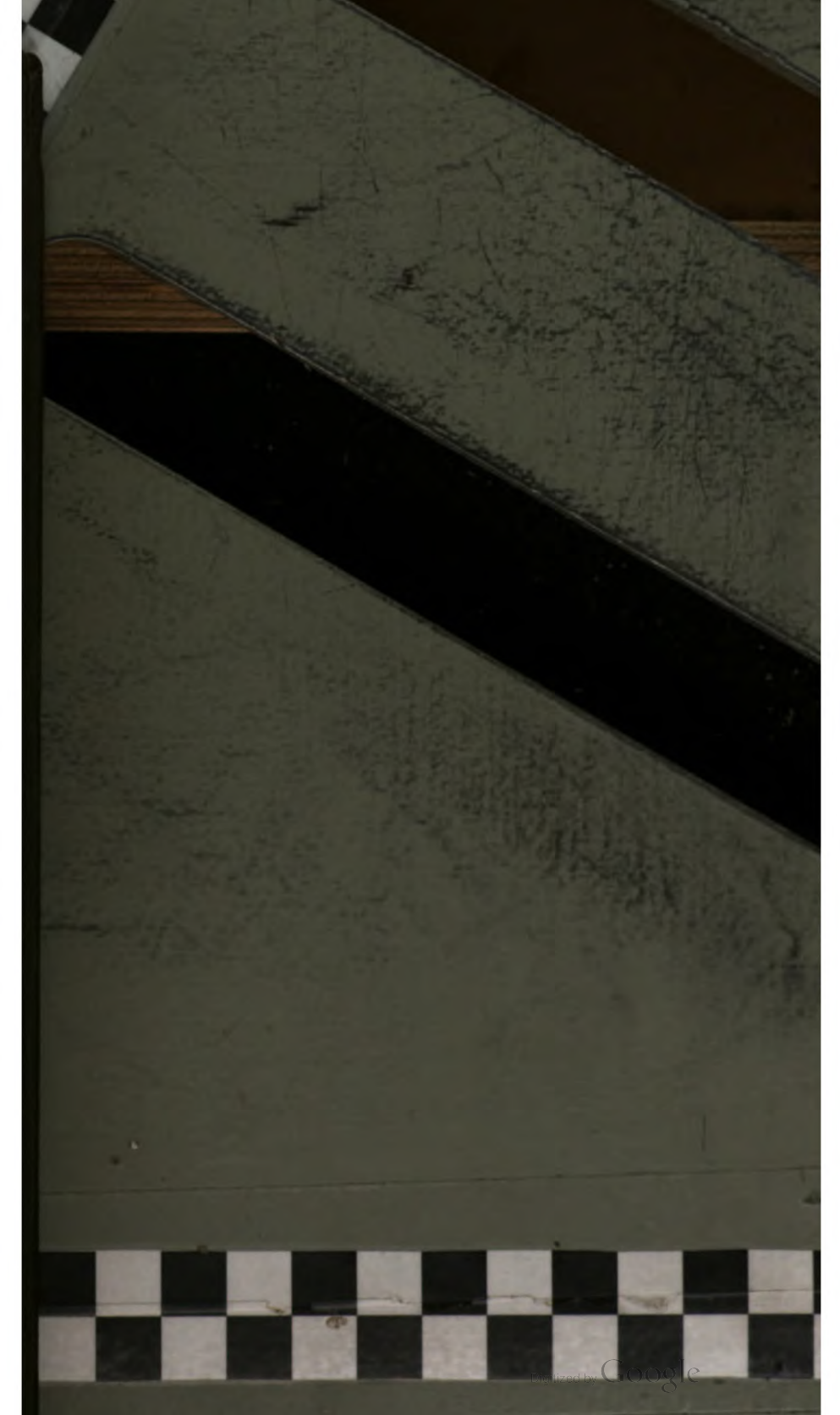
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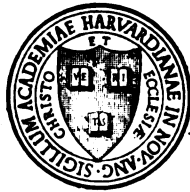
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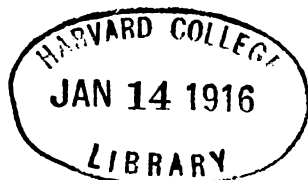
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P R E F A C E.

THE topics which have called for illustration and discussion in the volume which we now present to the public, are of a very different nature from those which have occupied our volumes ever since the commencement of this work.

From the conclusion of the American to the commencement of the first French revolutionary war, we were called upon to record the gradual advancement of this kingdom in knowledge, prosperity and wealth;—its recovery from the exhausted and impoverished state in which it had been left by its struggle with the American Colonies, and the complete confutation of those who formally predicted that the sun of Britain's glory was set for ever. Nor had we, during this period, to record hostile operations among the other states of Europe of very considerable importance, magnitude or duration.

The French revolution broke out; and from that time to the first peace of Paris in 1814, our pages were filled with narratives of battles;—with the records of French atrocities, victories, and poli-

tical changes; and with proofs of the firm and determined resistance of Britain, even in the midst of the subjugation or the faithlessness of her Continental allies. The efforts of this country during this struggle, both in money and troops, were such as astonished even those who thought most highly of her: and, what was still more surprising and unaccountable, Britain seemed to flourish more, the more she put forth her resources in behalf of enslaved Europe.

The peace of Paris arrived:—contrary to expectation, the giant power of revolutionary France was thrown down in the dust, and trampled upon by Britain and her allies;—her conquests passed away as a dream; and this country beheld the consummation of all her wishes—the attainment of all her objects—in the destruction of the power of Bonaparte.

Scarcely, however, was this effected, before Britain felt an unusual degree of depression and exhaustion. Her agriculture, manufactures and commerce, which had flourished during the war, and had raised those who were respectively engaged in them to a much higher rank, with regard to wealth and information, than they previously possessed,—sunk far below the state in which they existed at the conclusion of the American war: Poverty pressed, more or less, on all the inferior classes: the poor-rates increased; the taxes became less productive;

P R E F A C E

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productive ;—and a crisis seemed approaching, the nature of which, though it could not be accurately foreseen, it was folly to think could be satisfactory.

Such was the state of the country at the time when our last volume was published : the contents of the present volume will prove that it is not much altered ; and that in those respects in which it is altered, it is not improved. In addition to a depressed state of agriculture, manufactures and commerce,—to an evident increase in the number of those who are poor and absolutely destitute of employment, and to a serious defalcation of the revenue,—we have to record great discontent and dissatisfaction among the people, and the spread among them of the most visionary ideas respecting the causes and remedies of their distress, and the nature and object of society and government in general. This picture is gloomy and alarming ; but it will be rendered still more so, when we add, that the impracticable, or, if practicable, the dangerous objects, which these deluded people had in view—they seem to have been resolved to attain, by every kind of means, without any regard to the legality or the morality of these means.—On this subject, however, more clear information will be in our power when we publish our next volume.

As during peace, and especially during such times as the present peace has brought, the most

important and interesting objects relate to the internal state of the country, especially so far as regards the condition and employment of the people, and the state of the Finances ;—and as these points must receive the best elucidation from the debates in Parliament—we have in this volume allotted a larger proportional space than usual to these debates. We have also brought forward, as further elucidating the state of the country and the condition of the people, the most important Reports which have been made on these subjects by the committees of parliament.

The war against Algiers has supplied us with materials, which we have the more gladly made use of, as all must agree that the object of this war was most honourable to Britain, and most important to the cause of humanity ; and that this object was completely attained.

France seems to be gradually settling into a state of quietness and submission to the Bourbons.—As the finances of this country, as well as of most of the other states of Europe, are now objects of the most lively and immediate importance, we have deemed it right, by the insertion of such official documents as we could procure, to illustrate them, as much as possible.

MAY 7, 1817.

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THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE,
TASTE, AND SCIENCE,
IN GREAT BRITAIN,
DURING THE REIGN OF GEORGE III.

[Continued from the last Volume.]

UNDER this head we propose in the present volume to take a retrospective view of some of the most important applications of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, to the safety, the necessity, the comforts, or the luxuries of life, which have taken place during the last fifty years.

We have confined our retrospect to the last fifty years, because it is within that period that such astonishing improvements have been made in every thing relative to the arts, whether those of necessity or those of comfort and luxury.

1. One of the most efficient causes of the wealth of this country is the immense saving of labour in its manufactures, produced by the introduction and improvement of the Steam-engine. This mighty instrument of power, by which one of the most extraordinary and tremendous agents of Nature is made subservient to the will and conducive to the benefit of man, was indeed known or suggested towards the close of the 17th century by the Marquis of Worcester, in his "Century of Inventions." But its construction for a long time depended entirely upon the broad and glaring fact of the great force of steam, and on mechanical principles:—it is to the application

plication of chemical knowledge principally that the steam-engine of our day is indebted for its wonderful powers. The modern improvements in the steam-engine originated from Dr. Black's discovery of the doctrine of latent heat, and afford a very striking exemplification of that doctrine. Before Mr. Watt improved the steam-engine, in consequence of Dr. Black's discovery, at least half of the steam produced in the boiler was lost; whereas now, the whole may be kept at the temperature of 212° , and the immense waste of heat in the old method is entirely obviated. Dr. Black justly characterizes the engine in this state, as the masterpiece of human skill; and no less justly observes, that it has not been "the production of a chance observation, but the result of deep thought and reflection, and really a present by Philosophy to the Arts."

By the use of the steam-engine, how much human labour is superseded! how many things are performed, which either could not be done at all, or only imperfectly done, without it! Let us only reflect on the Cotton Manufacture,—that source of a large portion of our national wealth—which gives employment to hundreds of thousands—which has converted our most desert and thinly peopled districts into rich and populous provinces studded with towns—and which sends forth its produce to the most distant parts of the globe. Had the steam-engine never existed, this manufacture never could have established itself in Britain;—had the steam-engine not received the aid of Chemistry, it never could have reached the extent and perfection which it has attained. At present a single cotton manufactory, in which not 2,000 people are employed, will produce more cotton-yarn than could have been spun, without that machinery of which the steam-engine is the moving power, by a population nearly equal to that of all Scotland.

But it is not the cotton manufacture alone, in all its branches, whether of spinning or weaving, that has been brought to its present state of extent and improvement by the application of the steam-engine: there is scarcely one of the various and numerous manufactures for which this country is so distinguished, and by which it has been so enriched, that has not
reaped

reaped incalculable advantages from this wonderful engine. Nay, further; in another respect it has contributed most materially to the advancement of our manufactures, by rendering the attainment of that article much more easy and safe, without which the steam-engine itself would be useless:—we allude to the application of the engine to the keeping the coal-mines free from water. But all its applications to the saving of labour cannot perhaps be foreseen or calculated.

Who would have thought, fifty years ago, that steam would have in any case superseded the use of oars and sails in vessels, or of horses in carriages?—And yet we have witnessed its application to boats, in a manner which sufficiently proves that there still remain many other methods in which it will effect a saving of labour. At present, there seems a considerable difficulty in working large vessels, which in their passage may be exposed to a rough sea, by the power of steam: but it is probable that this difficulty will be overcome; and that voyages the most distant and boisterous will be performed by means of this wonderful engine:—and if vessels, why may not carriages be forced on by its power? In short, powerful almost beyond calculation as the force of steam is, and subject as it is at the same time to the intellect of man, it is no visionary or theoretical expectation or belief, that it might be employed to supersede human labour in almost every instance where immense power is required.

We have been so long accustomed either to witness or to hear of its application and its wonderful operations, that they do not strike us with that surprise which they would otherwise do. We cannot “resuscitate surprise:” we cannot place ourselves in the situation of those who never witnessed or heard of the powers of steam; but if we could—if we could recall and dwell upon the circumstances and nature of this wonderful agent, as they actually exist, we should have a more just idea of what Science has done for man, by enabling him to discover the power, the proper application, and the uses of this agent.

2. Mr. Parkes, in the Essay on the Utility of Chemistry prefixed to his “Chemical Essays,” remarks, that “formerly a calico-printer required many weeks to produce a printed cotton

cotton with some colours,—such as an olive ground and yellow figures ; a scarlet pattern on a black ground ; on a brown ground with orange figures. But by means of chemical preparations the whole of this work may now be done in a few days ; patterns more delicate than ever may be produced ; and all with a degree of certainty of which former manufacturers had no idea, the system being now entirely changed.”

Other arts have also been much improved by Chemistry. Before this science had advanced much, what is now called the oxide of metals, or, in popular language, rust, was deemed of little or no use:—if any person had talked of obtaining from it pure metal, he would have been regarded and treated as ignorant in the extreme, if not as absolutely insane ; and yet now this can be done with the utmost ease : the merest tyro in chemical science knows that an oxide contains the metal, and something added to it ; that if this addition be removed, the metal will be recovered ; and that the removal may be effected in most cases in a very easy and simple manner. To give one instance. In founding printers-types, fires are kept under the pots the whole day to preserve the metal constantly in a melted state : hence there are skimmings perpetually forming, which used to be taken off and thrown away as dross. This was the uniform practice, till an individual made an experiment on the skimmings, and ascertained that they could be brought back to the state of pure and useful metal. “ A single manufacturer will now recover from three to four tons of metal annually from these skimmings, worth at least 100*l.* per ton.”

Soon after the commencement of the French revolution saltpetre became very scarce in France, in consequence of the supply from the East Indies being cut off ; while at the same time the demand for the article was very much increased, by reason of the constant wars in which the French were engaged. Under these circumstances chemical science was called in to the aid of war ;—saltpetre was made in France to a great extent ; and though the process was expensive, yet it enabled the French government in a great measure to make up for the supplies which were cut off.

In like manner the great demand for rags on the continent

finest during the two revolutionary wars raised the price, by diminishing the supply, of that article so indispensably necessary in the manufacture of paper: and the manufacturers were apprehensive that they should not be able to make a quantity of it adequate to the demand. Here also Chemistry came forward with its assistance. By means of it, the process of bleaching linen, &c. had for some time been much shortened; and by extending the same method to rags, such rags as would formerly have been set apart for paper of the most inferior quality and the lowest price, are now rendered fit for making printing paper. "So easy is the application, that an immense quantity of the materials can be prepared in a few hours; and paper sufficient to print a copy of the largest work in the English language may thus be whitened at the expense of only a few pence."

A similar process has been used to take the ink out of paper that has been written upon: and though this application of Chemistry has not produced very beneficial effects, yet the result may probably in course of time be more favourable, as well as more easily and certainly attained.

Perhaps no branches of our manufactures have improved so much (with the exception of the cotton manufacture) within the last fifty years as those of earthen-ware and porcelain, and the almost infinite variety of manufactures carried on in that toy-shop of Europe—Birmingham. Our earthen-ware and porcelain were brought to that high state of elegance and perfection in which they now exist, almost entirely by the knowledge and perseverance of one man—the late Mr. Wedgwood: "he was so sensible of the importance of Chemistry to the art of manufacturing these goods, that he not only applied to the study of the science himself, but, upon the death of the celebrated Dr. Lewis, actually engaged his assistant, a Mr. Chisholme, to experimentalize with him, and to devote his whole attention to the improvement of the manufacture by the application of his chemical knowledge, of which perhaps few men in the kingdom had at that time a larger share." A faint idea of the advantages which he derived from these sources may be conceived from the following circumstance:—Dr. Bancroft in his
1816. b "Philosophy

"Philosophy of Permanent Colours," when treating on iron, says, "I remember having been told by Mr. Wedgwood, that nearly all the fine diversified colours applied to his pottery were produced only by the oxides of this single metal." (Parkes on the Utility of Chemistry, page 50.) With respect to most of the articles manufactured at Birmingham, it may safely be affirmed that if the Steam-engine had not been discovered, and if Chemistry had not made the advances which it has, they could not have been manufactured either so cheaply or of such an excellent quality as they now are.

3. We have hitherto instanced applications of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry to the Arts, and to the purposes of human life, which have arisen rather from improvements or discoveries in those sciences, than from any extraordinary skill or talents in the persons who first applied them. But our country and age have not been without instances of this latter kind.

To those who have never witnessed the machinery at Portsmouth for making blocks for ships, it is absolutely impossible to convey by words any thing like a clear and adequate idea of the mode in which this machinery performs its business, or of the wonderful power with which it acts. An operation at once tedious, laborious, and not always so successful as it ought to be, is completely superseded by an invention or rather an application of mechanical principles and powers, which like the operations of Nature strikes us at once with admiration at its simplicity and with astonishment at its effects. So perfect is this machinery that it seldom or never goes wrong; indeed one would almost suppose that the intellect of the inventor was always present to superintend and direct it.

4. About seventy years ago, the inflammable nature of carburated hydrogen gas was discovered by the Rev. Dr. Clayton; but Mr. Murdoch of Birmingham was the first who applied it to the lighting of apartments. At present a large portion of the streets and many of the shops of London are lighted with this gas; and every day the use of it is extending. Perhaps Chemistry has made no present to man so agreeable, useful and elegant, as this: And whence is it drawn?—From a substance which it might have been thought had already afforded to man

man sufficient benefit;—which cheered him in the midst of winter; which prepared his food; and without which, that grand moving power of British manufactures would have been comparatively of little use. Who that considers the appearance and nature of coal, would have supposed that it could supply a light infinitely more brilliant and pure than any light which can be drawn from any other substance;—a light, indeed, which possesses nearly all the intensity, without the overcoming splendour of sun light? And if we reflect on the manner in which this material, supplied by coal, is conducted to the places which it is to illumine, we shall be still more struck with surprise and admiration. Streets and houses are lighted at the distance of at least a mile—and might be lighted at a much greater distance—from the place where the gas is manufactured; and this gas is conveyed by means of pipes: to the eye these pipes seem to convey nothing; the small tube which branches from them into the street or house lamp seems to convey nothing; and yet no sooner is a lighted taper applied, than a brilliant light darts forth, which continues to burn without requiring any attention or assistance. A century, or probably much less, after this, when gas lights have entirely superseded the use of oil in lighting the streets, people will in vain endeavour to form an idea of the real value of this light, by comparing it with the light which oil affords:—at present we can form the comparison, and of course we can fairly estimate the importance and value of the gas lights. It is only necessary to pass from a street lighted with gas to one lighted in the common manner, to be convinced of the value of the boon which Chemistry has in this instance bestowed on man.

We shall conclude our observations on gas lights by the following extract from Dr. Thomson's "Account of the Improvements in Physical Science during the Year 1816," as given in the Number of his "Annals of Philosophy" for January 1817.

"Mr. Brande has given some useful and amusing facts respecting the gas from pit-coal, considered as a substitute for oil (*Journal of the Royal Institution*, i. 71.) A chaldron of good Wallsend Newcastle coals yields from 17,000 to 20,000

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cubic feet of gas: but in large establishments the quantity obtained seldom exceeds 12,000 cubic feet. At the three stations belonging to the chartered gas light company, situated in Peter-street Westminster, Worship street, and Norton-Falgate, 25 chaldrons of coal are carbonized daily, which yield 300,000 cubic feet of gas, equal to the supply of 75,000 Argand lamps, each giving the light of six candles. At the City gas works in Dorset-street Blackfriars-bridge, the daily consumption of coals amounts to three chaldrons, which afford gas for the supply of 1500 lamps: so that the total consumption of coals daily in London for the purpose of illumination amounts to 28 chaldrons: and the number of lights supplied to 76,500."

5. In all the instances which we have given, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry have been applied either to the saving of human labour, or to the performing that which without them no human labour could have accomplished: But these objects thus attained by means of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry have their relation solely to the necessities and comforts or elegancies of life. We shall now proceed to state some cases in which Chemistry has lent her aid to the preservation of life.

When the wonderful discoveries in this science were made, by which the present age is more honourably distinguished than by any other circumstance or event attending it, it was fondly hoped by the sanguine, and even by some of the enlightened friends and promoters of Chemistry, that it would clearly and satisfactorily explain all the phænomena of life;—that the wonderful mechanism of man;—that the functions of his frame, the most obscure and complicated;—that vitality itself would no longer be mysteries. It was further hoped and believed by those who did not go so far in their expectations, that by means of Chemistry most if not all the numerous and dreadful disorders to which man is obnoxious would yield to the powers of Chemistry.

At first this latter expectation seemed on the point of being fulfilled. Soon after the gases were discovered, we were told of the wonderful cures which were effected by them, especially in cases of pulmonary consumption; and those who held forth
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those cures as undisputed, were the more firm in their belief of them, because they illustrated and confirmed, as they thought, their opinions respecting the immediate cause of this disorder. In a short time, however, the cases alluded to not being confirmed by further and future experiments, were regarded with a doubtful and suspicious eye: the gases, when applied to patients suffering under pulmonary consumption, afforded no decided or permanent relief; and people, as was natural, or at least as is usual, were disposed to go into the opposite extreme, and to exclaim, Chemistry may be an interesting science; it may be applicable to many practical purposes; but it cannot cure, alleviate or prevent, any of the thousand ills which the human frame is heir to.

But this was an equally erroneous view of the subject, with that in which they indulged who anticipated from Chemistry not only an immediate and satisfactory explanation of all the phenomena of the human frame, but also the cure of all diseases.

Chemistry has done much to explain the series of changes which are carried on in the animal system. In examining the process of digestion it discovers the chemical quality of the gastric fluid, by which it is fitted to dissolve the food. In investigating the function of respiration, it unfolds the nature of the chemical changes which the blood suffers in the lungs; the evolution of a principle which, if retained, might prove hurtful, and the absorption of that part of the air which is immediately necessary to life. In the same process it discovers the source of animal heat, or of that power by which animals are enabled to preserve themselves uniformly at a temperature superior to that of the medium around them. In perspiration it discovers a function subservient to respiration, and fulfilling nearly the same purpose. And in secretion it traces the various chemical products formed from a common fluid by the exertion of complicated affinities. Lastly, by analysing the fluids and solids of the animal body, it throws light on the researches of the physiologist, and guides even in some cases the practical inquiries of the physician. (Murray's System of Chemistry, introduction, page 9.)

To the druggist chemistry has been of great assistance, and
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probably will be of much more. It enables him to analyse those medicines which Nature has given to man, in her vegetable or mineral kingdoms; and in some cases to imitate them: it enables him to distinguish medicines of a good quality from those which are inferior. The apothecary and the physician also derive great benefit from this science. Few medicines are employed in such a variety of cases as the numerous kinds of salts: and yet, unless these could be carefully analysed, their constituent parts ascertained, and the chemical affinities which subsist between them and the other articles with which they are generally used satisfactorily proved, they might in many instances be productive of mischief. In fact, the medical man who employs these medicines without a chemical knowledge of their nature, component parts, affinities and properties, is acting in the dark, and the lives of his patients are exposed to imminent risk: whereas if he possesses a sufficient degree of chemical knowledge, this “inspires him with professional confidence; and he will be as sure of producing any particular chemical effect upon his patient, as he would if he were operating in his own laboratory.” Even the preparation of plasters, as has lately been shown by an ingenious paper in the 97th volume of the *Annales de Chimie*, may be much improved by chemistry.

Perhaps it will be thought that we are disposed to push the utility of this science far beyond its bounds, when we anticipate the period at which it will begin even to check the progress of crime. But when it is considered that crime flourishes most and to the greatest extent where it is difficult of discovery—that of all the modes by which life is taken away, the administration of poisons seems to hold out the least chance of detection;—that in fact there have been many instances in which there could be no doubt that poison was administered, and that it had been administered by the person accused, yet that he was acquitted solely on the ground that there was no legal proof that it was poison,—and that Chemistry can detect in almost every instance the slightest trace of poison in the stomach after death;—if we reflect on these things, we certainly will not deem it a vain and groundless hope, that when it is generally known that poison can be satisfactorily detected in

in the stomach after death, the crime of administering it will become less frequent.

But Chemistry viewed in this particular light is of much more extensive and common application. Mr. Parkes very justly remarks, that "many thousand lives have been lost by poison, which might have been saved had the physician been in possession of the knowledge which he may now acquire by a cultivation of chemical science." The application of Chemistry to this important subject; and the saving of human life which it can effect, have lately been ably and finely illustrated and confirmed by Orfila, a French chemist, in his works on Poisons. Such are the wonderful powers of nature,—so simple and so effectual are the means they employ to bring about her purposes, and so intimately has she connected the preservation and the comforts of human life, with the spread of knowledge and the cultivation of the mental faculties,—that it would seem as if the final cause of all the evil which exists in the physical and moral world was the necessity in which it places man to study Nature and understand her laws and operations. Orfila has demonstrated that one of the most dreadful poisons known,—a poison which, if an antidote is not speedily administered, must bring on certain death after the most excruciating torments,—can be rendered harmless by a most simple substance—which is always at hand, and which the most inexperienced can apply;—that corrosive sublimate can be rendered ineffectual by an egg. If Chemistry had made no other present to man than this discovery,—ought this science to be accused of being merely theoretical?—ought it not rather to be regarded as a science which comes home to the bosoms of us all?

We cannot conclude this subject more appropriately than by the following note to Mr. Parkes's Discourse on the Utility of Chemistry.

"About Christmas 1805 an apothecary in one of the northern counties having drunk some bottled porter, was seized with symptoms which convinced him that he was poisoned; but not knowing what noxious matter he had taken, and being incapable of analysing the remainder, no antidote could be applied, and he gave himself up as lost. A physician had been
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been called in : but neither he nor the patient, nor his partner, could get any information by examining the remaining contents of the fatal bottle ; though, I understand, they are all intelligent men, and in great reputation in their profession. In this dilemma what could be done ? It was recollected, however, that a neighbouring gentleman had the reputation of being a good chemist. To him the physician and the partner of the patient hastened, to get the dregs analysed, and to learn what ought to be administered. Fortunately, this gentleman had just received Göttling's Book of Tests, which I had procured for his brother, and which had been sent to him but a very short time before. By this book he was enabled to ascertain that the poison was oxide of antimony : and when the patient was informed of it, he recollected that antimonial wine had been kept in a similar bottle some years before ; and supposed that the porter must have been bottled without the dregs being properly washed out. This circumstance led to the proper antidote, which was administered immediately ; and the life of the unfortunate man was preserved : but in consequence of the loss of time, the poison had so far taken possession of the system as to deprive him of the use of a limb."

BRITISH

BRITISH AND FOREIGN
HISTORY

For the Year 1816.

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CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Sources of History more abundant to the modern than the ancient Historian, and to the Historian of Britain than of other Countries—Whence derived—from the Liberty of the Press—from the Nature of the Government—from Parliamentary Papers, and Debates.

THE sources of history have become more numerous, as well as more prolific of information, within the last fifty years, than they were previously to that period: perhaps, indeed, we may date this important and advantageous change from the American revolutionary war. It was that war which brought the people more into sight and action in national affairs, than they had previously been even in Great Britain; and of consequence, as they were more brought into notice and action, their influence increased, and governments were compelled more frequently as well as more openly to appeal to them for support, and in order to convince them that the wars in which they were engaged were just, and therefore demanded and deserved their patient endu-

rance, if not their active and zealous co-operation. The very nature of the French revolution, and of the long and disastrous wars which proceeded from that event, tended still more effectually and to a greater degree, to extend and increase the sources of history: during these wars, it was absolutely necessary to make frequent and forcible appeals to the people; to inform them of the causes of these wars, of the transactions which took place during their continuance; of the probabilities of success; of the circumstances that produced disaster and defeat, and of the reasons which induced the respective governments still to entertain hopes of final and decisive success. Those who held the reins of government in France during the revolution, were forced from the

very nature of the revolution itself, and of the wars in which it involved that kingdom, to regard the people as the efficient organ and only source of their power, at least during the early period of the revolution; and even during the subsequent periods of it, there were frequent appeals made to the people, and an annual exposition made to them of the state of the nation. It may indeed be objected, that in these appeals and these expositions there was much of exaggeration and falsehood: this observation is undoubtedly correct; but even with these drawbacks, the historian may draw from these documents more ample, correct, and minute information, than was formerly afforded by the official papers of the old continental governments of Europe. The consequence of the French government acting in this manner, was, that those governments which were at war with it, were obliged in their own defence to adopt a similar line of conduct. Even during the early part of the revolutionary wars, when the continental governments, blind to their own real strength and policy, wished to protect their own territories rather in spite of the good will of their people, than by means of their co-operation, the official papers which they put forth are both more numerous and more open and communicative than they ever had been in any war previous to the French revolution;—but when at last the conviction was forced upon them, that it was utterly impossible for them to recover the independence and security of their kingdoms, unless by raising their own subjects in their defence, then the natural consequence followed;—the people were treated as if they were of importance in the scale; efforts were made to enlighten their minds on

the general principles of government, as well as with respect to passing events;—appeals were made to them, and they were habituated and taught to assume a higher rank to themselves in national affairs. But this could not be done without increasing the sources of history, and thus proving a benefit to future generations as well as to the people themselves.

The truth of these remarks will appear abundantly evident to those, who will peruse history as it was written one hundred years ago, and history as it is written now: perhaps, however, the contrast will not be striking, if the history of Britain at these two periods is compared; for ever since Britain was a popular government, the sources of its history have been more abundant and prolific than the sources of the history of any other European nation. Even yet, as she still stands far pre-eminent above all of them, in respect to the influence which the people hold in her government, the sources of history which are open to the historian or annalist of Britain, are much more copious, as well as of much more easy access, than are enjoyed by the historians or annalists of other European nations.

In this introductory chapter to the present volume of *The New Annual Register*, it is proposed to point out the different circumstances and causes which give to the historians and annalists of Britain this superiority with respect to fuller and more correct and authentic information.

In the first place, the historian and annalist derive great advantage and assistance from the liberty of the press which is enjoyed in this country: it is evident that this liberty must give to the public much valuable and important information respecting the conduct and measures of

of government, which they would not otherwise possess. Even in cases where the liberty of the press is carried to a culpable excess, and where it gives birth to a mis-statement of facts—to the imputation of erroneous motives and to unfounded accusations—even in these cases it is of service to the public and to the historian; for it creates a necessity for a reply, in order that it may not produce an unfavourable impression; and though it may often be difficult to extract the real or the full truth, from the counter statements and representations of both parties, yet from these sources a much nearer approach may be made to the truth than if they did not exist. But the liberty of the press which we enjoy in this country is advantageous in another point of view, to the development both of the real facts, and of the actuating motives of government, and consequently purifies and increases the sources from which the historian and annalist must derive their information. For in Britain, the government, knowing that their conduct will be exposed by the press, are frequently anxious to pre-occupy the public mind, by giving those details and explaining those reasons for their conduct and transactions which they would otherwise have kept carefully back. Whoever is conversant with the literary history of this country, especially since the commencement of the American revolutionary war, must be well aware of the almost infinite multitude of political pamphlets which have issued from the press on almost every topic or event in the least interesting to the public, or which the historian would be anxious to investigate thoroughly and to record in its truest colours. And though a very large proportion of these pamphlets are worthless, as

proceeding from men either of despicable abilities and almost total ignorance of the subjects on which they write, and a great many others must be perused with the utmost hesitation and doubt, as proceeding from writers whose party politics either blinded them to the truth or tempted them to conceal or misrepresent it;—yet, notwithstanding these drawbacks, a careful, impartial, acute, and intelligent historian may draw from these pamphlets very useful and important materials, of which, had they not been published, he would otherwise have been deprived.

In the second place, the historian may derive useful and important materials from the proceedings which take place, and the speeches which are made, at the various public meetings for political purposes which are so frequently held in this country. From the most respectable and most legitimate of these much information may be derived: and this information is of different kinds. In the first place, the particular object of the meeting, being of a public and political nature, of course is canvassed and sifted in a more especial manner; and though the same remark will apply to those meetings which has been already applied to political pamphlets—that caution must be used in receiving the statements and assertions made at them—yet much truth may be elicited, as a gross misstatement is almost certain of being contradicted and corrected. In the second place, at these public and political meetings, besides the precise object for which they were called, and which of course constitutes the principal topic discussed at them, there are always a number of incidental and collateral topics brought under the notice of

the meeting, so that by proper and careful siftings, by attending to the personal character, the information, the political bias and connections, and other circumstances of the several speakers—useful information may be gained either respecting some points of national importance, or respecting the conduct of ministers, or opposition, in the particular part of the country where the meeting is held. Lastly, these meetings are of admirable use to the politician and historian, in unfolding the sentiments, feelings, and opinions of the people. Till very lately the historians, even of this country, confined their labours to the narrative of wars, or of the great and leading political events: from their narratives you might indeed learn in what wars the nation had been engaged, what battles by sea and land had been fought during those wars; the circumstances and issue of those battles; the negotiations with foreign powers; the intrigues at home; and every thing which originated with, or derived its interest from, the highest classes of society: but you would in vain look for any insight into the character, the sentiments, or the actions of the great mass of the people. As, however, in this country they have latterly forced themselves into more open view, and even in the continental nations of Europe have now become of some importance, it is certainly desirable that the historian should avail himself of every means in his power of learning accurately their character, opinions, and condition.—On the continent, there being no such public meetings as are held in this country, the source of information derived from them does not exist there; but in Britain it exists in full vigour, and ought by no

means to be neglected in recording the events and drawing the picture of the nation.

In the third place, the official papers, to which the historian and annalist of Britain has access, are not only more numerous, but they are also more conformable to the truth than those which are supplied to the historian or annalist of any other nation. To illustrate and confirm the accuracy and justness of this position, we need only compare the official accounts of victories or defeats, which are published by the governments of other nations, with those which are published by our own government: if a victory be gained by any other European nation, it most frequently happens that in the official account of it the consequences and importance of it are much overrated;—the strength and resources of the victors are partially concealed, while those of the vanquished are exaggerated; and the loss sustained by the former is represented below the truth, while that sustained by the latter is represented above it. We by no means intend to assert that the official narratives of battles published by the British government are in all respects conformable to the truth, either in cases of victory or defeat; but we do assert, that they are nearer the truth, in every respect, than the official details published by other governments; and we further maintain, that the whole truth may very nearly be got at, by reading the unofficial accounts published either in the newspapers or in pamphlets, and comparing them with the government official accounts. In fact, the knowledge that, if the truth is much concealed or much misrepresented, counter-statements will proceed from the press, makes it, with the British government, a matter of policy

policy and wisdom to give in their official accounts nearly, if not entirely, the whole truth.

These remarks are applicable not only to the official details of battles published by the British government, but also to all their state papers. They dare not, even if they were willing, grossly misrepresent, or utterly conceal any thing of great importance; for they know that in all probability what they misrepresent will be brought before the public in an authentic form, and what they conceal will be revealed.

But it is not possible that such a government as that of Britain,—a government over a people possessing such a large portion of intelligence and freedom, and which therefore in common with the people must be intelligent and possessed of liberal principles,—should wish to keep the people in such ignorance of public events as they are kept on the continent of Europe. The historian and annalist of Britain, therefore, must, from the very nature and conduct of the government, have much more abundant and prolific sources of information than the historian and annalist of any continental nation.

We come now to the consideration of the last, but perhaps the most valuable source, from which the historian and annalist of Britain may derive his materials; we mean, the debates in parliament, and the official documents which are printed by its order every session. Each of these will require a separate investigation, and we shall begin with the latter.

We have already adverted to the annual *exposé* which used to be published by the French revolutionary government. Had this been accurate, it would have been a most valuable document; but it carried

on the very face of it such evident proofs of being *manufactured* for a particular purpose, that the historian could not use it without very great caution, and without comparing and checking its statements with other documents. The official papers laid before the British parliament every session are of a very different character, and consequently much more to be depended upon, and of infinitely more use to the historian. We cannot enter even into a general examination of all of them, in order to prove their value and importance; but we may be allowed to offer some brief remarks on the most interesting of them.

In the first place, there is every session laid before parliament, a clear, full and accurate debtor and creditor statement of the pecuniary affairs of the nation: this statement is not confused in its arrangement, imperfect in its details, or unsupported by the necessary vouchers; but it is nearly such a statement as a merchant would make up of his affairs from time to time. By glancing it over, any person of common information or experience in these matters may clearly and satisfactorily perceive the pecuniary state of the nation. On the one hand, he may see the receipts of the different taxes; and compare the receipts of each tax in different years, and he may ascertain the expense at which each tax is collected. On the other hand, he may clearly and satisfactorily trace the manner in which the sums raised by these taxes have been spent; how much has gone to the support of the army, how much to that of the navy, and how much to defray the civil expenses of government or to support the royal family. All these particulars are clearly given, and there can be no doubt of their accuracy.

But, besides the regular financial accounts published every session, parliament frequently call for, and obtain, particular accounts connected with the receipt or expenditure of the public money:—even the names of all those persons who enjoy pensions or sinecures, and the amount of their respective emoluments, are not withheld from parliament, and of course are open to the public, and add to the materials of the historian.

In the second place, the different reports of the committees of the houses of commons and lords contain a mass of very valuable information, which the historian of most other nations will in vain look for. We need only mention the reports of the bullion committee; of the committees on the affairs of the East India company; and of the committees on the corn-bill; on mendicity, on education, and on the police of the metropolis. If the reports of the committees of parliament alone were published, the information would be necessarily meagre and general, and it might be regarded with a suspicious eye, as of doubtful authority: but not only the reports, but all the evidence is published: and the mode in which the committees are formed, and the evidence is collected, completely secures to those documents a strong claim to full credit, as authentic and valuable sources of history. The committees are selected from both sides of the house, as it is called; that is, both from ministers and the opposition; and such members are generally chosen as are supposed to be best acquainted with the subject which the committee is to investigate. Each member of the committee has full power to call for any witness or document which in his opinion will throw light on the ques-

tion; and the witnesses that are called, are examined in such a manner as to obtain from them all the information they possess. Hence it will appear that from the reports of such committees, accompanied by the evidence on which their reports rest, the historian must be able to derive information of the most undoubted authenticity on many very interesting and important topics, which, did not such reports exist, he must either pass over unnoticed, or touch upon in a very superficial and unsatisfactory manner.

Thirdly, besides the committees which are formed in both houses of parliament every session, to collect evidence on particular subjects, there are regular reports of commissioners on other subjects of a less temporary interest; such for instance as the reports of the commissioners for the civil affairs of the navy,—the commissioners of military inquiry; woods and forests; public records, &c. From all these much information may be gained, which will serve to elucidate the state of the nation, and to furnish materials for the historian.

Lastly, there are a number and variety of miscellaneous papers printed every session by order of the houses of parliament, which may advantageously be consulted by the historian, as tending to elucidate the finance, the progress of legislation, the character and views of ministers, or the internal state of the nation.

We come now to consider the constitution and proceedings of parliament, as affording additional sources of information to the historian.

In no countries in the world are there such assemblies as our parliament, except in America and France:—in America, the debates of

of congress, though in some respects more useful to the historian than the debates of the British parliament, are in other respects less advantageous. They may be regarded as more useful, in so far as the constitution of America being more popular, the ministers there are obliged to open their views more fully, and defend their conduct more directly, when questioned or attacked by the opposition in congress: but on the other hand, it may fairly be doubted whether the members of the American congress are men of such information and talents, generally speaking, as those who are found in the British parliament. With respect to the French chambers, it would be absurd to compare their debates in any respect with the debates in the British parliament; it is only necessary to read the debates of the former, and then endeavour to gather from them, either enlightened and deep views of general policy and legislation, or clear and correct information on the state and affairs of France, to be convinced that from them the historian cannot possibly derive much benefit; they will not even serve to guide him to what is useful or true. This difference arises from many causes, which it is foreign to our present purpose to dwell upon; we may however briefly mention them: in the first place, want of practical habits of business, and a fondness for declamation and theory at a time and in a place where they ought not to appear; in the second place, a want of the real feeling and spirit of liberty; and lastly, a predominant desire rather to shine than be useful.

But to revert to the particular and immediate consideration of the benefits and advantages which the historian derives from the constitu-

tion and proceedings of the British parliament.

The constitution of the British parliament, though it may not be that which formerly existed, or the most favourable to the rights of the people (on these points we offer no opinion), yet it must be confessed to be favourable to the views and purposes of the historian. Were it rendered more popular, by the house of lords being abolished, and the house of commons being chosen entirely by the people at large, there undoubtedly would be less information, less talent, and less of that species of debate, which not only brings out the truth, but illustrates and confirms the truth by grand and comprehensive views. To be convinced of this, we need only compare the debates of the American congress with the debates of the British parliament.

If we examine the debates in the British parliament on any topic of grand and general interest, we shall immediately perceive the sources which they open up to the historian. In the first place, from these debates he learns the leading principles and views of ministers and the opposition parties in parliament; and assuredly a clear and accurate display of their principles and views forms a most important topic to the historian of every country, especially of a free country, such as Britain. In the second place, whatever topic is discussed in the British parliament is sifted to the very bottom: if it is one of internal interest, the information which the members possess of themselves, or derive from their constituents, throws wonderful light upon it; if it relates to the connection of Britain with foreign nations, or to the transactions of her government in her distant possessions, or to the operations of her navy

navy or army, the ministers either of their own accord give considerable information, or, if they are not willing so to do, they are in a manner compelled to be communicative, in order to repel the charges or to correct the mis-statement of their opponents.

It appears to us that in the debates of the British parliament there are three circumstances which render them interesting and useful to the historian.

The first is the information which they contain, either respecting national concerns, the principles, views, and objects of ministers, or the dispositions and feelings of the great body of the people. On all these points they must afford much more information than can be collected in those countries where there are no deliberative assemblies: hence the national concerns of Britain are more clearly exposed to view and more accurately known; and the policy and views of her ministers are not hidden in that impenetrable mystery which envelops the policy and views of the ministers of other nations. The agency, either direct or indirect, of the British people, also, is developed in the proceedings of parliament: in illustration and confirmation of this last remark, we need only refer to the proceeding of parliament on the question respecting the conduct of the duke of York as commander-in-chief, and indeed the petitions which are every session presented to both houses, especially to the house of commons; the debates to which these petitions give rise; the anxiety displayed, both by the ministry and the opposition, to prove that the sense of the people is with them; and the adoption, rejection, or modification of measures, which ministers have not unfrequently been obliged to adopt, in

consequence of the petitions of the people. All these circumstances prove the importance of carefully attending to the debates, if we would wish to form an accurate and just idea of the state of the country at any particular period, or to trace events to their causes, or the progress of public opinion and the advancement of liberty, manifested by the influence which it exerts over government.

The other two circumstances which render the debates of parliament interesting and useful to the historian are more of an indirect nature and character: we allude to the display which they make of the particular talents, information and sentiments of the different speakers, and to the exhibitions of oratory which they often contain.

The historians of most other nations, however anxious they may be to pourtray the characters of the leading statesmen that have directed public affairs, have few sources from which they can derive information: the public acts of statesmen are known, or rather the conduct of the government, while they are at the head of it, or connected with it; but it is evident, that from this source little can be drawn compared with what is afforded in a nation where the ministers of the crown are almost daily obliged to explain or defend their measures personally, and, during this explanation and defence, unavoidably led to exhibit a fair and just criterion of their talents and information, and an ample display of their principles and views. The characters of statesmen, when drawn by the historian who does not possess these sources of information, are too often drawn from his own imagination, partialities, or prejudices; while the reader of history, equally with the historian, destitute of

of these sources of information, has it not in his power to compare the picture with any full or accurate delineation of the original. Whereas in this country, at least in modern times, since the debates in parliament have been given so fully and faithfully to the public, it is impossible for the historian to impose the picture of an eminent statesman, drawn by partiality or prejudice or imagination, upon the well informed reader, as an accurate resemblance of the original.

Let us only suppose that the debates in parliament during the American and the French revolutionary wars had not taken place, or had not been known to the public, as fully and faithfully as they are actually known, can we believe that we should have had such clear and accurate ideas of the characters of the earl of Chatham, lord North, Burke, Fox, Pitt, or Windham, as we now possess;—or that our information respecting the events of those wars, or the state and feeling of the public mind during and after them, would have been so full and complete? It is absolutely impossible that it should have been so.

The other circumstance which renders the debates in parliament interesting and important, has perhaps a much stronger claim on the man of letters and the philosopher than the mere historian and annalist: we allude to the oratorical powers which are not unfrequently displayed in those debates. It must be confessed, indeed, that in the present day there is a lamentable and decided lack of genuine oratory, both in the house of commons and house of lords. We shall look in vain for any approaches to the graceful and dignified and occasionally rich and sublime eloquence of the first Pitt,—to those almost miraculous powers

of imagination which enabled Burke to pour all the riches of the natural and moral world round the most barren subjects,—to the unadorned and simple grandeur of Fox,—to the elaborate arrangement, the polished and full periods, and the exuberant eloquence of the second Pitt, or to the wit and invention of Windham. But it may be questioned whether at present we have not as useful speakers; and, even in respect to oratorical powers, though they cannot be compared with the statesmen just mentioned, yet, in comparison with contemporary statesmen of other periods, they derive no mean character.

We have thus briefly and rapidly sketched the sources from which the modern historian of Britain may derive information on many points, which could not have been accessible to the historians of former times; and in conformity to the ideas which we have thrown out regarding the uses to which the debates in parliament may be put by the annalist and historian, we shall endeavour so to give the debates in this volume,—that is, we shall consider them under three heads:—

First, such debates as afford information relative to public events, or the finances, trade, and commerce, agriculture and foreign relations of the country. These debates, where they do not also contain any clear insight into the character and principles of the speaker, or any eminent display of eloquence, may be advantageously compressed into as narrow a compass as is compatible with a clear view of the information which they contain.

Secondly, those debates which are chiefly remarkable for opening to view the character and principles of the speaker, should be condensed only to such an extent, and in such a manner,

a manner, as will not obscure the view.

Lastly, those parts of any speeches which contain fine specimens of eloquence, though not particularly in the line of the historian, ought

to be given as nearly as possible in the words of the speakers. Of these, however, we shall be called upon in the present volume to notice few, if any.

CHAPTER II.

Anxiety of the Public for the Meeting of Parliament—Grounds of this Anxiety—Meeting of Parliament—Prince Regent's Speech—Debates on the Address in the House of Lords—and in the House of Commons.

THE British nation looked forward with a considerable degree of interest and anxiety to the meeting of parliament: there were several topics of great importance on which they wished to learn the opinion and intentions of ministers. The property tax, which had been re-imposed solely in consequence of the war which originated from Bonaparte's return from Elba, they were extremely desirous of being freed from; it galled and irritated even those who were best able to pay it, most excessively, and it certainly had been levied in many cases where no income was possessed. Closely connected with this subject was the state of the country: agriculture, commerce, and manufactures still were in a deplorable condition; indeed, instead of any the most distant or slow approximation to amendment, these sources of the existence, the comforts and the wealth of the people, were still more dried up than they had been. The people hoped that ministers, at the meeting of parliament, would do something in order to relieve the distresses and poverty of the country; yet they scarcely knew what, except the taking off the property tax;—a kind of de-

spondency, not poignant and boisterous enough to be deemed despair, seemed to have seized on the minds of the people; and the hopes which they entertained of relief from the measures of parliament, were rather derived from the recollection that parliament had often passed effectual measures when distress existed, than from the hope that in the present circumstances of the country it could do any thing effectual.

In this state of the country, and with these feelings and prospects which that state generated, it is not to be supposed that foreign affairs possessed much interest with the nation at large: yet there existed some degree of curiosity and interest to learn the explanation which ministers would give to parliament of our relations to foreign powers; and especially to ascertain from their communications, and from the official documents laid before parliament, whether, as a recompense for all which we had done for the continent, the continent had done any thing for us.

Parliament met on the 1st of February this year: the prince regent did not attend the opening in person, but at 2 o'clock on that day the royal commissioners sent for the house

house of commons; and the speaker having come into the house of lords, attended by the members of the commons, the lord chancellor read the prince regent's speech as follows:

"My lords and gentlemen,—We are commanded by his royal highness the prince regent to express to you his deep regret at the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.

"The prince regent directs us to acquaint you, that he has had the greatest satisfaction in calling you together, under circumstances which enable him to announce to you the restoration of peace throughout Europe.

"The splendid and decisive successes obtained by his majesty's arms, and those of his allies, had led, at an early period of the campaign, to the re-establishment of the authority of his most Christian majesty in the capital of his dominions; and it has been since that time his royal highness's most earnest endeavour to promote such arrangements as appeared to him best calculated to provide for the lasting repose and security of Europe.

"In the adjustment of these arrangements it was natural to expect that many difficulties would occur; but the prince regent trusts it will be found that, by moderation and firmness, they have been effectually surmounted.

"To the intimate union which has happily subsisted between the allied powers, the nations of the continent have twice owed their deliverance. His royal highness has no doubt that you will be sensible of the great importance of maintaining in its full force that alliance, from which so many advantages have already been derived, and which affords the best prospect of the continuance of peace,

"The prince regent has directed copies of the several treaties and conventions which have been concluded, to be laid before you.

"The extraordinary situation in which the powers of Europe have been placed, from the circumstances which have attended the French revolution, and more especially in consequence of the events of last year, has induced the allies to adopt precautionary measures, which they consider as indispensably necessary for the general security.

"As his royal highness has concurred in these measures, from a full conviction of their justice and sound policy, he relies confidently on your cooperation in such proceedings as may be necessary for carrying them into effect."

"Gentlemen of the house of commons,—The prince regent has directed the estimates for the present year to be laid before you.

"His royal highness is happy to inform you, that the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the united kingdom are in a flourishing condition.

"The great exertions which you enabled him to make in the course of the last year, afforded the means of bringing the contest in which we were engaged to so glorious and speedy a termination.

"The prince regent laments the heavy pressure upon the country which such exertions could not fail to produce; and his royal highness has commanded us to assure you, that you may rely on every disposition on his part to concur in such measures of economy, as may be found consistent with the security of the country, and with that station which we occupy in Europe.

"My lords and gentlemen,—The negotiations which the prince regent announced to you at the end of

of the last session of parliament, as being in progress, with a view to a commercial arrangement between this country and the United States of America, have been brought to a satisfactory issue. His royal highness has given orders, that a copy of the treaty which has been concluded shall be laid before you: and he confidently trusts, that the stipulations of it will prove advantageous to the interests of both countries, and cement the good understanding which so happily subsists between them.

"The prince regent has commanded us to inform you, that the hostilities in which we have been involved in the island of Ceylon, and on the continent of India, have been attended with decisive success.

"Those in Ceylon have terminated in an arrangement highly honourable to the British character, and which cannot fail to augment the security and internal prosperity of that valuable possession.

"The operations in India have led to an armistice, which gives reason to hope that a peace may have been concluded on terms advantageous to our interests in that part of the world.

"At the close of a contest so extensive and momentous as that in which we have been so long engaged in Europe, and which has exalted the character and military renown of the British nation beyond all former example, the prince regent cannot but feel, that, under Providence, he is indebted for the success which has attended his exertions, to the wisdom and firmness of parliament, and to the perseverance and public spirit of his majesty's people.

"It will be the prince regent's constant endeavour to maintain, by the justice and moderation of his con-

duct, the high character which this country has acquired amongst the nations of the world; and his royal highness has directed us to express his sincere and earnest hope, that the same union amongst ourselves, which has enabled us to surmount so many dangers, and has brought this eventful struggle to so auspicious an issue, may now animate us in peace, and induce us cordially to cooperate in all those measures which may best manifest our gratitude for the Divine protection, and most effectually promote the prosperity and happiness of our country."

Lord Churchill, lord Granville (Levison Gower), lord Harris, lord Melbourne, the bishop of Gloucester, lord Alford, and lord Grimston, by an additional title, were introduced; after which the house adjourned. At 5 o'clock the house was resumed, and the prince regent's speech was read. The address was then moved by the marquis of Huntley, and seconded by lord Calthorpe. As the members of either house who are selected by ministers, or who offer of themselves to move and second the address, are seldom men of much eminence or talents, and even if they were, are not expected, in their speeches, to do more than echo the speech, we shall entirely pass over what was said by the marquis of Huntley and lord Calthorpe on this occasion.

After lord Calthorpe, lord Grenville spoke. What he would say, on this occasion, was looked forward to by both sides of the house with considerable interest and expectation. It must be known to all our readers that this nobleman supported all the foreign as well as domestic politics and measures of Mr. Pitt, from the commencement of the French revolution till the resignation of Mr. Addington, when
Mr.

Mr. Pitt came again into power: he concurred with him in the belief that the war was absolutely necessary and just; he agreed to give his support to its continuance, notwithstanding all the disasters which attended it, and the apparent hopelessness of a favourable termination to it;—he supported Mr. Pitt's measures for the suppression of what was deemed a revolutionary spirit in Britain; and, in short, there was no measure of Mr. Pitt's, during the whole of his first administration, which he did not cordially approve and most strenuously support. When Mr. Addington became prime minister, he united his voice and his talents with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox in their endeavours to drive him from his situation as an incompetent minister: their endeavours succeeded, and it was expected by the nation, and indeed tacitly if not expressly agreed by Mr. Pitt, that in the case of such an event, Mr. Fox should form part of the ministry. This, however, did not take place. We are not now to assign the causes which produced the exclusion of Mr. Fox from the new ministry; but he was excluded, and lord Grenville left Mr. Pitt and joined Mr. Fox. On the death of the former, lord Grenville became prime minister, while Mr. Fox was foreign secretary of state; and it was one of the first acts of lord Grenville's administration to endeavour to make peace with Bonaparte. This certainly seemed to imply a change of politics from what his lordship entertained while he was the colleague of Mr. Pitt: the attempt to negotiate failed: his lordship's administration was short-lived: Mr. Pitt's friends came into power; his lordship became an active and zealous member of opposition; speaking and voting against the measures and

politics of Mr. Pitt's friends, and almost in every case supporting the opposition. When by the defeat of Bonaparte, and his exile to Elba, the Bourbons were restored, lord Grenville dissented from the opinion and the votes of the opposition, by expressing his satisfaction at the restoration of the Bourbons. Again, when Bonaparte escaped from Elba, and a new war was undertaken by ministers for the second restoration of the Bourbons, lord Grenville, differing in opinion from most of Mr. Fox's friends, approved of the war, and of the attempt to reinstate the Bourbons on the throne of France.

This sketch of lord Grenville's political life, when viewed in connexion with his experience as a statesman, and his acknowledged talents, gives an interest to his speech, on this occasion, which fully justifies us in inserting it as fully and literally as in our power.

"It gives me sincere pleasure, my lords, to find that there is not a single word in the speech from the throne, which does not meet with my most hearty concurrence; and I trust that the address which has been moved in consequence of it, will meet the unanimous approbation of this house. Under such circumstances, I should think it scarcely necessary to trouble your lordships, did I not feel that it was a duty incumbent upon us all to express our joy and gratitude to Providence, that the new war, in which we were so unexpectedly and so unwillingly involved, and the result of which for some time, and to some minds, appeared so doubtful, has terminated in a success unexampled in the annals of the world. Such a triumph cannot fail to excite the most vivid emotions of joy and gratitude in my breast;—joy, that the calamities of war, at which we all shuddered,

shuddered, have been concluded—gratitude, that the blessings of peace, for which we all parted, have been secured. Those blessings, I trust, we shall continue to enjoy; and, in the hope that every measure will be adopted to procure their continuance, it is my ardent wish that this address should meet with the decided assent of your lordships. I can no less refrain from the expression of my satisfaction at the great leading feature of the situation of our country; I allude to the means by which the peace, at which I rejoice, has been obtained: it has been restored to us, by what, I confess, always appeared to me the most probable mode, both of its restoration and continuance—the re-establishment of that government in France which by commotion had been overturned, and by violence was excluded. These are the two main points upon which we are called upon this night to come to a vote; and I should be wanting in justice to my own feelings, if I had not so far obtruded myself upon the notice of the house, (however unnecessarily with reference to the decision,) as to request its attention to the sentiments I have just expressed. The speech, with great propriety, has referred to future communications to be made from the throne; and the address moved by the noble marquis has been carefully and wisely reserved in the expressions it employs respecting the contents of papers not yet upon our table. The noble lord who seconded the address, with equal propriety, has stated (and I was glad to hear a distinct statement, though if he had been silent the fact would have been implied,) that when the documents are submitted to its consideration, it will be the duty of the house to consider with attention the nature of

their contents, and the terms of the arrangements that have been completed, and then to offer to the sovereign the result of their deliberations. When the noble earl (Liverpool), by direction of the crown, shall submit them to our consideration, I cannot but hope that their contents will be as satisfactory as the vote with which we shall conclude the business of this evening, in favour of the address."

There was not less interest to learn the feelings and sentiments of the opposition on this occasion: they had predicted a fatal issue to the war which was waged against Bonaparte on his return from Elba; this war had ended not only favourably, but with more decisive and splendid advantages than perhaps had ever attended any war; and the termination, thus splendid and decisive, had certainly been brought about in a much shorter time than had ever been known. One battle had hurled Bonaparte from the throne and replaced the Bourbons; and this battle had been won by the generalship of a man, whose military skill and talents the opposition had undervalued, and almost ridiculed when he first appeared against the marshals of France in the peninsular war. Were the opposition convinced and humbled by the failure of their predictions? or did they still cling to their old opinions and politics? These were questions that naturally occurred; and the solution of them could only be sought by attending to their conduct and speeches in parliament.

It is proper, however, to remark that among the opposition, or the friends of Mr. Fox, there was considerable diversity of opinion respecting the conduct of ministers, and the state into which the continent of Europe had been brought by

by their measures : some of them approved decidedly of the restoration of the Bourbons, but not of the means by which it had been effected; while some of them seemed disposed, though in a very cautious and guarded manner, to adopt the opinion that, by the restoration of the Bourbons, the cause of liberty had not been served either in France or in the other parts of the continent of Europe ; and that Bonaparte, when contrasted with them, or with the continental sovereigns as they were displayed by their recent conduct in partitioning Europe, was not so great a tyrant as he had been represented.

After lord Grenville sat down, the marquis of Lansdowne rose and spoke as follows.—“ My lords, I feel it my duty to offer a few words, because I find it impossible for me to concur in the address proposed for your adoption, as I most anxiously wish, without previously stating, more with a view to future discussions than to the present question, the limits within which I must confine my approbation. With respect to the address itself, I admit, with my noble friend, that it is most temperately and judiciously worded, and that the speeches delivered, both by the noble marquis and by the noble baron, have been strictly confined within limits calculated to ensure the general acquiescence of the house; and, within certain bounds, I can have no hesitation in expressing my approbation both of the one and of the other. To the extent of the warmest congratulations on the splendid success with which our arms have been crowned—to the extent of the expression of sincere joy at the overthrow of that powerful dominion established by military power, and which sought to spread itself over surrounding nations by
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the terror of its arms, the speech and the address meet with my sincere and unqualified approbation: because I feel that no subsequent events that have occurred, or which could have occurred, would have power to shake that opinion which on other occasions I have taken the liberty of expressing, and which I have always been prepared to support. As to the objects or advantages since obtained—as to the prospects to which we are now enabled to look forward—as to the probability of future tranquillity in Europe, and the final attainment and securing of those great objects for which the war was originally undertaken; I think the house is not at present in a state of information mature enough for the expression of an opinion. Whether it be in the power of ministers to lay upon our table such documents as will enable us to form a sound judgement, I am not able to decide; but I am glad to find that it is the intention of the noble earl at least to supply that information of which he is possessed, and which is capable of production, to put this house in a situation to deliberate upon topics of such magnitude; and until I have an opportunity of duly weighing them, I beg leave to refrain from delivering any opinion as to the objects which they may purport to have attained. Having said thus much regarding the address, with the necessary reserve upon great political questions on which we are not yet sufficiently informed, I cannot sit down without at the same time stating, that I concur with the most cordial satisfaction in that part of the address which refers more particularly to the present state of our country, and to the imperious necessity which exists, of making sacrifices for the attainment of great ulterior objects—which sac-

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crifices we are called upon proportionably to make. I beg therefore to accept (and I trust I may so accept it) what is said upon this subject as a distinct pledge, on the part of his majesty's government, that there is every disposition to concur with the other branches of the legislature in every practicable retrenchment of public expenditure; retrenchments that the condition of the country at the present moment renders immediately necessary. I hope that all public establishments that can possibly admit of reduction, will be restricted to limits consistent with necessary œconomy; and the expression of the decided sentiment of this house on this important subject, will have the effect, no doubt, of directing the attention of the country to it; if, indeed, its attention have not already been fixed upon it, and if, at the present moment, on the meeting of parliament, it does not impatiently look towards this house for a remedy of the alarming distresses prevailing among all classes of the community. I trust we shall soon witness the restoration of comfort and happiness among the people, by the adoption of the only solid remedy for the evils of which they now complain—the restoration of that relation and proportion between the burdens and resources of the country which some years ago existed, and which has of late been destroyed, partly by the course of political events, and partly by the introduction of an artificial currency. This subject, your lordships must be well aware, imperiously calls for the immediate, anxious, and patient investigation of the legislature. I trust, therefore, no unnecessary delay will take place, and that his majesty's ministers will give their cordial aid in a complete review of all the establishments of the country, with a steady

determination to shun no inquiry, and to avoid all expenses not positively necessary for the activity of the functions of government. In this view of that portion of the address, I do consider it as a pledge on the part of those who have the best means of redeeming it; and it has therefore not only my sincere concurrence, but my most hearty approbation, in the confidence that it is not merely an empty promise, but a firm and solid resolution, seconded by all branches of the legislature, and hailed with gratitude by the expecting country. With these explanations, I shall with pleasure add my voice to that of my noble friend in supporting this address, reserving to myself a liberty to express a more qualified or a different opinion upon an inspection of the details, when the noble earl shall think fit to lay them upon the table."

The earl of Liverpool rose next; but as in his speech he did not enter either into a consideration of the general views of ministers or into any details of particular importance or interest, we shall confine ourselves to a brief abstract of it.

He said that he considered the address as by no means pledging the house to any opinions whatever, on any subject which might afterwards be brought before it. It was a simple address of congratulation on the peace. He had no difficulty in stating to the noble lord opposite, that the prince regent's servants would be ready to discuss the subjects of our pecuniary arrangements, not only generally but in detail, and to show that they had applied their best judgements to the real state of the country: their wish was to support such a system of œconomy as would be consistent with our security, and our rank among nations.

Lord

Lord Holland next rose, and spoke as follows: "After what has passed on both sides of the house, it is, my lords, some satisfaction to me that I am able to give my vote for the address in its present form. I concur in most of the topics to which it adverts, and I am also ready to acknowledge, with my noble friends, that both the speech and the address seem to have been carefully and properly framed, to avoid dissentient opinions. It would be idle for me to dwell upon those points on which we are all agreed; but I feel that there would be a want of sincerity on my part, a disingenuousness of which I should be sorry to be guilty, if I did not say, that when I reserve to myself the right of correcting my judgement and of forming different opinions upon subjects necessarily glanced at in the address, I mean to apply that reserve, not merely to matters of detail, on which we are at present comparatively in ignorance, but even to some of the matters stated and admitted in the course of the debate to be subjects of congratulation. Having myself from the first entertained a decided opinion upon the original impolicy, I may say upon the original wickedness and unjustifiableness of the principles on which the war was commenced, now it has been terminated, if the object ought not to have been pursued, I can scarcely even pledge myself to a congratulation upon the attainment of an object by means that ought never to have been employed. No man can refuse to rejoice that the blessings of peace have returned to a country from which they had so long been absent: but I cannot but lament that they were ever so unnecessarily and unjustifiably expelled. Nor upon another point, called the second feature of

our situation, can I pledge myself to congratulate upon the restoration of his most christian majesty to the throne of France, until I am put in possession of the terms and conditions under which that object has been accomplished. Furthermore, as to the prospects which are held out to this country and to Europe for the future, I should be playing an insincere and a culpable part, if I could give my vote, unexplained, in favour of this address, implying a persuasion on my mind that there was a reasonable and fair hope of protracted tranquillity to this country, and permanent peace to the continent. On the re-establishment of peace, as peace, undoubtedly I concur with the noble lord who spoke first from this side of the house (Grenville). There is nothing that could give me more complete and heartfelt satisfaction than the conclusion of peace, and much more so, if there be a prospect of lasting harmony and repose; but yet I have not sufficient information to enable me to form a judgement upon the subject. I must first be made acquainted with facts. Let me know what are the precautionary measures that have been adopted, and that are referred to in the address—what is the object of them, and what price has been paid for the peace on which we are to offer congratulations. I must first receive answers upon these points, before I am able to give a definitive and satisfactory decision. As sincerely and warmly as any man will I congratulate his royal highness on the brilliant and most effectual display of discipline and courage by British soldiers. Who is there that is not astonished at their achievements, and proportionably proud of their constancy and bravery against a nation that has more particularly

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and assiduously cultivated those virtues? But I cannot blindly undertake to approve of all that has been done to attain peace, which, as peace, is undoubtedly desirable. I may congratulate the sovereign and the country on the peace with America, and on the reasonable prospect there may be of its continuance; but I must reserve to myself the decision, how far that object has been accomplished. I have heard, I think I have seen in the public papers, that it was said at the opening of the war, that it was better to engage even in an arduous and dangerous contest, than to observe, under the mere name of peace, what, in fact, was an armed truce. I must know, before I decide, whether, after passing through all the miseries of a long war, we have not at last arrived precisely at the point at which we started; I must know, before I rejoice at peace, whether it will be better than an armed truce. I forget whether it was Mr. Mitchell, or Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, who having journeyed to Petersburg, and being asked by the empress how he liked the Russian roads and Russian travelling, replied, that he had travelled 200 miles upon a bridge, which only conducted him to the water at last. Before I congratulate on a peace, let me know what it is in fact we have obtained, and what we have paid for it. The wording of the address is cautious, I admit; but it requires equal caution to take care that the house is not too far pledged to be able to retract. With regard to the time to be allowed for the perusal of the treaties, I would suggest that the delay of another week would be advisable, if it do not inconveniently postpone matters of much consequence."

Lord Grosvenor approved of the speech and address; and congratulated

the house and the country on the declaration of the noble lord opposite (the earl of Liverpool) that the strictest attention would be paid to œconomy.

The address was then agreed to, *nem. con.*

From the proceedings and speeches in the house of lords on this occasion, the public could not expect to derive any information on the intention of ministers regarding the continuance of the property tax, since this being a question of finance could alone be discussed in the house of commons. But from the speech of the chancellor of the exchequer, it was hoped that direct information might be gained, or, at least, an inference might be drawn, that this tax was to be discontinued.

House of commons, February 1. —The speaker having read the prince regent's speech, sir Thomas Ackland, after dwelling at some length on the important events of the last short but brilliant campaign, and the successful results of the recent negotiations, concluded with an address in the usual form.

Mr. P. Methuen went over the same grounds, and observed, that, notwithstanding the present depressed state of the agricultural interests, the result of the late contest was such as ought to prevent our falling into gloom and despondency.

In those speeches there was nothing remarkable, and therefore we have contented ourselves with this very brief notice of them. But it was deemed rather remarkable that ministers should have procured two county members to move and second the address: this was felt as a triumph and a proof of their strength and of the goodness of their cause; and by the soreness that the opposition expressed on this occasion, it was plain that they regarded

garded it as a proof of the strength of ministers in the house of commons. The circumstance of Mr. Methuen seconding the address ought also to be noticed, because, as we shall afterwards find, he joined the opposition when he found that ministers were not disposed to put in practice that œconomy which they declared to be necessary for the welfare of the country, and which they had unequivocally promised to practise.

After Mr. Methuen sat down, Mr. Brand rose. He declared, that he felt himself placed under great disadvantages in rising to differ from any part of the excellent and moderate speech of the honourable baronet who had moved the address. Both the speech delivered by commission from his royal highness the prince regent, and the address moved in answer to it, appeared to him to be characterized by a tone of moderation. There were, however, some few points of difference between him and the honourable baronet, relating chiefly to what he conceived to be an omission in the honourable baronet's address, to which he felt it his duty to advert. The honourable baronet had alluded to the distresses and embarrassments under which agriculture and commerce were labouring, without introducing into his address any expression of the determination of that house to inquire into, and, if possible, to relieve them. This was an omission which he considered it to be the duty of the house to supply, and to declare their readiness to examine the causes of that pressure, with a view to their effectual removal. The honourable baronet had, to his surprise, also abstained from any notice of a very important question—why it was that the people of this country had been so long kept in the dark

with respect to the substance of those treaties which were said to have placed the tranquillity and interests of Europe on a secure foundation? Rejoicing as he did at the downfall of a military tyranny in France, and at the prospect of general peace, this last point appeared to him to require more explanation. Why had the vast and important political arrangements that had taken place, been so long withheld from the knowledge of the commons of England? To him it seemed to be a mark of disrespect at once to the country and to parliament. It was impossible not to feel a more than ordinary anxiety on this subject, when it was understood that treaties had been concluded, raising doubtful questions of public law and of constitutional principle; that provision had been made for maintaining a large foreign military establishment, which must necessarily require a large domestic military establishment for its support. The subject involved not merely legal and constitutional but financial considerations, all of which were overlooked in the address of the honourable baronet; and although it would not be proper to go deeply into them at present, he trusted he should hereafter be able successfully to contend, that they ought to have directed whatever might be the terms and provisions of those treaties. What he chiefly regretted, however, in the able speech of the honourable baronet, was the slight and insufficient manner in which he touched upon the actual distresses of the country. He wished the house to pledge itself distinctly that they would inquire and administer speedy relief, because he was convinced, that by a steady application of our resources, and by a strict œconomy, the burthens and distresses of the people might be relieved.—The

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country

country looked to them for some pledge that the existing system of partial and oppressive taxation should be revised, and he implored his majesty's ministers and the house not to disappoint it in so just and natural an expectation. He did not make these observations in a spirit of hostility to his majesty's government, but because he considered the cause he recommended to be the constitutional duty of that house. The honourable baronet, as he conceived, improperly committed this to the discretion of ministers; he wished to confide it to the representatives of the people. He well knew that the body of the people, with an anxiety which those only could judge of who had observed their distresses, languished for the opinions of the well-informed as to the possibility of lessening the public burthens. Without anticipating, therefore, any opposition to so moderate an amendment, he should conclude by moving, as an addition to the address, "That his majesty's faithful commons begged leave humbly to represent to his royal highness, that it was the duty of ministers to lay before parliament, with the least possible delay, the treaties and conventions entered into with foreign powers, and to express their deep regret at the length of the prorogation, inasmuch as an early meeting of parliament appeared necessary for the revival of our establishments, military and civil; and to assure his royal highness, that the house would immediately proceed to inquire into and revise the same."

Lord John Russell supported the amendment: the people to relish the return of peace must taste its comforts: the trophies and victories which we had gained, would not render the manufacturer able to pay his taxes, nor the farmer to pay his

rents. We had left France as powerful as she was in the reign of king William, and with the seeds of fresh wars in her bosom. It was rumoured that ministers had it in contemplation to propose a continuation of that oppressive tax the income tax.

This speech brought up the chancellor of the exchequer, who, after replying to the charge of delay in the meeting of parliament, proceeded to justify ministers with regard to their being ignorant of or inattentive to the distresses of the country, and to give a glimpse of the financial measures which they intended to adopt. With respect to the internal embarrassments of the country, he could assure the house that they had not failed to engage the most serious attention of his majesty's ministers. How honourably and laboriously his noble friend had been employed abroad was universally known; he believed he might refer with the same confidence to the exertions of his colleagues at home; and, for himself, he had never passed a summer with less recreation. In his judgement, the speech of the commissioners recognised every necessary pledge to the public that could be made in the actual situation of affairs. It recommended all the œconomy that should be found consistent with public security, and the station which we occupy in Europe. He believed that station to be such, that, great as the sacrifices were which it had cost us to arrive at it, it was considered as cheaply purchased by every British heart. The embarrassments which at present pressed upon agriculture appeared to originate in that interruption of all intercourse with the continent, by which the dread of scarcity became so prevalent as to give a great encouragement to our own tillage and agriculture.

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The positive scarcity in 1801 had increased those apprehensions, which were continued by the suspension of almost all communication with the continent for so long a period. Peace naturally brought the foreign and home prices of grain to a level; and it was impossible that the competition of the continental grower should not depress the British market. To this cause were to be added the large loans and foreign expenditure during the last three years, amounting to not less than 143 millions, of which about 43 millions may have been returned. The subduction of so much capital, and so suddenly, from the ordinary channels of employment, must have deranged the course of commercial transactions, and have made itself universally felt. Undoubtedly, however, œconomy in the public expenditure, under such circumstances, was an object entitled to the utmost attention of parliament. What he requested was, that whenever the estimates should be laid before the house, the honourable members on the other side would not condemn in the gross, but examine the details, and then determine what the burthens were that could be dispensed with. There was one point, however, that had been touched upon, and with respect to which he was desirous of giving the earliest explanation. He had no difficulty in acknowledging that it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to propose a renewal of the income tax, at 5 per cent. upon the conviction that there was no mode of raising the necessary supplies less oppressive, or so œconomical.

Mr. Brougham thought it singular that the speech should mention commerce and manufactures as in a flourishing condition, when it must be known to ministers them-

selves that the very reverse was the case: he trusted this subject would soon be brought under consideration of the house. Among the sixty or seventy treaties recently signed, he trusted there would be found one which would restrain Ferdinand of Spain—who had behaved so inhumanly to his best friends—who had treated so ungratefully those who had raised him to a throne which he disgraced, whose slightest offence was the illegitimate usurpation of his father's sceptre, from continuing the disgraceful traffic in the slave-trade—which was only exceeded in its diabolical consequences by that still worse system of tyranny he was carrying on against those who, by their bravery and exertions, had replaced him on the throne. The chancellor of the exchequer congratulated the house on the flourishing condition of the revenue; but he was convinced there would be some slight exception in this case, as well as when he spoke of the commerce and agriculture of the country. As one consequence of the glorious contest in which we had been engaged, as one item in the prosperity of the country, the property tax was to be continued. This most oppressive tax, not upon property, but upon income—this burden upon the industry and the resources of the country, so severely felt and so loudly complained of, was to be continued, as one of the consequences of our boasted victories, one of the symptoms of our national prosperity. The honourable gentleman trusted that the declaration made by the chancellor of the exchequer would not be lost upon the country; that it would be remarked by all classes; that it would be attended to by the constituents of such members of the house as had constitu-

ents. With regard to the other topics alluded to in the address, he would reserve himself to a future opportunity. The distresses of the country had been confessed by the honourable mover, and he trusted that the house would not lend a deaf ear to complaints so loud and so general. He hoped the right honourable gentleman (the chancellor of the exchequer) would find out some mode of relief. He had alluded to a reduction of the public burthens at present in contemplation. (The chancellor of the exchequer said "No," across the table.) Then, continued Mr. Brougham, I am mistaken, and the country will be disappointed. Were none of the public burthens to be reduced? were none of the taxes to be abolished? was our overgrown expenditure not to be narrowed? Was the war malt tax not to be taken off, which was felt so oppressive by the people; or were we still to bear, during peace, all the overwhelming imposts of a war establishment? Besides questions of this kind, which must soon be pressed upon the house, there were other subjects that called loudly for its attention. There were laws that oppressed all classes of the community, which must be examined and repealed. He alluded particularly to enactments which prevented the exportation by the most important class of the country of their staple commodities, and to the state of the usury laws. He hoped those laws, which operated most oppressively on the indigent borrower, which had been disapproved of by the first characters of the country, which sir F. Baring more than thirty years ago had strongly pronounced against, as injuring the interests of those they were intended to protect, and which were so manifestly impolitic and ruinous, would

soon receive a thorough review and alteration. Another subject, still more important, would require consideration—the state of the poor laws. The hon. gentleman did not wish to detain the house longer at present, and made some apologies for obtruding himself upon its attention so long. There was one part of the honourable mover's speech in which he entirely concurred—that part in which he alluded to the necessity of economy. Our great military and foreign establishments were a robbery of the public. It was a mockery of their distress, when groaning under the load of taxation, to tell them such establishments were necessary, and to create new channels of expenditure. The chancellor of the exchequer had said, that he wished the statements of the revenue and expenditure not to be viewed in the gross, but to be examined item by item, and their necessity deliberately weighed. The hon. gentleman declared that he would gratify him in this respect, that he would assist him in examining the public accounts—he would assist him in fixing the lowest estimates with which the public service could proceed. When the country was so burdened, as it confessedly was at present, the lowest farthing given to all public functionaries, from the prince down to the common soldier, should be calculated.

Lord Milton declared himself determined to oppose that system, which it was apparent ministers intended to adopt.

Mr. Preston supported the amendment.

Sir Sam. Romilly said, that the speech of his right honourable friend, the chancellor of the exchequer, would not allow him to remain in silence, lest he should, by so doing, be supposed to agree in the sentiments

ments of the address. In several of these sentiments he entirely concurred, but there were others to which he would never give his assent. He agreed with the honourable baronet in that part of his speech which referred to the distresses of the country. He likewise most cordially participated, as all sides of the house seemed to do, in that part of it which so feelingly alluded to the situation of his majesty. He rejoiced in the peace, but he could not give the manner in which it was brought about, or the events that preceded it, his unqualified approbation. It would appear strange if the house should approve of the manner in which the administration had acted, considering that it approved of their professions, which were completely at variance with their conduct. They had, when they last appeared before parliament, and when the war with Bonaparte was in progress, disavowed distinctly, explicitly, and with the greatest solemnity, those principles which subsequently regulated their conduct. They protested against all interference with the internal affairs of France—against any attempt to impose upon that nation either a government or a ruler, in opposition to its own wishes or choice. This policy, so just and moderate, they had afterwards relinquished as circumstances changed. The British government had afterwards not only employed a British army to place the Bourbons on the throne, but now employs one to keep them there. The only justification, or rather defence, (for there could be no justification,) which they could plead, was a change of circumstances. The house would recollect, that about nine months ago a letter of lord Clancarty's was laid before it, stating not only that the instruc-

tions of his own court, but the opinion of all the allies, were decidedly against all interference with the internal situation of France. They avowed that they adhered to the declaration of the 13th of March; that they combined to exclude Bonaparte from the throne of France, because his occupation of it was inconsistent with the security of Europe; but that when this object was accomplished, they disclaimed any wish to influence the French people in their choice of a sovereign. These professions were held after the battle of Waterloo; they were proclaimed in the triumphant march of the allied armies; they were declared by the duke of Wellington till he arrived at St. Cloud. Up to the convention of Paris, the same language was continually held—even to the deputies from the provisional government. Immediately upon the occupation of Paris these principles were renounced. Did this happen because the allies then felt themselves able to enforce principles diametrically opposite? If so, where was their faith to the French people? They had broken their engagements—they had renounced their professions. Instead of concurring in the praise of ministers for their conduct in bringing about the peace, they deserved, he thought, the severest censure for having compromised the honour of the country. Neither did he imagine that the peace would be more secure than it was honourable. It was not founded on the base of reciprocal goodwill, but on that of arbitrary power—of unjust compulsion. In making it, we had planted the seeds of war, and now left the stings of hatred and discord.

Lord Castlereagh deprecated the practice pursued by an honourable member (Mr. Brougham) of attacking

ing foreign sovereigns in a place where they could not defend themselves. He expatiated upon the glorious and advantageous peace which had been procured—one which had no parallel in history. It was however accompanied with that partial and local distress which had been felt at the close of every war, and which must be now experienced in a greater degree after an almost uninterrupted war of twenty-three or twenty-four years. The distress to which one class of society was subject, was only such as must happen in all transfers of property and employment like the present. If we dreaded the situation of the country after the American war, we should find that the distresses of the country were infinitely greater, without those consolatory and animating prospects with which we were now cheered. At that time there was a pressure on all our resources, a failure in all branches of our national prosperity. There was a general decay, which it required a considerable time to repair. This was not the case at present. The external commerce of the country would appear, from a comparative statement of exports in the last nine months of the years 1814 and 1815 respectively, to be in a flourishing condition; the exports in 1814 being 37,100,000*l.*; and in 1815, 42,400,000*l.* leaving thus a balance of 5,300,000*l.* in favour of the latter year. The pressure on our domestic commerce must be allowed to be considerable, but the revenue had not failed. There was, upon the whole, a million and a half of increase. The war taxes had kept steady. There was an increase of the excise. He would not undervalue the difficulties under which commercial and agricultural interests laboured, but he saw no room for

gloom or despondency. Let parliament exert itself to support public credit, let it look the difficulties which exist fairly in the face, and exert itself to find a remedy for temporary evils, and we shall soon be able to reap all the advantages of our situation. The continuance of the property tax meets with great disapprobation from the honourable gentlemen on the other side; but there was only the choice of reducing public credit by interfering with the sinking fund, which ought to remain inviolate, or of raising the sum necessary for the service of the year by this tax. The noble lord showed the manner in which the funds would improve in peace, by a strict regard to the engagements of the nation with the public creditor, and concluded by again forcibly stating, that there was nothing in our situation to warrant dejection, complaint, or despondency.

Mr. Coke of Norfolk said that he would resist to his latest breath, any endeavour to continue the property tax.

Mr. Horner strongly recommended æconomy, and deprecated any invasion of the sinking fund.

Mr. Tierney next rose; and in a speech of considerable wit, acuteness, and talent, supported the amendment: he did not mean to detain the house by many observations, but he wished to guard against any misinterpretation of the assent which he was prepared to give to the address. He fully coincided that greater glory had never been acquired, in the history of any age or country, than by the British army, and he hoped he might add—though that now-a-days was a topic somewhat overlooked—by the British navy also. But if the noble lord meant to apply the word glorious to the other exertions of our countrymen, such

such as those of a pecuniary or a diplomatic kind, there he must pause before he gave his assent. There was one part of the prince regent's speech, as delivered by the commissioners, which he rejoiced in most heartily;—it was that in which he recommended to the house all possible economy. His royal highness surely would not have given this advice to others, unless he meant to practise it himself. This must belie all those reports that were in circulation, of a new increase of debt on the civil list; and he hoped that no new application would be made this session for the payment of arrears in that quarter. (A nod from the chancellor of the exchequer). He was happy to understand, from the nod of the right honourable gentleman, that nothing of this kind was to be expected. The noble lord opposite had poured out a tirade against his honourable and learned friend, for what he called indulging in invectives against Ferdinand VII. The noble lord was mistaken, however, if he thought that any confederacy of princes or ministers should control the members of that house in the free expression of their sentiments as to the conduct of sovereigns. As long as this confederacy of princes existed, which, from some late occurrences, seemed to have for one of its objects, to put down the liberty of the press and all freedom of sentiment, he for one should protest against the atrocity of kings. And he begged that at the next diplomatic meeting which the noble lord might have with princes Metternich and Hardenburg, he would acquaint those personages that there was at least one assembly in Europe where men were determined to speak their minds on such subjects. But while he thus approved of the address generally, he thought that no-

thing could be more fair than the amendment of his honourable friend. He begged gentlemen to consider what a mockery it was to lay treaties before the house for its discussion and sanction, when these very treaties had been carried into full operation these two months, and when the house could neither counteract nor controvert their operation. He charged ministers with wilfully placing parliament in this ridiculous situation; and that it never was their intention that parliament should meet till the 1st of February. For this he had no less a voucher than the proclamation of the prince regent himself; and such was the zeal of ministers to stave off the meeting of parliament, that they adjourned it for ninety days instead of eighty, and thus were in danger of putting an end to certain convenient privileges, till they were enabled by a new proclamation to correct their oversight. He should have been sorry, then, if an amendment had not been proposed, directed against the principle of delaying the opening of parliament under such circumstances. It involved a constitutional principle, and parliament would not do their duty unless they mentioned it. If the chancellor of the exchequer had, according to his own confession, passed a most unpleasant summer, the farmers had certainly done the same: and therefore it was of importance that parliament should have met at an early period, as there was always a general sort of feeling in the country, that while it was sitting something might be done to remedy any evil that might affect the general interest. When the price of corn was falling so rapidly as it did in the course of last summer and autumn, and a very numerous class of people thrown into the greatest alarm, surely

surely this was a sufficient intimation that parliament should be convoked at an early period. Accordingly it should have met in November last; but now we were told that for some reason or other, best known to ministers themselves, it was natural we should not be here till the 1st of February. He would venture to explain the reason: the house was always sure to meet early, if ministers were in want of money; but if not, it was equally sure to be postponed as long as possible. He predicted last session, when the vote of credit of ten millions was proposed, that it would enable them to stave off the meeting of parliament till it suited their own convenience; but he was not listened to. He had never known an instance where parliament met at so late a period as the 1st of February, and it was still more reprehensible thus to shorten the session, when there never was one, perhaps, that had so much business before it. With respect to the necessity of œconomy, generally, he was happy to find that, at last, all parts of the house were agreed; and the chancellor of the exchequer had promised that this œconomy should extend into all the details of the public service. This he was the more happy to bear, because, when a vote of ten millions for army extraordinaries was last year proposed in a lump, he himself was scouted at for barely asking to go into the details. He trusted also, that if committees were appointed to examine into the different branches of expenditure, they would not be crippled by inadequate powers, but be enabled to sift matters to the bottom. The noble lord had now confessed, very inconsistently with his former language, that the country had been bloated by a war expenditure, and told us that at the return

of peace the circulation shrank in its dimensions, as was to be expected. He (Mr. Tierney) did not despond of the finances of the country, but he could not help taking a most gloomy view of our affairs. The chancellor of the exchequer smiled as usual whenever despondency was mentioned. It was to be hoped, however, that the shock which our financial system could not fail to receive would be broken by the union of all ranks in the state, to bear the pressure of common difficulties, and in that respect this country had still the advantage over every other. He was not one who wished for the return of high prices, for he thought it most unnatural, that, in a state of peace, this country should be so much insulated from all others that a guinea should not have gone further here than a dollar in other countries. But amidst this shrinking of our circulating medium, there was great subject of alarm to the stockholder; for if you lessen the pecuniary means, the circulating medium of the country, one half, how were you to pay the taxes to the full amount necessary to meet the claims of the public creditor? The house was told that there was no defalcation of the public revenue. True it was, the taxes might yet keep up for a time; but could the chancellor of the exchequer expect that there would not soon be a marked defalcation? Private families, some from pride, a wish to support appearances and habit, were slow in curtailing their luxuries; but the next quarter or two would speedily show a change. But did the chancellor of the exchequer foresee all this at the time of the discussions on the Bullion question, since his noble friend declares that the bloated state of our currency might have been expected to shrink

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on the return of peace? He conjectured that the right honourable gentleman would now be extremely glad, could he withdraw from the journals that famous resolution of his, that there was no difference between a guinea and a one pound note, since every man and woman who read those journals, and know any thing of the matter, was now convinced that there was a real difference. He was happy to understand that there was no idea of touching the sinking fund. But the chancellor of the exchequer should be the last man to cheer this, or to take credit for it, as he himself had already taken seven millions from that deposit. If, however, the sinking fund is to be held sacred, it may be fairly asked, what are you to do to make all ends meet? This was a question which called for their whole attention: at any rate he trusted that the house would not be forward in voting supplies, until they knew what was to be the utmost amount of our establishments. There should be no voting of sums piecemeal for this department and the other department. The peace which the noble lord had concluded might be a very fine one; but then, perhaps, after all we could not afford it. It was the fault of those who had so long postponed the meeting of parliament, that the immediate operation and consequent expenses of the treaty were now beyond their reach. Never had a parliament met so late as the 1st of February, with all that multiplicity of business that was before the present,—business which it required all the temper of that house to discuss with moderation and fairness. He

did not see how it would be possible to make the means of the country meet its expenditure, without the most diligent investigation and retrenchment. We were desired to derive comfort from the large exports of our manufactures; but whether that was a loss or gain could not be ascertained until we had known the returns. In the mean time, as his honourable and learned friend had remarked, we had lost the home market, and that was the most profitable of all. The chancellor of the exchequer surely, under these circumstances, could not expect that the produce of the taxes in future would rise to any thing like the old amount. Would his estimate of the stamps, for instance, which he gave last summer, still sustain itself? Upon the whole, it appeared to him, that the best thing that could be done, would be to appoint a committee similar to that of 1786, that might investigate from the best sources what may be the probable produce of the taxes, and to fix by that estimate the scale of our expenditure. He feared that the returns of the probable amount of the taxes, when given in to the house, would be most appalling. But the course which he now recommended was followed by the committee of 1786, just after the American war; and a similar system ought to be pursued now.

After a few words from sir Gilbert Heathcote and Mr. Elliott, the house divided,

Against the amendment	90
For it	23

Majority 67

CHAPTER III.

Chancellor of the Exchequer's Intimation respecting the Renewal of the Income Tax—Lord Castlereagh's Motion for a Naval Monument—Abuses in the King's Bench—Sincure in Ireland—The Marquis of Lansdowne respecting the Treaties—Lord Holland on the Case of Lord Kinnaird—Debate on the Supplies and Establishment for 1816.

ON the 2d of February several questions were put to the chancellor of the exchequer by different members of the house of commons, on the subject of the renewal of the income tax; in reply to which he explicitly stated, that he should certainly feel it his duty to lay before the house a proposition to renew that tax, but at a reduction of five per cent.: besides this reduction, he should propose some alterations in the provisions of the existing law; these would consist in certain modifications, for the purpose of giving relief to certain classes of society, on whom at present the income tax pressed with disproportionate and unjust severity. While, however, he intended to submit a proposition for the renewal of this tax at five per cent., and such modifications as would relieve those who now contributed more than their due share, he should be careful so to frame the new law, that all should contribute to the exigencies and support of the state their fair proportion; and he even hoped, that the renewed tax would reach such as now escaped. He thought it proper to add, that as it would be considered the continuation of a war tax, its duration would be limited to two or three years; and afterwards continued, or discontinued, as parliament might think proper. It was his wish that, for the present year, the whole of the sinking fund should be left in

full operation for the reduction of the national debt.

On the 5th of February lord Castlereagh entered on a warm and well-merited panegyric of the services rendered by the navy during the early part of the war. By the battle of Trafalgar, the power of the enemy on the ocean was annihilated; so that subsequently it might well be said of the British navy, it could not triumph, because it had left no enemy to conquer. The army had not distinguished itself so early in the war; but latterly, it had signalized its fame by services which, following those of the navy, had utterly, and he trusted for ever, overthrown that power which had so long domineered over the independence and happiness of continental Europe. His lordship then moved an address to the prince regent, requesting that a monument might be erected to commemorate the victory gained by our navy at Trafalgar under viscount Nelson. After some observations by Mr. Dundas, Sir M. W. Ridley, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Banks, and Mr. Forbes, in which the ideas were suggested of having a joint monument to the army and navy, and on the part of Mr. Tierney of making that monument a church,—lord Castlereagh's motion was agreed to. Consequently two monuments will be erected; one to commemorate the services of the navy, as most emi-

nently distinguished by the battle of Trafalgar; and the other to commemorate the services of the army, as crowned with unparalleled success by the victory of Waterloo.

On the 6th of February Mr. Law (nephew of lord Ellenborough) expressed his surprise at some observations made by Mr. Bennet respecting the continuance of abuses in the King's Bench prison.

Mr. Bennet declared that nothing like its abuses was to be found in any prison in modern Europe;—he particularly noticed and objected to the marshal extracting several hundreds annually from the prisoners, on account of tickets for rooms.

On the 7th of February some conversation took place between Mr. Brougham and Mr. Peel, respecting the sinecure held by the deceased earl of Buckinghamshire, of clerk of the crown, and prothonotary of the court of King's Bench in Ireland:—by a resolution of parliament passed in the month of May 1810, its abolition had been recommended whenever it should become vacant; and there being no existing interest, Mr. Brougham wished to know if it was intended to abolish it. In reply to this inquiry, Mr. Peel said that some regulation would be made respecting it. This reply however did not satisfy the opposition, and they intimated their intention of bringing the question again before the house in a more regular manner.

House of lords, Feb. 8.—The marquis of Lansdowne inquired what communication had passed between the allied powers after the treaty signed at Vienna on the 25th of March 1815, relative to the establishment of a government in France, in the event of the success of their arms.

The earl of Liverpool could not

state what communications had passed; but, whilst he positively asserted there was no engagement entered into for imposing a government upon the French people, he admitted that the understanding was, that his most christian majesty should be restored to the throne. As to the communications which were held with the provisional government of France, his lordship stated that no negotiation was entered into with that government;—and on the marquis of Lansdowne observing, that as it was matter of notoriety that the provisional government offered to negotiate, it was to be understood that such offer met with a refusal; lord Liverpool assented.

The duke of Sussex asked a question respecting the holy league between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, proposing to be made upon the principles of christianity, without stating any object.

The earl of Liverpool admitted that a treaty of that nature was signed at Paris.

February 12.—Lord Holland, alluding to lord Kinnaird, who had been sent out of France by the government of that country, wished to know from lord Liverpool if he had any objection to lay before the house the correspondence which had passed between the French government and the British minister at Paris, on that subject.

The earl of Liverpool replied, that the French government was not responsible to any other government for sending aliens out of its territories; the same right was exercised in this country, by virtue of the alien act. By refusing the documents in question, he wished it not to be inferred, that there were grounds for any charge against lord Kinnaird.

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Lord Holland professed himself satisfied.

Lord Holland rose again, and observed, that, as the treaty of 1814 must be considered as the new basis of the arrangements of Europe, and that the treaty of Utrecht and subsequent treaties were superseded by it, he wished to know whether any stipulation had been made to prevent the branch of the house of Bourbons, on the throne of France or Spain, from succeeding to the throne of the other branch, on the failure of direct heirs—an object which had formerly cost this country an immense expenditure of blood and treasure.

The earl of Liverpool replied, there had been no engagements among the powers, in which this country had been concerned, except those which had been laid before parliament.

Lord King, understanding from the earl of Liverpool that nearly the whole of the principal and interest of the Austrian loan was unpaid, moved for an account of the sums received in respect to that loan, and also for an account of the charge upon this country, in respect of loans to Russia: which motions were agreed to.

In the house of commons the same day the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the only matter he had to propose, was the providing for the outstanding exchequer bills,—to complete the provision for the $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions of exchequer bills, and to provide for $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions afterwards issued, which were now nearly due;—and lastly, to call on the house to provide for the bills issued in consequence of the grants for the year 1815. There was no other immediate subject to which he wished to direct the attention of the house; but as he understood that

there was a pretty general expectation that he should commence the consideration of the subject of supply, by stating what he intended to propose as measures of finance, he should take this opportunity of entering on the subject. He should endeavour, therefore, to take a short view of our financial situation at the commencement of the last contest, of the causes which now affect our finances, and of those means of supply which he meant hereafter to propose to parliament; all the necessary documents would be almost immediately laid upon the table.

Looking at the customs for the year ending 1815, they produced 11,590,000*l.*—for the year ending 1816, 10,487,000*l.* The house would, however, recollect the expiration of the war taxes on tonnage, which produced 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.* In 1814 the excise produced 25,145,000*l.* and for 1815, 26,562,000*l.* an increase of 1,400,000*l.* over the preceding year. No particular means operated last year, except what concerned licenses, &c. The stamp duties for 1814 produced 5,598,000*l.*, for 1815, 5,865,000*l.* A considerable increase in duty had no doubt taken place, but he could not just then ascertain accurately to what it had amounted. The post-office had produced for 1814, 1,450,000*l.*; for 1815, 1,548,000*l.* The assessed taxes produced in 1814, 6,400,000*l.*; but there was in the next year a diminution of about 200,000*l.* For 1814, the property tax produced 14,200,000*l.*, and for 1815, 14,300,000*l.*, making an increase of 100,000*l.* The land tax for 1814 produced 1,059,000*l.*, in 1815 it was 1,179,000*l.* The total revenue for 1814 was 65,490,000*l.*; for 1815 there was an increase of about

about a million. He had great satisfaction in hoping that the branch of the revenue arising from the assessed taxes would continue to flourish, and might be safely reckoned upon. He should now proceed to take some notice of the application of those very large and liberal grants which had so greatly contributed to our final success in the conflict. He recollected that it was said by some, that so large a supply, granted to the full extent of what was asked, would certainly fall far short of the financial means which would be demanded. It was also stated, about the same time, that to make an attempt upon the French frontier would be hopeless—would be absurd: but both these predictions had proved fallacious. The very day after one of them was delivered, Charleroi was attacked, and the result was, the cannon did not cease to roar till in a few days our efforts were crowned with the most complete, brilliant, and decisive success.

Of the last year's grants there were 21,000,000*l.* due for past expenditure, and which formed no part of the supplies wanted for future exertions. By this means what was previously due had been all discharged. But on the 5th of January last the unfunded debt had been by those liberal grants still reduced by 21,000,000*l.* There was last year a reduction to the amount of 41,500,000*l.* Navy debts had also undergone a reduction of from 6,000,000*l.* to about 3,000,000*l.* If he looked to the amount of our manufactures exported, he found it, in the quarters ending October 10, 1814, 37,167,000*l.*: and, at a similar date in 1815, the amount was 42,425,000*l.* The house would have time and opportunity to peruse and examine the particulars. He should, for the present, merely ad-

vert to one or two of them. Of cotton goods we exported, in 1814, to the value of 13,169,000*l.*; and in 1815, 15,372,000*l.* Of linens in 1814, 1,100,000*l.*; in 1815, 1,340,000*l.* Of woollens in 1814, 6,000,000*l.* odd, and in 1815, 8,074,000*l.*

Having so recently exerted all the great sinews of our national strength, the house would be frequently this session called to the important consideration of our financial affairs. Of that situation he wished, as clearly as he could, to state his own general views. The greatest difficulties seemed to result from the prices of various articles; and more particularly so, as they regarded the interests of agriculture, in which, during the war, they had swelled in too great a proportion. It should be recollected that great alarm had been occasioned by the scarcities of 1800, and of a year or two before; and it became generally thought that our means were very inadequate to our supply. Besides this, our means of supply from foreign countries were frequently interrupted, and rendered very difficult to procure. We had the fear of depending upon other countries, and the apprehensions arising from liability to scarcity. Some powers had wholly withheld any supply; with others the procuring was rendered so troublesome and expensive, through licenses and charges, as to prevent its coming to us abundantly. This induced us more and more to look to the effects of our produce. Prices, however, advanced to a disproportionate extent. A considerable spur, however, was given to our agriculture at home. Last year parliament had interfered by a protecting measure; but that measure was resorted to after a considerable supply

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had been received from abroad, and after a productive harvest at home had afforded a superfluity. During the war, government was in the habit of constant purchases. The victualling-office bought at the rate of 200,000 sacks of flour. Other branches also made purchases. This of course always raised the market, as sellers could depend upon the government, which they knew must be supplied. When government purchases ceased, there must of course follow a considerable alteration. Had parliament interposed by a protecting measure at an earlier period than last year, it was probable that the effects now so much felt would not have taken place. But parliament did not interpose until after the interests of agriculture had suffered a considerable blow. The country was now in a situation in which the fall of prices pressed very severely on all those branches which supplied the agricultural interest. This was likely to continue until a diminution of demand should produce a diminution of price. A great variety of remedies for these inconveniences had been both publicly and privately suggested; but he did not then intend to dwell upon them. One honourable gentleman had suggested, as one means of relief, the suspension of the usury acts. If he (the chancellor of the exchequer) should feel that the present difficulties were likely to continue long, and if no other and better remedy offered, he should not treat that suggestion lightly.

The remedies to which he now directed his attention, consisted in the diminution of taxes, and in a course of measures calculated to support public credit. The latter seemed at present the most important and pressing subject. If he might use

a familiar, and perhaps rather vulgar illustration, he would suppose that every man in the country, great and small, should find a guinea in his pocket to-morrow morning. He knew it was a visionary supposition; but though this might amount to 15 millions, yet each person would have no more means of paying a debt than he had at present. It would be a long time before these guineas could be collected together for useful operations. It would be different, if they could be all brought at once to the country banks; for then all who could give good security might be accommodated, agriculture invigorated, manufactures assisted, and the distresses of the country might disappear. We could neither give any man a guinea, nor send the fifteen millions to the banks. But the wants of the country would require a large sum of money. The distresses of the country would not be in any material degree augmented by the taxes; but if we took a large sum in a mass by loan from the capital of the country, we might do much injury. Last year we had added 54 millions to our national debt, while this year, instead of being obliged to make any addition, we should be relieved to the extent of 14 millions. This sum, applied in buying up exchequer bills, would contribute powerfully to assist the wants of the state. The relief which must result from this diminution of public expenditure would spread confidence in various channels, and remove the pressure that is at present felt by many classes of society. The house would see that advantage would be taken of our financial condition to reduce immediately the weight of taxation. The proposal which he had stated on a former occasion, to reduce the property-tax from

from ten to five per cent., would produce a relief of seven millions. About four millions of this tax, which fall upon agriculture, will thus be taken off, making a moiety of the eight millions paid by the agricultural interest. In addition to this mitigation in favour of agriculture, he meant to propose the further relief of one million, arising from other sources of taxation, which the farming part of the community at present paid, making thus a reduction of their burdens to the amount of five millions. The class relieved comprehends those in schedule B, or the farmers. He meant to propose the remission entirely of the tax upon horses employed in agriculture. Some other reduction might be made, but in what proportion, or of what nature, could not now be stated, and must be reserved for future deliberation. What appeared to him to be as important, in our present situation, as immediate relief from particular taxes, were those means that might be employed for supporting and improving public credit. He would, therefore, in proposing the ways and means of the year, endeavour to abstain from any measure that had a tendency to press upon the money market; and he had much satisfaction in stating that he should not feel himself called upon to resort to a loan for carrying on the public service. If we could thus abstain from adding to our debts, which in the course of the last three years had been augmented by the great sum of 142,000,000*l.* and in the last year alone by 54,000,000*l.*, and if we could realize a saving of 14,000,000*l.*, he could not but congratulate the country upon our state and prospects.

He (Mr. Vansittart) would now

shortly state the principal heads of expenditure, and would begin with the navy. His honourable friend, (sir George Warrender,) one of the lords of the admiralty, would soon have to propose to the house the estimates connected with that department. In what he had to say, he would not be understood as fixing the peace establishment. He merely wished to state what would, in his opinion, be the supply for the year, leaving for future discussion and arrangement what would be necessary as a permanent establishment. In future years a great reduction may be expected; but he did not wish at present to state any opinion on a subject which could not, without time and experience of events, be decided upon. It would not appear remarkable that we could not, immediately after a protracted and extensive war, reduce our establishment so as to meet such a state of peace, when it is considered that three or four years intervened between the end of the American war and the final arrangements for a season of tranquillity. The number of seamen which he would propose for manning the navy would be 33,000. In the peace that occurred after the contest with America, the number kept up was sometimes 18,000, and sometimes 20,000. The ordinary and extraordinary expenses of this establishment he would estimate at 7 millions sterling. He did not think it necessary to enter further into details concerning the navy; but he would be a little more particular with regard to the army, as the subject would not come regularly before the house for some time. He begged gentlemen to bear in mind, that in our former estimates of the peace establishment for the

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army,

army, the force kept up for the service of Ireland was never included. On the present occasion, he would state the estimate for the whole empire. For Great Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, the number of troops proposed to be kept up would be 25,000 men; and for Ireland he likewise proposed 25,000 men. There would be 3,000 required as a kind of floating force for the relief of foreign garrisons, and for other incidental purposes. It might have been thought impossible to reduce our forces to such a small establishment, considering the immense extent of our foreign dependencies, and the necessity of supplying them from time to time with accessions of troops, as well as relieving them from the fatigues of distant service. This force would not remain permanently in the country. It would be continually changing place with the troops employed in our colonies, thus acquiring itself experience and discipline, and allowing those who have served abroad to return at intervals to their native land. Those in the colonies, and those at home, would thus improve in the qualities of a British army, the former by expatriation acquiring efficiency, and the latter recovering their truly British feelings by their return. The army to be employed in France, the right honourable gentleman stated at 30,000.

He then detailed the following numbers for our colonies and foreign dependencies:—for Gibraltar, Malta, and the other British garrisons in the Mediterranean, 11,000; for British America, including Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Bermudas, &c. 10,000; and for our West India colonies 13,000, including in this estimate 4,000 for Jamaica. Since the year 1792, we

had increased our possessions in that quarter to a great extent, by adding several islands to our dominion; and this additional force would appear small in proportion to the number of garrisons to be maintained. [There was here a laugh on the opposition benches; when the chancellor of the exchequer said, that whether these possessions were valuable to the country, might be afterwards discussed by the honourable gentlemen opposite.] The Cape of Good Hope would require 3,000, and Ceylon 3,000 troops. In our colonies, formerly, the great proportion, or nearly the whole of the force employed, was British. At present there was a very considerable mixture of natives composing the garrison detachments. They were found to perform the duty equally well, and thus there was a great saving of British lives, as the climate of our colonies was frequently detrimental to the health of our countrymen. The garrison of St. Helena might be stated at 1,200, the force on the coast of Africa 1,000, and that of New South Wales 800. The total of the military force upon the British and Irish establishments would, according to these estimates, amount to 99,000 men. He meant by this estimate to state, not the effective force, or the number of men fit for service, which, at any particular time, probably would not exceed eighty-five or ninety thousand, but the gross amount, including regimental deficiencies. The number to be employed in France he had already stated at 30,000; those required for the East Indies might be mentioned at 20,000. No call would be made upon the country for the maintenance of the troops employed as part of the army of occupation in France

France. They will be supplied from France itself, as they have hitherto been. The contributions fixed upon have been regularly paid, and no assistance will be required from England in future, as they will all be applied to the public service, except such a portion of them as will be given in the form of a gratuity, or as prize money, to the troops who raised themselves and their country to so much glory. The chancellor of the exchequer believed that, in law, the whole of these contributions might be considered as droits of the crown; but the prince regent, without consulting his own private interest, ordered the whole to be applied to the public service. The allies had agreed upon the propriety and justice of allotting 50,000,000 of francs, or something more than two millions sterling, to the British and Prussian troops, for their noble services in the battle of Waterloo. This sum had been placed at the disposal of the respective authorities of England and Prussia, and was divided into two parts—the British army, including the Hanoverians and the Belgians, receiving 25,000,000 of French francs, and the Prussian army the other half. The amount allotted to our government of the indemnities levied upon France was 100 millions of francs, or four millions sterling, and 800,000*l.* of this had been this year received. With the reduction of forces which he had formerly stated, the total amount of supply necessary for supporting our military establishment might be taken at 9,300,000*l.* This estimate was, however, exclusive of the extraordinaries, which he would now proceed to lay before the house. The commissariat might be stated at 680,000*l.*; the barracks 258,000*l.* and the whole extraordinaries at two

millions. The total for the army, including some items not mentioned, amounted to 12,285,000*l.*; for the navy ordinaries and extraordinaries 7,000,000*l.*; for the ordnance 2,000,000*l.*, and for miscellaneous expenditure two millions and a half. The ordnance last year amounted to 4,000,000*l.* There was one other item of expenditure which he had still to mention, and that would be created by a repayment to the East India company of two millions, which they had expended for services in the East Indies. In consequence of a pressure upon their finances, they had made a charge of two millions, and had already received 500,000*l.* in the precious metals which they had exported to their eastern possessions, and found a reasonable and seasonable supply. The whole of these estimates amount to 24,738,000*l.* To the bank it would be necessary to pay 1,500,000*l.* which, together with the sum formerly specified, and several other items, will make a general aggregate of 29,338,000*l.* for Great Britain and Ireland. There would be a separation of the charge for Ireland, as it was proper to keep the charges for the two countries distinct.

The chancellor of the exchequer then proceeded to state the ways and means. He had already stated a surplus of the grants of last year to the amount of more than 40,000,000*l.* which had been employed in paying arrears, and purchasing exchequer bills; and he would begin, for this year, with a very novel and unexpected item of revenue, and one that he was sure would give satisfaction to the house; he meant an additional surplus of three millions, applicable to the service of the country. This sum was subject to a contingency, by

which it might be reduced; but he would not hesitate to take it at the amount he had specified. The surplus of the consolidated fund was likewise subject to some uncertainty; but, in his opinion, might be stated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The annual taxes might be rated at 3,000,000*l.* and the war taxes of the excise and customs at 6,000,000*l.* The property-tax, with all the deductions which would be made from it, he would not calculate at more than 6,000,000*l.* The lottery would give 200,000*l.* The only remaining part of the ways and means was an advance of 6,000,000*l.* by the bank. The most eligible mode of providing for the wants of the state was one that would not injure public credit; and therefore, instead of proposing a loan of 12,000,000*l.*, which would have been necessary had the property-tax been abolished, and no assistance given by the bank, he had thought it his duty to continue a modification of that impost, and to apply to the bank for the advance he had mentioned. The bank had agreed to advance six millions, which, deducting one million and a half due to them for exchequer bills, would leave four millions and a half applicable to the service of the year. He had, in making this agreement, consented to recommend to parliament the continuance of the restriction on cash payments for some time longer; but no consideration for the wishes or the interests of that establishment would have induced him to consent to such a measure, had he not been of opinion that the resumption of cash payments on the 5th of July next, when the restriction act would expire, was impossible, and that the country could suffer nothing from its continuance. The bank is necessarily a great

holder of exchequer bills; and as 16 millions were, during the last year, paid off, he thought that it would be consistent enough with its ability to make the advance he had formerly specified. A further deduction might be expected to take place, as 18 millions still remained outstanding. The chancellor of the exchequer then stated as a favourable circumstance in our prospects of this year over the last, that the accounts have given so advantageous a result, although they have been made up two months later in the present year than in the last. He went on to show, that in point of public economy, in point of a real saving to the country, the arrangement with the bank was the best that could have been made for assisting the finances of the state. Instead of coming into the money market for a loan, which would certainly have depressed public credit, we had put off the funding till two years afterwards, when the tranquillity which this nation enjoyed abroad, and our improving resources at home, would make the addition of the debt less felt. He would, however, abstain from any further observations at present, as an opportunity would be given for discussing this measure, when he brought in a bill to carry the arrangements formed between the bank and the government into execution. The six millions are advanced at four per cent. interest for two years, and afterwards to be continued for three years longer, subject, however, to a renunciation of the agreement, by either of the parties, on six months' notice. The whole amount, then, of the expenditure, and the means provided for meeting it, were as follows:—

SUPPLY, 1816.		£.
Army		9,300,000
Commissariat		680,000
Barracks		258,000
Extraordinaries		2,000,000
		<hr/>
		12,238,000
Navy		7,000,000
Ordnance		2,000,000
Miscellaneous		2,500,000
Indian debt		1,000,900
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		24,738,000
Repayment to the Bank	1,500,000,	
Exchequer bill interest	2,000,000	
Sinking fund on exche-		
quer bills	260,000	
Debentures	900,000	
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		4,660,000
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		29,398,000
Irish proportion		2,910,354
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		26,487,646

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Surplus of grants, after discharg-		
ing debt in the Peninsula and		
America		2,000,000
Surplus consolidated fund		2,500,000
Land and malt		3,000,000
Customs and excise (war taxes)		6,000,000
Property tax		6,000,000
Lottery		200,000
Bank allowance		6,000,000
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		26,700,000

He concluded by observing, that he begged not to be understood as settling the peace establishment. It would be premature for him, or even for parliament, to decide what that should be, with any degree of precision; but he might assure the house that the executive would always be willing to cooperate with the legislature in taking those measures which should at once provide for the dignity and security of the empire, and conduce to public œconomy. He could not help congratulating the house, notwithstanding the gloomy views of some, on that disclosure of the flourishing condition of our finances which he had been enabled to make to-night. He hoped that further reductions in the public expenditure might afterwards be made, and that our pub-

lic credit, supported by the firmness and the wisdom of the legislature, would improve in a rapid and powerful manner, and carry us out of all our temporary embarrassments.—The right honourable gentleman then moved the resolution providing for the payment of exchequer bills, charged upon the aids of the present year.

Mr. Ponsonby objected to the military establishment, proposed by the right honourable gentleman, as enormous and unjustifiable, whether our foreign or domestic situation was considered; in no branch of our expenditure were retrenchment and œconomy more practicable and necessary, than in our military establishment.

The property tax had been mentioned as one source of supply; he must therefore thus early protest against its renewal, under any modification. He hoped and believed the country would not be cajoled, for it might be assured, that while the property tax existed, no retrenchment would be effected, no œconomy practised. The right honourable gentleman had stated that one of the features of his plan was to give support to public credit, by not taking a loan; in consequence of which, money being plenty in the country banks, the farmer would be relieved by them. Was it then the intention of government to enable the country bankers to render this assistance to the farmers by means of loans from the treasury? [Here Mr. Vansittart replied, across the table, in the negative.] He could not then very well understand by what magic the country bankers were to be enabled to assist the farmer, because there was no loan, unless the latter, in the first place, raised the value of his produce and increased the amount of his security. The

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borrower's property must be increased, before the lender could be expected to augment his advances. The remedy, if it did exist, must operate very slowly, and consequently could be of little use.

Mr. Brougham asked what diminution of expenses could be expected next year? The chancellor of the exchequer replied that arising from the employment of 10,000 seamen less. — Upon this, Mr. Brougham observed, The utmost that can be expected is a reduction of five millions, which will leave the establishment at an annual expense of 25 millions.

One great object in the plan which had been developed, was the relief of that distress of which not a syllable was to be found in his majesty's speech, in which, indeed, commerce and manufactures were declared to be in a flourishing condition. He conceived that the right honourable gentleman must have had some unpleasant feelings in now coming down to the house to suggest remedies for this distress, under which it was generally admitted they were labouring. He was sorry to find that the right honourable gentleman had not, on consideration, deemed it advisable to propose any measure founded on the suggestion which he (Mr. Brougham) had thrown out the first night of the session, with regard to the policy of altering the present law of usury. No reason, at all satisfactory to his mind, had been given for not proceeding to that alteration. The actual distresses were said to be temporary; it was because he trusted they were so, that he wished by some effectual measure to prevent the possibility of their becoming permanent. Whatever, therefore, afforded new facilities to those who were in a tem-

porary state of embarrassment, was extremely desirable. The vessel was at present driven by a storm; the object was to enable her to ride it out, and continue safe till she could right herself. It was of the first importance to adopt such means as would save the distressed capitalist from the necessity of bringing his property into an immediate and disadvantageous market. The existing law operated to prevent those, who actually stood in need of it, from borrowing on mortgage. One instance of this was as good as a thousand. The great life-insurance companies possessed, generally speaking, a very great capital—a much larger capital indeed than they could employ in the mere business of insurance; and if any men or body of men had the means of lending money on easy, moderate, and equitable terms, it was probably these companies. But how did they act? He believed he was correct in stating, and he spoke in the hearing of those who had the means of correcting him if wrong, that there was no instance of these companies lending money at 5 per cent. If there were any, it was probably to some great building proprietors, to whom a transaction of this sort might be in the nature of a *douceur*. How, then, do they proceed in their character as lenders? The law allows no more than five per cent. and the consequence is, that the contract is managed by a recourse to the annuity system. A common money-lender or Jew might then require 12 or 15 per cent. but the insurance societies are content perhaps with eight; but then the life must be insured in order to complete the security; this added two per cent. to the expense of interest, and thus rendered it impossible to raise money at a less *entire*

the cost than 10 per cent. The usury laws were the sole cause of this difficulty, for the present market rate of interest was only from six to seven per cent. The right honourable gentleman had stated his project to be, to avoid pressing upon the money market, but, on the contrary, to relieve it, by throwing into it the whole amount of the sinking fund, consisting of from 12 to 13 millions. The operation of this plan might be to increase, by raising the price of the funds, the moneyed capital in the hands of the great proprietors of stock; and thus, by augmenting the amount of money to be employed in private loans, in some degree to reduce the rate of interest. But such an effect must be extremely limited; and it was obvious, that if the existing law operated to prevent the insurance companies, with their overflowing capital, from lending, except in the way already described, its tendency would be very little affected by an additional influx into the general money market. What objection, then, could be urged to the alteration he recommended in the usury law? The measure had been long ago admitted to be perfectly safe; nor did he believe that the right honourable gentleman entertained any of those childish prejudices which were formerly excited against it. Another means of relief to the agricultural proprietors was, by repealing those absurd restrictions on the exportation of wool, which had no other effect than that of raising the price to the consumer, without at all enriching the grower or manufacturer. A more equal levying of the poor rates was also desirable, for the whole pressure at present fell on the land-owner. A manufacturer, who derived perhaps 15 or 20,000*l.* a year from his spinning

jennies, was only assessed for the poor-rates on his house or tenements. The landlord paid in proportion to the extent of his estates, and yet the manufacturer had quite as much, or rather more, interest in the population, and derived more benefit from their industry, than the proprietor of land, who only profited in the proportion in which we all benefit by the industry of the labouring classes. The poor-rates had another effect, which was extremely advantageous to the manufacturer—that of keeping down the wages of labour, and yet the act of Elizabeth had provided no mechanism by which the burthen could be equalized, and laid equally on property of every description. Perhaps it would require something like the machinery of the property tax, he trusted without its inquisitorial attributes, to effect this object: some good might be likewise done by modifying the law of tithe; but these were all mere suggestions, to which ministers, from possessing the means of obtaining accurate knowledge, as well as of carrying what was advisable into effect, ought to give due consideration.

On the subject of taxation, and how far all prices were influenced by, or made up of it, he should have an opportunity of inquiring, when the motion of his honourable friend (Mr. Western) should be brought forward. He could not, however, abstain from expressing the surprise, regret, and indignation, with which he had heard the amount stated of the proposed peace establishment. At any former period of our history, it would have been deemed an immense war expenditure. The right honourable gentleman had informed them, that 149,000 men would be wanted for the service of the year; and the expenditure,

penditure, it appeared, would be very little short of 30,000,000*l*. He himself saw no prospect of any reduction, except of the 10,000 men in the navy, or of the 40,000 in the army; which latter might be considered as taking place, and was exclusive of the aggregate amount of 149,000 still to be maintained. Every peace was called the best peace that ever was made; but each left us saddled with an increased military establishment. In former and in better times for the constitution, 5000 men were considered a large standing army, yet now we had 25,000 men proposed for Ireland alone. Then followed 11,000 for the Mediterranean. Gibraltar, perhaps, we were bound in honour to keep; but why keep Malta and the Ionian islands? He knew no reason, except that they were abundantly fruitful of patronage. We had next 13,000 men for the West Indies. This was an increase of 6000 troops, and was rendered necessary by the increase of our possessions there. But why were they so increased? Merely to gratify a small class of merchants and improvident mortgagees. Why had we kept possession of the Dutch colonies? He believed because the mortgagees would lose their consignments, if transferred to Holland, by the navigation laws of that country. Java had been given up because the climate was bad, yet St. Lucie was kept, and on no other pretence than that in a time of profound peace it was a good military and naval station.

The honourable member would next call the attention of the house to the subject of retrenchment in the navy. There was one item which called for immediate reduction; he meant the discharge of useless officers. Why, he would

ask, when we were in a time of profound peace, should we retain so many lords of the admiralty? At present there were seven officers employed in that department, but four of them might certainly be dispensed with; and he should not be disposed to vote a single shilling till it was shown that lord Melville and two other puisne lords could not discharge the whole of the duties. It might perhaps be some comfort to find, that now, when there were only 200 ships afloat, we had only seven entire lords to manage the naval administration; for if seven were necessary at this moment, not less than seventy would have been required when we had 1000 vessels sailing over all the world. He must, however, entreat the right honourable gentleman to look back to the peace establishment of 1792. At that period it amounted to no more than five millions in the whole. How could it happen, therefore, that at this time, when the power of our inveterate enemy was reduced, and our own was greater than ever,—when, indeed, we were in a state of peace more profound than after the treaty of Utrecht,—our establishment should extend to 25 or 30 millions? Yet such was the contrast of our situation, such was the practical result of all our brilliant achievements! The right honourable gentleman had denied that the price of provisions, was raised by the diminished value of the currency; but suppose every item was double what it was in 1792, it turned out that our peace establishment, instead of five millions, was to be twenty-five. This circumstance affected not only every man in the house, but every man in the country; and he felt persuaded that the right honourable gentleman would

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not keep up that establishment, unless he could give a most triumphant answer to the question, whence the necessity for such an increase of expenditure arose. In regard to the landed interest, all that the right honourable gentleman had proposed was, to relieve them of about one million a year, by reducing a small part of the tenant's property-tax, and repealing the tax on husbandry horses. This latter tax, however, was, in its whole amount, of very small importance; it ought, indeed, to be taken off, because it was injurious and impolitic in its principle: but it was quite a joke to say, that the repeal would afford any material relief. There was another tax much more worthy of consideration, which the right honourable gentleman had not mentioned: he alluded to the leather tax. The repeal of that obnoxious and oppressive burthen had been attempted, and was only lost by a majority of one: but if it were to be again brought forward, which he sincerely hoped it would be, the result might probably be very different. Nothing had been said of the war malt tax, which affected every man that had to supply his servants with meat and drink. He would forbear, however, from entering into the consideration of that subject, as an honourable friend of his had given notice that he would speedily bring it forward. As to that other measure, the property-tax, which was not only iniquitous in its principle, and inquisitorial in its practice, but calculated, as he thought, rather to impair than benefit the revenue; it now appeared, that instead of paying the whole, we were to pay one half of it. But, sanguine as the chancellor of the exchequer might be on that point, the honourable member was con-

vinced that that tax would never be voted by parliament. The whole country, he was persuaded, would come forward to oppose it: an earnest of their intention had already been given, and before many weeks were over, the right honourable gentleman would go down to the house and inform them, that he must have recourse to a little loan, and charge the interest on the sinking fund. But was there no other channel to which he could resort? Why should not Austria, our faithful, our magnanimous ally—Austria, who was so warmly attached to our interests, and so grateful for all our services—why should not she come forward, not to lend us money, for no other country than England was in the habit of lending money, but to repay us the money which, twenty years ago, we lent to her? At that period we advanced her seven millions, and she ought at least to pay the interest. It had been apprehended at the time, that she might not repay the capital; but it would have been next to treachery to say, she would not pay the interest. Why, then, should we not demand the arrears of interest, which amounted to between four and five millions? It would come to us at a most convenient season: but it appeared the chancellor of the exchequer had never thought of it. It would enable government to give up the war malt tax, which was calculated at two millions, and also the farmer's property-tax, which was about two millions and a half more, and this would afford a great relief to the landed interest. The honourable member would here conclude his observations. He had occupied the house a considerable time; but if he had gone more into detail than might have been expected, it was because

because he was desirous of entering his protest against the principles on which the right honourable gentleman wished to proceed. It was a duty which he owed to the house, and to the country, which had borne its burthens cheerfully, and was now anxious, at least in its expectations, that the utmost œconomy should be pursued.

Mr. Rose said the poor-rates had often been investigated; but as nothing could be done, it was useless to inveigh against them. Indeed they were of service to the agriculturalist by diminishing the wages of labour. No encouragement could be given to the exportation of wool, as there was no demand for it abroad. The property-tax had benefited individuals, for instance, stockholders; for the 3 per cents were at 47 when it was first proposed, and they were now at 60.

Mr. Western said the plan of the chancellor of the exchequer could not afford adequate relief. The rental of the kingdom, after paying taxes and other imposts, was annihilated by the pressure of agricultural distress. In many instances he knew no rent had been received for the last year. With respect to the income tax, he considered the honour of the house and of ministers pledged to its repeal.

Sir Robert Heron said that from the plan developed that night, the œconomy promised was a mere mockery, for it was no where to be found but in the speech from the throne. There could be no relief without a reduction of the expenditure in all its branches. While the country was looking to the practice of that œconomy which was promised, where could they more naturally expect it, than in the establishment of him, whom they considered the father of his people?—

When magistrates in the country were employed in hearing the grievances of labourers who had nothing to do—of shopkeepers who had no shops—of tailors and shoemakers who were without work, they might say in answer to their complaints, “I must acknowledge your wants and distress; I have little hopes of their disappearance; little relief to afford, and that little can with difficulty be paid; but then it is some consolation that, though starving, you are covered with glory! You stand in an imposing situation! Your armies have expelled one despot to set up another! Your prince spends as much on a thatched cottage as his predecessors did on a palace! and such is his taste, so magnificent his ideas, that he cannot endure to see the same furniture two years successively! So much does he delight in encouraging the arts, that he gives eight hundred guineas for a clock! a thousand for a Chinese cabinet! he has more lords of the bed-chamber than were ever heard of at any former period! And in a few weeks you will have a corps of royal lancers!” But if these topics are insisted on, we are immediately told there is a plot to vilify the royal family. If there be any such plot, they are the conspirators who advise his royal highness that splendid extravagance is necessary to the support of his dignity. They would consult the dignity of the prince regent in a much higher degree, by advising him to apportion his expenses to the circumstances of the times, and by reminding him that the causes of the French revolution originated in royal extravagance.

Mr. F. Lewis recommended a great and immediate reduction of the expenditure. Alluding to the state

state of the currency, he asserted that 25 millions had been withdrawn from circulation, which had occasioned property of every kind to fall in price.

Mr. Baring was still of opinion that the corn bill was impolitic and injurious: though now a dead letter, it had done mischief. To lessen, or even to remove the tax upon agricultural horses would be a paltry and inefficient relief. Considering that the campaign had lasted little more than three months, and ample supplies had been voted for a year, there ought to have been a greater surplus.

Mr. Brand censured the enormous military establishment proposed to be maintained, and stigmatized the income tax as one which all classes of people ought to unite in resisting. He recommended raising a small loan rather than continue this tax.

Mr. Yorke protested against the language of the honourable gentlemen opposite: they affected to say it was a permanent peace establishment, though Mr. Vansittart had repeatedly and expressly stated that it was only a temporary establishment, and would not be prolonged beyond the present year. Besides, the truest way to prevent war was to be well armed.

Lord Castlereagh wished shortly to draw the attention of the house to the real state of the question now before them. Gentlemen on the other side dwelt upon the supposed enormity of the establishment of 99,000 men; but was this amount, he would ask, the necessary criterion of future years? His right honourable friend had laid open sources of expenditure for the present year, which were in fact as much war expenses as those of last year; for it was impossible, while

the forces of the country were scattered over the extent of the globe, that they could at once be compressed within the amount and the expense of a peace establishment. It necessarily required a certain time to reduce even our militia establishment; still more to reduce the war establishment, and to bring home our navy from various quarters of the world. He admitted that the army was the great feature on which the house would have to debate. But here it should be considered that there was a large force of 40,000 or 50,000 men, many of whom had only just arrived, or were arriving in the country, that would cost at least 1,200,000*l.* for the present year, even though they were discharged the moment the hand of office could operate upon them. Above two millions more would be required, under the head of navy expenses, in paying off that branch. There was also the repayment to the bank of exchequer bills to the amount of one million and a half; also a charge of two millions more on exchequer bills to be paid off this year, and a charge of two millions for the ordnance department, though it never was suggested that this would be a permanent charge for that branch. It was evident that the sums he had mentioned would make a difference of eight or nine millions between the expenditure of the present year, and that of future years of peace. His lordship would not go through the estimates upon the table for the purpose of comparing them with those of 1792, upon which an honourable member (Mr. Brougham) had so much dwelt. Such a contrast was futile on many accounts; and Mr. Pitt, who had prepared those estimates, at a time when the French revolution was at its height, and when

when one statesman had gone so far as to declare that France was blotted from the chart of Europe, had himself acknowledged that he had been grossly deceived in his calculations: that great minister never ceased to regret the fallacious estimates he then produced for the formation of a peace establishment. The fit period to select for making a comparison appeared to his lordship to be 1802, after the peace of the preceding year, when the minister proposed a military force for Ireland of 23,000 men, and for Great Britain, of no less than 47,000 men. With respect to the first, it was not to be denied, that no rapid change to a state of tranquillity was to be expected; Ireland was not politically but socially agitated, and a larger number of troops was consequently required. The force for Great Britain now proposed was much lower than in 1802, and would doubtless be considered insufficient, did not ministers calculate that the troops in France were only, as it were, the advanced guard of our army, who might upon any emergency be recalled to our shores, and were only employed in watching over and securing the peace the country had acquired. He deprecated with warmth the indiscreet and unfair mode in which the subject had been viewed by the other side of the house. Gentlemen did not seem to recollect the situation of this country in 1792, and in what respects it was now essentially different. The whole system of the state was altered, all the departments were different; in short, there could be no change more striking than that which had taken place in Great Britain since the year 1792. To the state in which we then were, it was not possible now to return. He re-

quested honourable members to come to the consideration of this subject with calm and unbiassed minds, and not to be led away at this time of day by questions whether we ought or ought not to have abandoned our colonies, or whether it were politic or impolitic originally to enter into the war? The true view of the subject was to reflect upon the situation which we held, and which we ought to hold, and, with due regard to economy, to adopt such measures as would maintain us in that situation. Not less than 13 or 14,000 men were necessary for garrison duty and for the purpose of securing the due collection of the revenue, without whose aid other taxes must be imposed to make up the deficiency. It should also be remembered, that whatever nominal vote the house might make, it was impossible that the whole force should be effectually raised, at least one tenth ought on this account to be deducted; and it might be doubted whether the service could be properly performed by the 25,000 men proposed in the resolution. He would not now enter into the details; but on a future occasion he should be prepared to show that not a single item in the estimates had been calculated too high with reference to the present situation and the future prospects of the nation. There were two modes of viewing the subject; with respect to the expense incurred, and the numerical force of the troops to be employed; and no man of reflection for a moment could imagine that the charge of an army in 1792 was at all equal to the expense now incurred for the same number of men: the pay had been nearly doubled, and the system of pension that had received the sanction of parliament

parliament was a great additional burden. This was not a subject that would admit of hasty conclusions, and, above all, it was important to avoid leading the country to imagine that parliament and ministers had now only one duty to perform, viz. to reduce the taxation as quickly as possible. One gentleman had gone so far as to assert, that the house was pledged to the remission of all the war taxes, a sum of not less than 24 millions. Such propositions required no controversy; their own extravagance was the best refutation. He entreated the house to consider that his majesty's ministers could have but one object in view; they had but one common object with the country at large: œconomy was an object to which it was both their duty and their interest to attend; and, to establish themselves upon any other basis, would, in the end, prove one of the most idle attempts that could be made by short-sighted politicians. When the estimates were understood, his lordship was persuaded that they would give satisfaction; the country deserved to be dealt with plainly; and, consistently with the manly part ministers had supported during the arduous war, they would not now attempt to mis-

lead: the greatness of the nation depended upon its strength, and that strength upon its resources, the employment of which must be regulated by existing circumstances.

Mr. Ponsonby reprobated the argument of the noble lord, that because other nations of Europe kept up large military establishments, it was necessary that England should do the same. The noble lord, who of late had resided so much on the continent, and had imbibed so many continental notions, seemed almost to have forgotten that England was an island. The noble lord, however, in his predilection for continental systems of government, wished that Great Britain should follow the example of the great military powers of Europe; that a large standing army should be maintained, to supersede the ancient and acknowledged authorities. If the noble lord succeeded in persuading the house so far to imitate foreign nations, he would soon, without much difficulty, be able to perfect the resemblance by extinguishing the few remaining sparks of constitutional liberty in the country.

The resolutions were then agreed to, without a division.

CHAPTER IV.

Motion respecting the Bank of England—Lord Grenville's Motion for the Production of the Army Estimates for 1816—Mr. Brougham's Motion respecting the Conduct of Ferdinand—Debates on the Treaties in the Lords and Commons.

HOUSE of commons, Feb. 13.—
In consequence of two petitions from the corporation of London,

sir James Shaw and sir William Curtis expressed their strong and decided opinion against the continuance

nuance of the property tax. The former suggested a loan of six millions, and the payment of the interest of it by part of the sinking fund.

This suggestion was opposed by Mr. Horner, who contended that it would be a mere delusion on the country. We must meet and face our embarrassments and difficulties, and not conceal or put them off. Show him the real necessity of the expenditure proposed by ministers, and he would vote for it; but he was convinced it could not be shown. After many severe observations on the proposed military establishment, he said it was a project to alter our character, and make Britain a military power—a thing not practicable; and if practicable, to be avoided as a curse rather than desired as a blessing. We were naturally and essentially a maritime power, and to that we owed our prosperity and grandeur. We might think of taking rank among the military despots of the continent; but we should not be able to do so for any length of time. If we indeed became a military government, the constitution would soon fall before it. There was only one remedy, and that was to retrench.

The chancellor of the exchequer was willing to meet the honourable gentleman and his friends on their own grounds; he would undertake to show that the proposed establishment was absolutely necessary, and if necessary, it would be unwise to shuffle off the difficulty by temporary expedients. If we could continue our firmness for a short time, we should arrive at the end of our financial difficulties. As to the danger with which it was said the constitution was threatened, he thought if it had existed so long under an army of 18 or 19,000 men,

it could not possibly be endangered by an army of 25,000 men.

Mr. Tierney believed it to be the object of ministers to make us a military nation; they were obliged to act on this system if they wished to retain their places: they might use any freedom with the navy, but they durst not reduce the army; they might pay off ten ships of the line sooner than disband one regiment of hussars. He was not surprised that a preference was given, when mere external decoration was concerned, to an officer of hussars with his fur cap and whiskers, to a plain, jolly sailor, who could boast neither of the splendour of his dress nor the refinement of his manners. —The honourable gentleman concluded an animated and witty speech by calling on the house and the nation at large, to show ministers, that the liberties of England were not to be sacrificed, and its resources depressed, by maintaining a useless and dangerous military establishment.

Lord Castlereagh complimented Mr. Horner on the fairness of his conduct, and he was willing to admit, that if ministers could not satisfactorily show that the military expenditure was necessary, then the property tax was not necessary. Upon this ground he was willing to join issue.

Messrs. W. Wynne and Barclay spoke shortly against the property tax; after which the resolutions for the supply were agreed to.

Mr. Grenfell, after an introductory speech, moved that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the nature of the engagement subsisting between the public and the bank of England, and to suggest some equitable arrangement for the advantage of both parties.

After some discussion, during which

which this motion was opposed by lord Castlereagh and the chancellor of the exchequer, it was negatived by 84 to 31.

House of lords, Feb. 14.—The order of the day being moved and read—

Lord Grenville rose.—When he gave notice of the motion which he was now about to submit to their lordships, and took the liberty of proposing that their lordships should be summoned, he did not anticipate any opposition to the production of the paper which he intended to call for; and, since he had come down to the house, he had still further reason to believe that the motion was not to be opposed. It certainly rested on very strong grounds. If he had understood that there was any doubt as to the propriety of laying before their lordships this estimate, he should have stated two periods of our history at which motions similar to the present were made, and precisely on the very grounds upon which he now moved. The first was in the year 1742, when this country had entered into pecuniary engagements for the support of some points of continental policy. After the result of one campaign, a proposal was made for some further measures for the furtherance of the same object, and for making good engagements which the crown had, with the same view, already entered into. The lords at that period, in order to enable them the better to judge of the necessity or expediency of further engagements of that nature, thought it right that they should be informed of what would probably be the amount of the whole military expenditure, for the purposes then under consideration: and an order was accordingly made, that the estimates should be laid before them. The other instance was still more exactly in point. In 1756, 1816.

the lords called for the estimates of the year, in order to ascertain in what manner the blessings of peace could be best secured to the country. To enable their lordships now to do their duty, and to see how the benefits and blessings of peace could be best secured and preserved to the country, they ought to have the military estimates of the year before them. And their lordships would observe, that at the period, which he had last mentioned, the estimate was produced to the house on the very same day that the treaty of peace was laid on their table; so that it then appeared impossible to separate the consideration of the propriety and policy of the peace itself, from that of the military expenditure which might be necessary in time of peace. On these precedents he called for the production of this document. He called for it, first, because the country was at present called upon to execute extensive pecuniary engagements; and next, because, whether the treaty should be ratified, and the conduct of those who concluded it approved, or whether it should be ratified out of regard to the national faith—whether the conduct of those who concluded it should be approved or not—in every view, it was of the highest importance that their lordships should see what was the military expenditure which must accompany the peace. It was highly necessary, when their lordships came to congratulate his royal highness the prince regent on the restoration of peace and the establishment of a lawful government in France, (and none could more sincerely congratulate his royal highness on these events than he should)—it was highly necessary for their lordships to consider whether they could congratulate his royal highness also upon

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on this, that the peace was likely to be permanent; or whether, from the information which they might thus acquire, there was any reasonable ground of alarm on that topic. And, lastly, he called for it, because it was, above all, of the greatest importance that their lordships should take their share in those duties to the public recommended from the speech to the throne, by watching carefully over the public expenditure. It was important that their lordships should do so, because, in so doing, they only fulfilled the just expectations of the country; and he was sure that their lordships themselves would not be satisfied that they had done their duty, if they were negligent in a matter of such vast consequence to the country.

The question which their lordships had now to consider was, whether, after a struggle of twenty-five years, maintained by such immense efforts, and at such vast expense, they were at length to obtain the blessings of that real peace for which they had so long contended, or whether their situation was to be exactly the reverse; whether they were still to be charged with an immense military establishment; whether they were now to be called upon to take their military rank among the military states of the continent: whether they were to abandon the wise maxims and policy of their forefathers, by which the country had risen to such a height, and had been enabled to make such great exertions, and at an humble distance turn servile imitators of those systems which had been the cause of so much distress and calamity to the nations by which they had been adopted and maintained? That was what their lordships had to consider: whether the people of this country, after all that they had

done, after all the loyalty and firmness which they had evinced, after all they had suffered, and were still suffering, were to have, not the name of peace, but the establishments of peace—the expenditure and taxation of peace? and it is with that view that he now endeavoured to bring this document before them. For his own part, he pledged himself to their lordships and to the country, that never, either in that house or elsewhere, would he fail to give the most strenuous opposition in the power of so humble an individual as himself, to any attempts to entail such a monstrous burthen on the nation, and to lay the foundation of such ruin to the constitution as must follow from the maintenance in time of peace of an immense military establishment. He could not help, last year, expressing his dread that some such proposition was likely to be brought forward. His apprehensions were then considered as visionary; but he fairly confessed, that the utmost stretch of his imagination never came nearly to the amount of expenditure which was spoken of out of doors as likely to be proposed. He never did for a moment conceive, and he could hardly yet believe, that it was intended to keep up in time of peace, and in this year of peace, an army of 150,000 men. And if any thing could add to the astonishment and horror which he felt when he heard of such an intention, it was this, that an army of 50,000 men was to be kept up in the united kingdom. When that should be proposed, he trusted that time and opportunity would be given to discuss the proposition. He trusted that it was not in the course of one night, or one debate, that their lordships were to be persuaded so far to abandon the maxims and policy of their ancestors.

tors, as to cast away the hope of the blessings of peace and freedom.—For his own part, feeling as he did every year still less and less desire to share in the debates and labours of that house, yet, if such a measure as this were really to be brought forward, there was no exertion of which he was capable, that should be spared to prevent so great a misfortune. And should such a measure be at last adopted, if any reflection could then soothe the declining years of his life, it would be this—that no poor effort which could be made by so humble an individual as himself, had been wanting to avert from his country such a calamity.

He should now proceed to move— but he had forgotten another point upon which he intended to have troubled their lordships—He need make no apology for being warm—this was a subject upon which some degree of warmth might be permitted—But it was his wish, on this occasion, to have called their lordships' attention to the state of our establishment in a former period of peace—he meant the period between 1783 and 1793. The establishment of that period was now to be not only doubled or trebled, but quadrupled, quintupled, sextupled, though the amount of that establishment was founded upon circumstances not now existing, and was larger than a proper policy would at present justify. Instead of joining those who argue that our present military establishment ought to be superior to that which was then maintained, he should come to the house prepared to show that parliament would not do its duty, unless it insisted upon an establishment below that which then existed. He well remembered that at that period there was considerable doubt whether the establishment was not larger than

the circumstances called for. The subject was much discussed, and the propriety of so large an establishment was rested on the peculiar circumstances of Europe at that period. In 1781 the whole matter was laid before parliament, and instead of fourteen millions, of which they now heard, the question then was, whether the military expenditure should be 1,600,000*l.* or 1,800,000*l.*? And when at length it was fixed at 1,800,000*l.* the very next year the minister came down to the house, and proposed—he thought it worth his while to propose—a reduction of 50,000*l.*—no bad proof that it was not then thought that the military expenditure had not been fixed at too low a rate. Their lordships now heard of eight millions for the navy. The expenditure then proposed for the navy was two millions, or 1,800,000*l.*; and when it was fixed at 2,000,000*l.* a reduction was afterwards made in it to the extent of 100,000*l.* He had heard that it was said that the great man who was then minister had changed his opinion, and had observed that in acting to the best of his judgment, in requiring only 1,800,000*l.* for the army, and 1,800,000*l.* or two millions for the navy, he thought, on reflection, that he had ill discharged his duty. It was his fortune to have lived on the most intimate terms of communication and friendship with that great man. It was difficult for him, at such a distance of time, positively to assert a negative. But he did most positively declare—and he trusted their lordships would do him the justice to believe that he spoke as if he were on oath at their bar—that he had not the smallest recollection, that he had no belief, that Mr. Pitt ever expressed himself otherwise on that subject, than in terms of self-con-

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gratulation and conscious satisfaction that he had, by the most scrupulous economy, at that time enabled the country to meet that dreadful period of trial which it had afterwards to encounter. In 1792, Mr. Pitt in another place, and he (Lord Grenville) there referred to the circumstance, as a proof that those who had proposed such a reduction then, did not willingly plunge into war in 1793. Mr. Pitt might have said, that if he had known in 1792 what was to have happened in 1793, he would not have wished the establishment to be so low in 1792. And he said now, that if he could have then foreseen the extent to which the madness of the French revolutionists would have gone, and the extent of the folly, not to say treachery, of those who then directed the counsels of the king of France, he would have proposed a higher military establishment in 1792. But, as to the period between 1783 and 1792, he would say for himself, and undertake likewise to say for Mr. Pitt, that if they had been fully aware of what was to follow, they would not have proposed a higher establishment, for they were convinced that nothing but the lowness of the expenditure, at that time enabled the country to meet the expenses and sacrifices which it was afterwards called upon to endure. And if, for the benefit of this country and of mankind, we could now be blessed with the presence of that great man, he was fully persuaded that such was the sentiment which he would express. If, then, any thing were wanting, in addition to the sense of duty and a due regard to the public welfare, the weight of the authority of that great man must be taken into account. He was convinced, that if Mr. Pitt were now alive, he would,

on the ground which had been stated, have anxiously enforced the propriety of a low rate of military expenditure at this period of peace: and it was only by following the plan of that great man, and bringing the expenditure for the army and the navy to the very lowest practicable point, that any hope remained of extricating the country from those difficulties in which it was involved, and relieving it from those burthens which pressed so heavily upon it. He concluded by moving an address, &c. for the production of the estimates of the military expenditure of 1816.

The earl of Liverpool said, that he did not rise to offer a single word in opposition to the motion of the noble lord; on the contrary, he should be ready to supply all the information required. When the discussion should regularly come before the house, he should be prepared to meet all inquiry, point by point, in justification of the measures adopted by himself and his colleagues in office. He was willing that the question should be put upon this issue, whether a public necessity, or at least a public urgency, had not existed for every measure adopted in the formation of the peace establishment of Great Britain; and if the affirmative were not satisfactorily made out, for his own part he should submit to any censure, however severe, that parliament might think fit to pass upon his conduct. Such being his view of the subject, it might be supposed that all his duty now required was, to give his assent to the motion, reserving until a future day a more detailed explanation. But even if the noble lord had not thought fit to make the address he had just submitted, such extraordinary and unreasonable fears had been excited upon this subject, that he (lord L.), should

should not rest satisfied in the complete discharge of his duty, if he did not take this opportunity of entering more at large into several of the points, for the sake of removing some of these ill-grounded and idle misapprehensions. If such a line of conduct would have been necessary, even had the motion been simply put from the woolsack, it was imperiously demanded, after what their lordships had this night heard, no doubt with astonishment, not, indeed, at the maxims uttered and principles laid down by the noble lord; not at the anxiety he expressed, and in which all men joined, that not a single guinea should be expended that was not called for by an overpowering necessity; but at the extraordinary view he had taken of the necessities of the country in the circumstances in which it was now placed. He (lord L.) knew of no fairer mode of considering the subject under discussion than that which had been elsewhere adopted, viz. to consider coolly and deliberately, first, the real state of the nation with respect to her own dominions and those of foreign powers, and then to inquire what establishment was required to preserve the integrity of her possessions, and to maintain the rank in peace, that she had acquired in war. The noble lord had said much upon the subject of the peace establishment of 1792, and of its comparative economy; but surely he could not be ignorant that the present halfpay of the army, and the many additional allowances granted (as he had originally contended, extravagantly and improperly) by parliament, would actually amount to more than the whole extent of the military establishment before the year 1792.—Was the house to dismiss from its consideration these impor-

tant circumstances? was it to forget the enormous increase of expenses, and to follow the noble lord in his statements of hundreds of thousands, or of millions, without advertent to the manner in which they had been unavoidably expended? By such a proceeding, deception would be doubled, and the house, instead of rectifying error, would become itself the instrument of delusion.

He wished to say a few words upon the general nature of the peace establishment of 1792, and upon the opinion of a great statesman, to which the noble lord had adverted. From a date previous to the year 1792, he (lord L.) could say that he had lived upon terms of the closest intimacy with Mr. Pitt; and if the question had been put, whether it was not the opinion of that minister that he had in 1792 reduced the peace establishment lower than was consistent with the public safety, he (lord Liverpool) should have had no hesitation in answering in the affirmative; and he would add that if, after the opening of the new war, which had lasted for five-and-twenty years, there was no prospect of bringing it to an honourable conclusion at the end of two years, the protraction beyond that term might probably be ascribed to the low state of the establishment as settled by Mr. Pitt at the period referred to. In making any comparison, therefore, he must set out with the conviction that the peace establishment of 1792 was not such as was best calculated to secure the permanent interests of the country. As, however, for the purpose of illustration, it was necessary to make a contrast between the present and some former period, he had no objection to take that to which the noble lord had more especially referred. The

first point to be considered, was the army to be kept up in France and in the East Indies. By the treaty, the house was aware that the force in France was to be 30,000 men, and in acts of parliament it had been several times recognised, that the troops in the East Indies were not to be reduced below 20,000 men, making the whole army for the service of Great Britain and her colonies 95,000 men. In 1792 the amount of force for the same duties, was yesterday said to be 40,000 men, but the fact was, that it exceeded that number by 6,000, being 34,000 for Great Britain and the colonies, exclusive of the East Indies, and 12,000 for Ireland.

In order, however, to give the comparison with greater distinctness, he would divide it into three heads, and consider, 1st, the establishment for the colonies; 2dly, that for Ireland; and, 3dly, the establishment for Great Britain. With respect to the first, the house could not fail to reflect upon the difference between the extent of the colonies in 1792 and at present, and of course these acquisitions would demand an additional force for their protection. This force constituted a separate amount of 20,000, or, to speak with precision, of 19,400 men, whose duty was to occupy garrisons and stations in colonies that did not belong to the crown of England in 1792. If the noble lord should ask, if these colonies, during a long peace, would require that that amount of force should be constantly kept upon them, he (lord L.) had no difficulty in stating, that in time it no doubt would admit of diminution; but regarding them in their present state, and with reference to the existing situation of things in Europe, after the fullest consideration, it had been thought that 19,400 men were the

lowest estimate of the troops now required by our newly acquired colonies. As to the old colonies, those which had long continued in our hands, he was ready point by point to state the force now devoted to each, to notice the difference between that amount and the numbers in 1792, and to justify the augmentation by reasons he considered satisfactory. First, as to the colonies of British North America, including Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and the islands of Bermuda; it was proposed that the force for these situations should be augmented from 6,000, which was the amount in 1792, to 10,000 men; and with regard to Canada, that the population since the former date had been nearly double; indeed the whole district of Upper Canada might be said to be almost a creation within the last twenty years. The same argument would apply to New Brunswick, and other situations; and his lordship confidently put it to the house, whether the addition of 3,400 men was more than the altered circumstances of those colonies required. The Leeward Islands and Jamaica claimed the next consideration, where a force of 5,600 men was to be disposed, being an increase of 2,100 men upon the numbers in 1792. The portion that would be stationed in Jamaica was 4,000 men, being 1,000 more than at the former period. Their lordships were aware that, during the war, the Black corps had been of very great service, and had enabled ministers to dispose a considerable number of the regular troops previously posted in Jamaica, in situations where their services could be more actively beneficial; it would likewise be recollected, that it would be a work of time and difficulty to
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reduce these Black corps, and he apprehended that no man would wish that these valuable possessions should be left merely to the care of the Negro regiment. It was intended to reduce them gradually; but, until that was accomplished, a larger regular force than was employed there in 1792 would be necessary. An additional reason for this augmentation, was the fact that Guadeloupe and Martinique were now in the hands of the British forces, and would remain so until garrisons could be sent out from France, and the period of their departure it was at present impossible to fix with any precision. For the present year it seemed unavoidable, therefore, that this country should sustain the increased charge arising from the employment of this larger force. The next item had not been noticed in any preceding estimates, although no doubt some small force must have been stationed upon the coast of Africa; it was now proposed to engage 1,000 men upon that duty. In New South Wales the number of troops employed in 1792 was 325, to which 475 men were now to be added. Under the peculiar circumstances in which the island of St. Helena was placed, which he would not now discuss, the house would not be surprised to learn, that an effective garrison of 1200 men was intended to be quartered there. Besides the enumerations he had given, their lordships would be aware that 5000 men were supposed to be constantly afloat for the purpose of interchanging with garrisons in various parts of our possessions.

The result of the whole of the statement into which he had entered was, that with the exception of 3400 men for North America, which he admitted was a positive addition, the garrisons of 1792 had not been

augmented in the old colonies, excepting under pressing and evident necessity. The propriety of the increase of the garrisons of North America would depend upon questions of general policy, upon which ministers had exercised their best discretion.—The next division related to the force which, under the peace establishment, was to be employed in Ireland. The increase, compared with 1792, was 13,000 men, and all his lordship could say upon it was, that the question must stand upon its own merits; but he confidently believed that no person acquainted with the present state of that country would advance the opinion that 25,000 for the service of the sister kingdom were a larger force than circumstances demanded. Those circumstances might be changed, and no man more ardently wished they might be changed; but the question was, whether a less force than 25,000 could now properly discharge the duties of the garrisons, &c. in Ireland? He would admit, for the sake of argument, that instant remedies could be applied to heal the wounds in Ireland; that a specific had been found, to accomplish all that the most sanguine had for years hoped in vain; still it could not be denied that the force stated was at present necessary, and that for years it might be required, until the supposed medicine began to produce the desired effect.—The third and last topic was the military establishment for Great Britain, and the amount of 25,000 men was larger by 9,000 men than the number deemed requisite in 1792. But if the amount of force was different, were not the circumstances of the country different also? and, with reference to those circumstances, this was the only fair mode of viewing the question. First, he

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would ask, had not the population of Great Britain increased, since the period named, to the amount of two millions? and would it be contended that this was not one fit cause of augmentation? All the civil establishments within the last twenty-five years had also been greatly multiplied and extended, and some of the naval departments, the dock-yards for instance, instead of constables or watchmen to protect the public property, now employed soldiers. Even some of the regulations adopted for the army itself since 1792 had created a necessity for an augmented force, and among them, that which could not fail to meet the approbation of parliament—the abolition of the system of drafting from one regiment into another, which, in some instances, was formerly an instrument of cruelty. Prior to the destruction of this practice, vacancies in regiments in the East or West Indies were supplied by taking a number of men out of other regiments not immediately employed; but, now it must be obvious that the whole regiment must be changed at once, or the station of no part of it could be altered. This, of course, would require an addition of force not requisite in 1792. He could never have advanced so extravagant a proposition as had been attributed to him—that the amount of force at home must be increased in proportion to the number of men employed in garrisons abroad; but though not a proportionate, yet some ratio ought to be fixed, unless it were to be said, that when once a regiment was stationed in the West Indies, or in any distant colony, it was never to be changed, or to be allowed to revisit its native country. It would not be argued, therefore, that a reasonable relief ought to be given; and that relief would require

a greater or smaller number of men, in proportion as our foreign garrisons were many or few, large or small. Under all the circumstances that had occurred since 1792, his lordship did not think that the addition of 9,000 men was beyond what the necessities of the state demanded, and upon that issue he was ready to meet any noble lord that thought fit to maintain an opposite opinion. The chief ground of complaint, however, against the proposed peace establishment, was a jealousy lest the principles of the constitution should be infringed. Could any man say, that, with a force of 25,000 men in this country, such fears were reasonable. And the house would besides recollect that they were not 25,000 effective men; but, in fact, that the general waste of the whole army must always fall upon the force retained at home. But even if the whole 25,000 men were effective, and fit for service, such constitutional jealousy as had been evinced by the noble lord would be misplaced, and, considering the fact, was completely groundless. It was not necessary to use any arguments to prove that such apprehensions ought not to be excited, since the facts spoke for themselves, and were the best refutation of what had been advanced.

Having thus gone through the various items of the estimates for which the motion had been made, his lordship again asserted, that the peace establishment of 1792 had been reduced too low for the security or the interests of the country, and he reminded the house that that establishment was fixed after the nation had been ten years at peace, while the present arrangement was to be made in the first year after a war that had continued for five-and-twenty years. With respect to the

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30,000 men to be quartered in France, he had nothing to say upon the present occasion, because they had, in fact, no reference to the peace establishment: doubtless, upon any resumption of hostilities, it would be right to take them into the calculation; but at present they might be withdrawn or reduced, as circumstances might render necessary. Upon the whole, his lordship submitted, that the troops included in the estimates for the peace establishment, were only equal to the guards and garrisons which, under the circumstances, it was necessary to maintain; and upon this ground he was now, and should be hereafter, prepared to contest with any noble lord, who, entertaining a different sentiment, should think fit, in his place, to endeavour to maintain it.

The marquis of Lansdowne said, that having been one of those who entreated the people of this country to bear their great and grievous burthens, on the principle that they would be relieved from them by peace, he could not now hear, without the deepest regret, that in this just hope they would be deceived, even after every object had been accomplished to the attainment of which they could look, and that it was now in contemplation to render our permanent establishments equally incompatible with the pecuniary means of the country, and with constitutional principles. Even after the statement which had been made by the noble earl, he would assert that great and unnecessary burthens were meant to be imposed, and would shortly advert to the grounds on which such expensive establishments were recommended. The noble lord had, naturally enough, divided the consideration of the subject into three parts,—the military

force required for the colonies, for Ireland, and for the home service. As to the first of these, he had told the house that a large increase of force was necessary to be kept up in Canada; and the reason he assigned was not a little extraordinary, namely, that the population of that colony was doubled since 1792, leaving it to be presumed as if that population was a hostile one, not the bred-up subjects and supporters of the British government, but its betrayers and opposers. Was it in this view that a large increase upon the establishment of 1792 was required for Canada? (*No no*, from lord Liverpool.) If increase of population was to be deemed a reason for an increase of military force, then it might equally apply to the Ionian islands, to Ceylon, and other recent acquisitions. After a few years, the noble lord might come down to the house, and say that all these possessions had thriven so much in population under our fostering care, that he must propose 40 or 50,000 more men for our colonial establishments, in which case it might be said, that the country would actually die of its own prosperity. Had we not been told also that the very reason why many of our colonial acquisitions had been retained was, that they afforded defence and protection to the rest; that the Cape of Good Hope, for instance, and the Mauritius, afforded a valuable security to our eastern possessions? If it was not meant by this that they gave us the power of maintaining our old possessions at less expense than before, then it was needless to have them at all, and they were a mere dead weight on the finances of this country. The noble lord had also stated, that a considerable portion of our West India force consisted of Negro corps, which could

could not be immediately reduced. Now, as these Black regiments were chiefly in our old colonies, what was there in the climate or constitution of the men, to hinder them from being transferred to our new colonies, and thus rendering unnecessary a part of the 19,000 men destined for our colonial establishments? He next came to the military establishment for Ireland; and here he would not say that the situation of that part of the empire did not require such a force as 25,000 men; but, at the same time, parliament should have before them the facts which proved its necessity. He now came to England; and here again the noble lord resorted to his favourite position, that an increase of population required an increase of military establishment—as if here there was reason to dread disaffection and hostility. But, in defending the proposed military establishment for this island, the noble lord had left out of view this most material fact, that we were to have 30,000 men in France on the one side of us, and 25,000 in Ireland on the other, from either of which, government had the power of drawing supplies at any time it thought proper. What sudden emergency was then to be dreaded, that could make any standing army necessary at all, except what was absolutely necessary for our few garrisons, and the protection of our dock-yards? But the noble lord had even forgotten, that last year the proposed peace establishment was to be only nineteen millions. Why was it now to receive an increase of from three to four millions? What were the circumstances that should now render it more extensive? Was Bonaparte in less security at St. Helena than he was at Elba, where, by the bye, we were told last year that he had

been most wisely placed? Was there any thing in the state of the French military or naval power to afford ground of uneasiness? The military force voted for England after the peace of Amiens was indeed 43,000 men; but at that time Bonaparte had the complete control of Spain and Portugal, and was master of Italy, though even then that vote was proposed for only six months, and was expressly stated as not meant to be the permanent military establishment of the country. Yet it was now proposed to vote a larger permanent establishment upon the whole, than even at that period of danger. Was it not fair, that when the people of this country had, by the lavish expenditure of their blood and treasure, destroyed the French navy, and succeeded in compelling the reduction of the French army, they should not be subjected to the same burthens as if the power of so systematic an enemy remained entire? He could not but give credit to the noble lord for the wise measures he had adopted for raising the financial credit of the country; but it was equally important that he should remove from the springs of internal action that immense pressure which he was preparing to impose upon it. The attention of the people was alive to this subject; and he hoped that, by the information which his noble friend's motion would procure, parliament would be enabled to fix a due proportion between the means and the establishments of the country.

Lord King thought that the large permanent establishment proposed by ministers was an experiment which would show how far the patience of the people, and the servility of parliament, could be carried. It was neither more nor less than an attempt to place this country on a level

level with the great military powers of the continent. The noble lord had intimated, that if the military establishments of this country had been higher than they were in 1792, the war of the French revolution might have been terminated in two years. Did the noble lord still feel sore that he was disappointed of his march to Paris? But he would ask, could any force of ours at that time have met the French *levy-en-masse*? Another argument was, that more men were wanted for our colonial possessions than formerly; and to supply them, of course, a much larger force must be maintained at home. This was the real drift and object of the whole. But were the recommenders of such a military establishment so utterly ignorant of the true resources of this country, and of what had enabled it to make those prodigious efforts that had struck other nations with amazement? It was of the last importance, that, after such efforts, the people should be allowed to sink into a state of repose and calm. Did not every one see that what placed it out of the power of continental nations to make those exertions with which this country had astonished the world, was the perpetual stretch and tension of their means even in time of peace? To imitate the continental powers was in fact casting away the real advantages of our insular situation.

The motion was then put and agreed to.

In the house of commons the same day, the chancellor of the exchequer, in a committee of ways and means, moved for the ordinary war taxes on malt, &c. next the ordinary annual taxes on pensions, &c. and lastly, the issue of eleven millions of exchequer bills.—The resolutions were agreed to.

After which there was some conversation on a proposal of the chancellor of the exchequer, to make suitable accommodation for the vice-chancellor.—Sir S. Romilly contended that the office of vice-chancellor was of no assistance to the chancellor: whereas lord Castlereagh maintained, that in three years the vice-chancellor had disposed of no fewer than 17,000 different proceedings, and consequently his office must have been beneficial.

Feb. 15.—Mr. Brougham, in an animated and eloquent speech, called the consideration of the house to the manner in which the Spanish patriots had been treated by Ferdinand. The charges which Mr. Brougham brought forward, were, 1st. That Ferdinand had signed the treaty of Valency with Bonaparte, by which he abandoned the cause both of Britain and Spain; and that he had, even after he escaped from confinement, done every thing in his power to confirm and execute it. 2d. That he determined to destroy the constitution, and also the friendship between Spain and this country, and that he had carried this determination into effect, partly by British assistance—the vanguard of Elío's army dispatched against the cortes—a body chiefly of our creation—having been led by a British officer, general Whittingham; and lastly, that this monkish sovereign had exercised the utmost injustice and cruelty towards those who had fought for his throne, and whose cause we were bound to espouse.

Lord Castlereagh, in reply, asserted, that the king had all along protested against and disavowed the treaty of Valency—that, so far from having determined to destroy the constitution, he had returned to Spain

Spain with the determined purpose of accepting it; and that it was only when he found what the real state of the nation was, and that the constitution would not be congenial to the feelings of the people, that he refused to accept it. With respect to the cortes, so far from ever being our friends, or under our influence, or deserving of our interference and protection, they could never be brought to co-operate cordially with us; and they were actually at one time determined to withdraw the command of the Spanish troops from the duke of Wellington. The party called *liberals* or the cortes, though an anti-French party, were also anti-British: they refused the duke of Wellington admission into Cadiz. They were violent revolutionists, and would not admit Ferdinand's right to the throne, unless he acknowledged that the sovereignty resided in the people. With respect to the individuals who had been exposed to severe punishments, ministers had interfered in the fullest extent, and that interference was still acted upon; all pecuniary aid had been refused, till a system of less severity was adopted. The cortes were not liberal in their political sentiments, or so just and humane in their conduct as the honourable gentleman represented them to be:—the refusal to accept the constitution was even pressed upon the king by a deputation from them, and they had been guilty of the greatest acts of cruelty.

Mr. Brougham complained that ministers had not deemed it fit to render his motion unnecessary, by informing the house that they had already interfered with Ferdinand in behalf of the persecuted members of the cortes.

The motion was negatived by 123 to 42.

On the 19th of February, the subject of the treaties concluded with foreign powers was brought both before the house of lords and the house of commons. The discussions in both houses were very long and animated.—The objects which we have in view in giving the parliamentary debates, will, we think, be best answered by giving at length the speeches of the earl of Liverpool, lord Grenville, and lord Holland in the house of lords; by which means all the information contained in the debate in this house will be laid before our readers, and they will also have it in their power to collect the sentiments of ministers, and of the two parties in opposition—that of lord Grenville and that of lord Holland—on the interesting subject of our foreign connections, and the whole line of our policy during the last campaign. With respect to the debates in the house of commons, on the treaties, as they do not contain any facts or arguments materially differing from those which were brought forward in the house of lords, we shall select only such speeches as illustrate the sentiments or display the eloquence of the respective speakers.

The order of the day having been read, the earl of Liverpool rose. It was now his duty to call their lordships' attention to the treaties which had been laid on their table; and in so doing, the first circumstance which suggested itself, and which indeed forced itself upon his notice, was, the extraordinary rapidity of the success which had attended the military operations of the late campaign, as well as the complete nature and result of that success. It was only on the 25th of May last that their lordships had addressed the prince regent, and promised their aid towards the re-establishment

establishment of peace and security in Europe. Their lordships then heard the dismal forebodings and evil prognostications as to the result of the policy which they had thought proper then to adopt. In little more than three weeks from that period—on the 18th of June, Europe was again delivered at Waterloo. In a few days after, Buonaparte was forced to abdicate, and on the 3d of July Paris capitulated to the duke of Wellington and prince Blücher. He thought he might safely say, that there was no instance in the history of this or any other country, where, considering the magnitude of the operations and the object, the success was so rapid, and so complete and decisive in its nature. He stated this, because nothing could set in a higher point of view the exalted merits and glorious services of the commander and the troops. But had he not also a right to say, that the government in such a trying moment had not been wanting in its duty, when, under the circumstances which then existed, it had collected and brought to bear upon the enemy, within so short a time, a body of troops capable of performing such great and important services? And might he not further say, that it was a strong presumption of the soundness of that policy upon which this country had acted, that the power of the adversary, which had been represented as so formidable, was completely overturned by the effect of a single victory? If that power had been rooted in the affections of the people of France, as had been sometimes and in some quarters asserted, was it to be believed that it would have been so speedily destroyed? This, then, was the first circumstance which must naturally press itself upon the attention of the house—the rapid

and complete success which attended the military operations of the campaign. But, before he proceeded further to state the nature of the measures adopted by the allied powers, he must explain the principles upon which they were founded; and with that view he must look a little back, and observe in what situation this country stood with respect to France and the allies at the time when these operations commenced, and also at the time when the negotiations which led to the treaties now before their lordships had begun. In 1814, when the allies had entered Paris, and the war was finished, the great principle upon which this country and the other allied powers had acted, was that of liberality. The principle of the treaty of Paris in 1814 was that of great liberality towards the French government and the French nation. Many indeed thought at the time that this had been carried too far, and in one or two instances this might be true. But, though ill applied in one or two instances, yet he was prepared to contend that the principle itself was just and wise. The object at that time was to make the government then established in France satisfactory to all parties, and to take away all pretence for disaffection and revolt. And he could not help looking back upon the policy which had then been followed with a great deal of satisfaction. If the allies had not acted upon this principle of liberality and confidence towards them, it might have been said that the hard conditions imposed by this country and the other powers, and ungenerous advantage taken of the state of France, had occasioned the revolt which afterwards took place. But, by the liberal nature of the policy which had been adopted, all pre-
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tences of that description were taken away. The object had been to show every respect to the king of France, and to repose every confidence in him and in the French nation that was consistent with the repose and security of Europe. The principle was that of rendering the government popular in France, and establishing a state of things in that country the best calculated, as far as could then be seen, to lay the foundation of lasting peace in Europe, by providing for the internal tranquillity of France, with which the peace of Europe was intimately connected. This was the policy then pursued; and if their lordships would carefully advert to what happened afterwards, they must, he was persuaded, be convinced that the re-action which took place was the consequence of the revolt of the army, and of that only. It certainly could not have been owing to any undue severity in the government; for his firm belief was, that a milder government, under such circumstances, never existed. That there might have been some errors in the government, as there must be in all governments conducted by fallible men, he did not mean to dispute; nor was the circumstance extraordinary. But the general policy of the government was mildness, and a disposition to secure the good-will of all parties; and the errors, if such there were, arose from that fallibility to which all human operations were subject. He thought it material to mention these particulars, as connected with the situation of France at the time of the landing of Buonaparte in the beginning of March 1815. The effect of that operation was certainly wonderful and unexpected. He had heard it said out of doors, that the success was to be ascribed to this wrong

and that error of the French government. But his firm belief was, that the success of Buonaparte's attempt was not owing in the slightest degree to any error of the government of France; it was owing, as he had before stated, solely to the revolt of the army. That was the sole cause, and whether the policy of the government was more or less wise, signified nothing as to that circumstance.

As to whether any precaution could have been taken, so as to prevent the success of Buonaparte's attempt, he would not now consider. But the fact he took to be perfectly clear, that the success was owing solely to the revolt of the army, together perhaps with the circumstances of surprise which attended the enterprise. When the news of Buonaparte's landing first reached the allied sovereigns at Vienna, the declaration of the 13th of March was published. That declaration, it must be observed, was issued merely on the intelligence of his landing, before they had heard of his success; and this was manifest from the terms of that declaration, which expressed a hope that the French themselves would repel the attempt. The object of it was to excite the French themselves to repel it, or, in case they had risen for that purpose, to excite them to greater alacrity and perseverance, by showing them that the allies were determined to support them. It was intended as a species of stimulus to the French for the accomplishment of a purpose in which all were so much interested. Such was the proceeding of the allies before they knew of Buonaparte's success. On the 25th of March that treaty was signed which had last year been laid on their lordships' table. That treaty was entered into after the allies knew that the enterprise of Buonaparte

parte had been, to a certain extent, successful. They were then aware that he had entered Lyons. But it was material to observe, that it had been concluded before they knew that the king of France had been under the necessity of quitting Paris, before they knew that Buonaparte had entered the French capital, and while they conceived that, even if the king should be obliged to leave Paris, he would still be at the head of a powerful party in some other part of France. It was concluded in the belief that Louis XVIII. was then *de facto* king of France, at the head of a strong force, either at Paris or some other part of the country. This appeared from the terms of the treaty; for it was stated, that in case the king of France demanded assistance, he was to mention what force he himself could bring forward. Such were the circumstances under which the treaty was concluded at Vienna. When it came over to this country, it was known here that the king of France had left Paris and France, and had retired to Ghent; and under these new circumstances the ministers here had to consider how far they could adopt that treaty. They had therefore thought proper to accompany their acceptance of it with a declaration which their lordships were already acquainted with. The design of that declaration was to show, that in adopting the treaty, though we most anxiously desired the restoration of Louis XVIII. and considered that as a matter of the first importance, yet we did not mean to bind ourselves to engage in war with France merely for that object. When the treaty with this declaration was received again at Vienna, the allies concurred in the views of the government of this country, and made a counter declaration to the same

effect. Whether that was among the papers on the table, he was not certain; but, if it was not, their lordships had a complete view of the policy of the allies on that occasion in the clear and distinct letter of lord Clancarty. It then came to be considered, whether the 8th article of the treaty, by which the king of France was to be invited to accede to it, (that article being inserted under the idea that Louis XVIII. was then *de facto* king,) could be executed. Matters stood upon a different footing when it was understood that the king had quitted the French territory; and the consequence was, that the 8th article was never executed, and that the king of France had never been invited to accede to that treaty, and had not, in fact, acceded to it. It was necessary to go into that detail, in order to show the relation in which this country stood, with respect to France and the allied powers, at the time when the operations of the campaign commenced. The result, he conceived, was, that there was no engagement by this country and the allies with the French king. They were bound in regard to each other, unless any of them chose to release the rest; but they were under no engagements to the king of France, who had never been invited to accede to the treaty, and never had acceded. On the other hand, though there was no positive engagement on our part with the French king, he was ready to admit, that from all that had passed, and the recognitions we had made, we were under a species of honourable and equitable engagement to support the pretensions of Louis XVIII. as far as that could be done without trenching on the principle which the government of this country had promulgated as the rule of its conduct. It was the anxious

anxious wish of the government of this country that Louis XVIII. should be restored to his throne, and it was the professed object to do every thing that could be done for that purpose, yet so as not to make that restoration a *sine qua non* of peace. Their lordships, therefore, would easily see the distinction between the terms of the treaty as it stood before it was known that the king had left France, and the nature of the engagements which were actually entered into after all circumstances were under the view of the allied powers. The object of the treaty of the 25th of March was the general security of Europe. Experience had proved that that security was essentially connected with the internal state of France, and that Europe never could be secure while the government of France was founded upon a military force and a system of aggression and conquest. The great alliance of Europe could never have been cemented, unless the object had been the general security of Europe, without any view to the interests of any particular power, except in so far as they were connected with that grand object.

Before hostilities commenced, three alternatives presented themselves for consideration to the allies. The first was, to treat with the actual government of France, if it could be treated with upon any reasonable terms; which was highly improbable. The having to do with any government in France, except that which he considered as the legitimate government, was an alternative which he confessed he could not look at without dismay. If that alternative, however, had taken effect, we should have been entitled to insist on the principle of cession and dismemberment to any extent that we might think expedient, and

had power to enforce. No government, except the legitimate government of France, had any claim to the confidence of the allies, so as to induce them to forbear from insisting upon every thing that might be necessary for the security of Europe whatever might be the sacrifice on the part of France. The second alternative was, that the French themselves might have risen and restored their exiled sovereign. If that had taken place—if the French themselves had restored Louis XVIII. then he conceived the government of France and the French nation would have stood, with respect to the rest of Europe, in the same situation as before, and that the stipulations of the treaty of Paris of 1814 ought to be strictly adhered to. The third alternative was, that the king of France should be restored exclusively or chiefly by the efforts of the allies. In that point of view, the allies would act upon the most liberal policy, with respect to the restored government, that circumstances would admit of; but, after what had happened, they were fully entitled to insist upon some indemnity for the past, and security against the recurrence of such an event in future. Then it appeared that there was no specific engagement with the king of France, and that, upon his being restored by them, they were bound, by their duty to their own subjects, to accompany that restoration with such conditions as would afford sufficient security for the peace of Europe.—Then what was the course of events? On the 18th of June that memorable conflict took place which decided the fate of Europe—a conflict the most tremendous and extraordinary that ever happened in the annals of the world—a conflict remarkable, not only on account of the

the prodigious talents displayed by the general, and the exalted valour of the troops, but also on account of this peculiarity attending it, which had been noticed by the general himself—that it took place in so narrow a space, (and narrow indeed it was, considering the immense force engaged in it,) that it was, in fact, a trial of the moral and physical strength of the two nations. Their lordships knew the issue of that conflict. That power which had been raised by the sword fell by the sword. It had no hold in the affections of the country, or even in the two assemblies. It rested merely on the army: that army was crushed, and the country was open to the duke of Wellington and prince Blücher, who advanced without opposition to Paris. The provisional government, which had acted after the abdication of Buonaparte, dissolved itself, and the king returned, and was immediately received into his capital. The allies had then to consider, after the French army had been disbanded, what new arrangements were to be made in order to provide for the future repose of France and of Europe. He had already stated that the allies, under the events which now happened, were entitled to demand some indemnity for the past and security for the future; and they had to consider how these objects could be attained with the least possible hurt to the feelings of the French government and people. Here there were conflicting duties. In 1814 the allies had acted upon a principle of confidence in the French nation: that, however, could not now be done; and their duty to Europe, and to their own subjects, required that they should insist upon some effectual security for

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the future tranquillity of France and Europe.

This led him to the consideration of the terms of the treaties now on their lordships' table; and if, in considering these, he did not enter into all the minute circumstances connected with the arrangement, it was only because he was anxious that their lordships' minds should not be so embarrassed with a multiplicity of details, as to preclude a due attention to the great principles upon which it was founded. The arrangement was founded on three principles: 1st, The military occupation of part of France by the allied troops for a limited number of years. 2d, The pecuniary compensation which the allies were entitled to exact from the French government. 3d, A territorial arrangement.—Though all of these were important, the first was the most essential, and that upon which the others depended. There might be different opinions as to what sums of money, or what territorial cession might be required; but it was evident, that nothing effectual could be done without keeping part of the troops of the allies in France for a limited period. This principle was then indispensable and essential for the due performance of the other conditions; for the payment of the pecuniary indemnity, and the due execution of the territorial arrangements, depended on the internal tranquillity of France. Considering then the extraordinary efforts made by the allies, the right to demand a pecuniary indemnity could not be disputed, and in fact it was not disputed by the French government: but it was necessary that the demands of the allies in this respect should not only be kept within the bounds of justice, but

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within the limits of the ability of the French government to pay. It was clear that 700 millions of francs were not beyond the just claims of the allies; and this, it was conceived, was no more than the French government could pay; but then it was evident that this payment could not be made all at once; and it was perfectly just and equitable that part of the allied force should remain in France, and some of the French fortresses be held by the allies till the payment should be completed. This was just in itself, and consonant to what had been done on former occasions. The next point was that of territorial cession, and there was no doubt but the allies were entitled to have demanded a much larger cession than had been actually required. If it had stood merely on the right, however, it might have been a question how far it was expedient to insist upon it: but the allies had to revise the treaty of Paris of 1814, with a view to the consideration of what additional security ought to be demanded for Europe. This, however, was a matter of considerable difficulty; for the allies had to consider, not only what extent of cession might be required, but also how and to whom to dispose of the territory ceded. It appeared to the allies that, considering all the circumstances, they had a right to a retrocession of all that territory not belonging to France at the period of the commencement of the revolution, which had been left with her under the treaty of 1814. Regarding the integrity of France, then, as the basis of the arrangement, the allies had thought, that as portions of territory which had belonged to other powers had been left to France because they were *enclavé* within

the French territory, it was but just that portions of territory belonging to France, *enclavé* within the territories of other powers, should be surrendered to them by France; and on this principle certain portions of the French territory were assigned to the Netherlands, to Prussia, and other powers.

It had been the opinion of the duke of Wellington, who in 1814 had made a survey of the Belgian territory, that the fortresses adjoining France might be put into a practicable state of defence and security, by completing the works in some of them, and restoring the dilapidations in others. This survey would be ever memorable, not only from the practical consequences of it, but also from one circumstance of striking peculiarity—that when the illustrious commander came to the spot which had since been the scene of his triumph, he observed, that if ever he had to contend for the Low Countries, Waterloo should be the position which he would choose for maintaining the struggle. The opinions of a man, whose anticipations had been so completely confirmed by subsequent events, became doubly important: and, acting from such suggestions, the allies thought it highly expedient that a part of the French contributions should be applied to the restoration of those Belgian fortresses—a mode of applying them, which was considered at once as most useful to the Netherlands, and least wounding to any honest pride of the French themselves. At the same time the allies felt themselves entitled to possess such of the opposite French fortresses as were not surrendered by military occupation, till the works of the fortifications on the Netherlands frontier should be perfectly finished.

finished. The great object was to establish a sufficient frontier partly by cession and partly by military occupation—an object of equal importance to the safety of the external territory and to the internal tranquillity of France. He was, however, still prepared to state, and to state it as a justification of the policy pursued by the allies, that a considerable majority, at least three-fourths of the people of France, were sincerely and ardently attached to their legitimate king, Louis XVIII. This opinion he had asserted in a former debate, and every thing he had heard or seen confirmed him in that opinion. There had been, as their lordships knew, two legislative assemblies called together within the course of the last year; one elected under the direction of the individual who at the time assumed the sovereignty, the other more recently elected under the auspices of the rightful monarch. It was no trifling argument against the pretended popularity of the late chief, that even the assembly of his own collection had shown but little attachment to him or his fortunes: but a still stronger argument might be deduced from the dispositions and feelings evinced by the present chamber. If any noble lord would take the trouble of examining the lists of the electors of the two chambers, he would find that the partisans of the king were not merely double the supporters of Buonaparte, but that nearly three-fourths of the electors had shown by their votes their attachment to the legitimate government. He was not more than one-fourth of the electors in favour of their inclination for the unlawful sovereign. It was true that the king had made a small addition to the number of the electors in each department, but the augmentation altogether was not more

than one-tenth of the whole. It was thus evident, that in point of numbers, as well as respectability, the king's government was the more popular. He did not, however, mean to assert (for how could any man venture such assertion?) that there was not a very considerable party hostile to the legitimate dynasty. When he looked at a large portion of the members even of the legislative assembly; when he considered that 30,000 officers had been disbanded, and must therefore continue to be an immense focus and centre of discontent and disaffection, he could not doubt, nor could any man who exercised a good and honest sense of things for one moment doubt, that a large party existed in France whose great wish it was to overturn the government, to uphold that profession of conquest and spoil in which they had been nurtured, and to make the sword the sole instrument of external and internal rule. Were the allies to be blamed for this? Was England to be charged with this evil disposition of a French party? It had been their earnest wish and endeavour to reconcile the army to the king: the project had failed: the army had been from necessity disbanded, and discontent and danger were the natural result. Till this discontent had been removed, till this danger had been subdued, would it have been wise, would it have been safe, to leave France to the machinations of those turbulent spirits, uncontrolled by the presence of foreign power? There was no inconsistency in this argument, or in this conduct. The great majority of the French people were in favour of the Bourbons, and yet there was also a great and active and powerful party anxious, from desperation, to overwhelm the throne; and which, from

its military composition, would be able to overturn it, unless checked and rendered powerless by the vigilant interference of external force. Nor would the principle of dismemberment, which some had advocated, at all have tended to ensure internal tranquillity, unless accompanied by military occupation; but would rather have added to the internal discontent, while it would have exasperated even the well-disposed against the government and its allies.

Upon the whole, then, England had adopted the plan of military possession for a certain time, from a conviction that it was the most just, both for itself and for all Europe. He was aware that objections had been made to the right of interference with other governments: this had been so ably argued last session, that he should not now discuss the subject at length, though, as it had been renewed, he would just notice it. He must say, then, that he could not conceive on what ground this objection was founded. He could not find any, either in the writings of statesmen, or in recorded treaties, or in the traditional principles which regulated the external policy of nations. The great principle of all government, in its domestic or foreign relations, was self-defence either against direct attack, or against probable or premeditated danger. The balance of power, if traced to its true source, would be found to be derivable from this principle. Certainly it was to be allowed, that in common cases the internal concerns of a particular nation ought not to be meddled with by another nation; but if these concerns affect the very existence of other nations, then it became a duty to interfere, for the same reasons which justify an interference of a third power

between the quarrels of two contending countries. If such a position required illustration, he might refer to the familiar case of a nuisance or a fire. If the house of an individual presented cause of just and manifest offence to the adjoining houses, both natural and municipal law allowed the neighbours to interfere, and insist on the abatement of the subject of offence. If a house were in flames, did either morality or law require that a man should wait till his own house caught the conflagration, instead of rushing forward at once to extinguish the danger, even by the demolition of the house from whence it issued? The only question was—Is the danger evident? Is there a necessity for self-defence? He would not say that a mere apprehension of danger was sufficient; the danger should be open and apparent: but in the case of France he would ask, whether the danger had not been felt and experienced for twenty years? One would have thought indeed that the French revolution formed of itself such a case as should be made an example of: if no precedent had existed which could be applied, a precedent might in this instance have been fairly created. But it had been asserted that no examples existed, which could warrant the present conduct of England and its allies with respect to France.

It was triumphantly maintained that no treaties could be found where the principle of such interference had been avowed. How different, it was said, were the proceedings connected with the accession of king William and of the house of Hanover! In answer to such assertions, he would ask—Had the gentleman who advanced such arguments ever looked into the treaties relative to the accession of those two houses?

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He would first call the attention of their lordships to a treaty between queen Anne and the States General, in the 2d article of which it was stipulated, "that no power having a right to call in question the succession of the house of Hanover, the States General thereby engaged and promised to assist and aid her majesty, and her heirs or successors, towards maintaining the said succession, or towards opposing those enemies, either external or internal, who should attempt to disturb or prevent it, either by open war or by domestic conspiracy." In the treaty of Jan. 27, 1713, there was a similar article, where the States General further engaged, after the decease of the queen to assist the house of Hanover in obtaining and keeping possession of the throne of England. And in the 15th article of this latter treaty, "All kings, princes, and states, who might be willing, are invited to accede to the same." In the 7th article of the treaty of triple alliance there was likewise a stipulation, that if the government of the house of Hanover were disturbed by any internal plots, France and Holland should furnish the same succours as in case of foreign invasion. Here then were treaties and solemn engagements, made under the sanction of the parliament of Great Britain, not against foreign enemies, but against internal conspiracy and sedition. There were indeed some people who would maintain that the accession of the house of Hanover was not then desired by the majority of the nation; and certainly all must allow that, at the time alluded to, there existed in this country a most formidable party in wealth, rank, connexions, and talent, which was decidedly hostile to that illustrious house. The wiser part of the nation had, however,

demanding them for its rulers: and he would ask, whether there could be any principle which justified the English nation in then calling upon foreigners for interference, which would not now even more amply justify England in its interference with the internal direction of French affairs? No man could be less willing to become an advocate for the house of Stuart than himself: but he could not help observing, as to the rival dynasties of Stuart and Brunswick, and their probable influence and consequences upon foreign nations, it could have been of very little importance to other states by which of the two houses England might be governed. But here, in the case of France, there was no rational hope of internal tranquillity or safety to any individual state of Europe, unless there was a direct interference with the domestic management of France.

He knew that there were some who maintained that the dismemberment of France would have been better than this continued intermeddling with its affairs: and certainly, if any man were to ask him, as an abstract question, whether he would wish to see France curtailed, he would not answer in the negative; but another question rose—to whom the detached members of its territory should be given? for, if they were given to a power incapable of maintaining them, such power would be weakened instead of strengthened by the accession. To put the question fairly, he would inquire whether, for instance, the security of the Netherlands would not be endangered, rather than confirmed, by the possession of Lille and Valenciennes? If, indeed, the policy had been to humiliate France, or to reduce it as far as possible to a second-rate power, then no measure should have been observed in the

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treatment of it: it should have been dismembered to any extent, provided its provinces could have been put in the possession of those who were able to preserve them. But the allies had very different objects in view. With respect, indeed, to the spoils and trophies of former conquests, it was but just, that when fortune turned in favour of the allies these acquisitions should be considered as in some measure the just fruits of victory, as far as related to the restoring them to their original possessors. The mode of removing them might be humiliating; but the principle was just, and such as no sensible Frenchman would dispute. If, on the other hand, the provinces of France had been dismembered, a feeling of hatred would have been excited never to be conquered: and how would any state, though gifted with these accessions, be able to make a stand against the desperate exasperation of a people stung into putting forth all its strength? And how could such a risk be justifiable, when, as in the case of the Netherlands, the best means of defence in other states were to be found in the states themselves? The great object of England had been to keep the alliance entire. Where the different interests of the allies excited some natural disputes and difficulties, the ministers of England felt that they should have incurred unpardonable guilt, if they had not given way in matters not of pre-eminent importance, in order to reconcile all parties. It was not unnatural that the countries bordering on France should wish to have their territories augmented: and it was a happy circumstance for this country to be so situate as to be able to be a sort of disinterested mediator in those contentions: for though the proximity of our position to France rendered the state of that country

a matter of the highest importance to us, yet our insular situation precluding the notion of any immediate interest with its condition, allowed our interposition and arbitration to be viewed without prejudice or passion.

Upon the whole he might fairly say, that there had rarely been an arrangement where all interests had been so carefully provided for. What was it that had been undertaken? We were bound to restore the unmolested possession of France to its king at the end of five years; but we were not bound to restore it to any other government then existing: and thus time was given to the king to correct those evils which could not be corrected in a moment. Throughout all these transactions Great Britain had no merely personal object in view; her conduct had been purely disinterested, and she had taken especial care not to prejudice the king of France in the eyes of the people of France. As to the removal of the pictures and statues, that was a great act of justice, whether considered in relation to the past or the future. Whatever partial and temporary exasperation might exist on this subject, sure he was, that if those works of art had remained in France, they would have been a perpetual rallying sign for revolutionary principles, inasmuch as they were the trophies of revolutionary triumphs. Proud he was of the part which this country had borne in the transaction, because not a single statue or picture had been taken for itself: still prouder was he because it had obtained that every one of them should be restored to their original owners. Indeed, so strong was his feeling on this particular point, that much as he deprecated their remaining in France, he should have preferred even

even that to their being sent either to this country, or to any to which they did not rightfully belong. There was one subject, however, on which some gentlemen had called in question the disinterestedness of the policy of this country: he alluded to the Ionian islands. It was pretended that the possession of them would be a fresh source of jealousy to foreign states, already too jealous of our maritime strength. In answer to this, he would state, that the voice of all Europe was unanimously consenting to consign to England the protection of these states, at once so interesting in themselves, and so surrounded with delightful and important associations. All Europe felt that it could not hesitate to pay to England a compliment so deserved by its own conduct, and so useful and acceptable to the states themselves. Thus was the world saved from a project of universal empire, and consequently universal despotism, a project compared with which the views of former princes, however ambitious, had been circumscribed and insignificant. For a revolutionary government, and its attendant tyranny, had been substituted the mild habits of a legitimate sovereignty. All states were in a progress of amelioration. The paralyzing influence of Buonaparte had been annihilated—that influence, which not merely checked the career of political free-thinking, but, interfering even with the liberty of science, of philosophy, and of morals, bound in its slavish chain the whole system of education, and moved directly and unbendingly to its sole object—the making man a mere machine, to be managed at the unlimited will of a military despot. Such a despotism the world had never before seen, and thank God, it was now, he hoped, for ever abolished!—Let us now look to our

own proud situation. What quarter of the globe did not resound with the fame of our achievements? nay what spot was there, however remote, where the British name had not become nobly memorable? How high our character stood for honour and good faith! No longer now was heard the antiquated charge of our abandoning our allies: for was not all Europe ready to bear witness, that as we had been the first to bear the brunt of the contest, so we had maintained it with manly perseverance, and had throughout faithfully and strenuously fulfilled all our engagements? It was not to be expected that such a peace, after such a war, should not bring some difficulties in its train. In fact, the difficulties were generally greatest after the most successful and glorious wars, as in the case of the peace of 1763; but in a short time property and expenditure would find new channels; and by persevering in a middle course, without rash experiments, all difficulties would be in time overcome. Meantime he must be allowed to express a confident hope, that the re-establishment of old principles would preclude all new contests, and ensure a general tranquillity, which might last at least as long as the dreadful struggle from the severities and perils of which this country had so gloriously emerged. His lordship concluded by moving an address to the prince regent in approbation of the treaties, applauding the moderation and justice of the principles on which the allies had acted, both with respect to their conduct before the last campaign and after it, and expressing a hope that the contest with revolutionary principles was now at an end for ever, and that the present peace would be permanent.

Lord Grenville said, that on many

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ny points connected with the treaties before the house, he fully concurred with the noble earl; and on some others, in which he disagreed, he had had repeated opportunities of stating his opinions, nor had subsequent events or reflection led him to retract or to qualify those sentiments. When the usurper of France returned to resume his government, he had been driven to the painful but inevitable conclusion that immediate war was required, and from this conviction he had urged fresh preparations on the part of Great Britain, and renewed exertions on the part of the allies: as the danger was imminent, the necessity was urgent. In all, therefore, that had fallen from the noble earl upon the justice of those hostilities, and in the warmest tribute that could be paid to the glorious mode in which they had been terminated, he most cordially joined: the result indeed had far exceeded his most sanguine expectations, however great had been his reliance upon the gallantry of the forces, or upon the skill of the general by whom they were commanded. Having thus urged the commencement of war, he rejoiced at its conclusion; and in proportion to that satisfaction was his hope, that the peace conquered by the arms might be secured and established by the government of Great Britain: he trusted no less that ministers would take care that the people should enjoy the real blessings of tranquillity, as a reward for the sufferings they had so long and so patiently endured. He rejoiced, no less than the noble earl, that a legitimate government had been once more established in France—not mere legitimacy of birth, but in the true understanding of the word, that legitimacy which was founded upon the principles of the constitution, upon the condition of

the people, and upon a due regard to the various ranks and divisions of society. In that sense, he held the present government of France to be legitimate, without more regard to the question of birth than had been shown in our own revolution, where the regular succession had been abandoned for the sake of supplying a government legitimate by the laws and constitution of the country. What previously existed in France was a military usurpation, inconsistent with the rights of men: what now was restored was consonant with the liberties and privileges of all classes. A final overthrow had now, he hoped, been given to the triumph of those principles avowed during the French revolution, which had for object, not the maintenance, but the destruction of social order and happiness; resembling only in name that memorable revolution of this country, by which all contests were decided, all dissensions reconciled, and all wounds healed. The French revolution, while it inflicted upon that devoted nation a greater mass of misery than had ever before been endured, scattered desolation and anarchy over surrounding countries. As a friend of liberty, therefore, he most ardently rejoiced in the destruction of those detestable and slavish principles, and in the restoration of social order and a representative government.

The great abstract questions that might have arisen upon these treaties, were now narrowed to a mere inquiry relative to the interests of Great Britain; and those parts of the treaties which guaranteed the maintenance of tranquillity were as much the subject of his eulogy as of the noble earl's, because all men must agree that in them the happiness of this country was more peculiarly consulted. The first point that

that naturally arose out of this part of the subject was, whether we had a right to interfere for the more effectual attainment of this object; and it was his (lord Grenville's) firm conviction, that not only the happiness but the safety of England depended upon the interposition of foreign powers in this respect. He begged the house to advert to the revolution of 1688, the principles of which would amply justify any steps this government might take with regard to France, to prevent the possibility of a speedy renewal of hostilities. Did not our great deliverer, with no vested right, and no claim to the crown, but the people's will, land upon the British shores with a foreign army? He thought that not only the interest of this country, but the safety of Europe, depended upon his measures: he came to drive away an odious tyrant and the pensioners of France: he claimed to be, in his own words, *Vindex securitatis Europæ, assertor libertatis Britannicæ*; and it was for some time a matter of doubt whether it would not be necessary for him to do that which of late had been so severely reprobated, viz. to call in the aid of a foreign army for the final establishment of the liberties of the country. In the present case, as the war was necessary, it was just, and the conqueror had a right, by the law of nations, to impose upon the conquered such terms as would prevent the recurrence of the evil for the remedy of which the war was undertaken. For these reasons, upon this important point he had never entertained an opinion opposite to that of the noble earl, and upon some of the minor questions, respecting the restoration of the monuments of art plundered in the spirit of the most uncivilised barbarism, he had entertained as little

doubt: the propriety of returning them to their real owners did not depend upon the intrinsic value of the objects themselves, but upon the importance attached to them by the vanity and vain-glory of the actual possessors. The motive that had induced the French to concentrate these works in Paris was not a love and reverence of the arts; they had been seized and borne away as the spoil, and in the insolence of conquest; their pride was gratified by this humiliation of mankind; the exaltation of themselves by the debasement of other nations was the ruling principle of French revolutionary policy; and in this view it became a matter of moment to remove this food for vanity, which, instead of satisfying, only excited a fresh appetite for conquest and domination: by this removal also a moral lesson had been read to the people of France on the respect due to property, while the dignity and independence of the other nations of Europe had been effectually asserted. His lordship even regretted that, by the delay of this retribution, a shadow of doubt had been cast upon its justice: he wished that it had been made one of the articles of the capitulation of Paris. The exercise of the right of conquest would thus have spared the king the pain and odium of an unwilling resignation.

The noble earl had said much upon the disinterested conduct of Great Britain, more particularly in the negotiations at Vienna; but either this country had objects to attain which she ought not to have relinquished, or it was idle that her minister should attend deliberations in which she had no concern. That the general security and independence of Europe was to her a matter of the first magnitude, he (lord G.) would be the last to assert; for that

that the continent could be enslaved while England was free, was a notion that could not enter the imagination of the wildest politician. The question regarding the Netherlands was to her of the utmost consequence: but what importance could be attached to the possession of the Ionian islands, he could not conjecture, unless they were to be used as an excuse for the enormous military establishment that ministers were endeavouring to maintain. In his lordship's judgment, not a regiment, not a single British soldier, ought to be stationed in them; and the only reason yet assigned was of rather a singular nature—that because those islands were to enjoy the benefits of British dominion, they were, like the parent state, to be afflicted with a standing army. The next point regarded the securities which this country had obtained; and adverting to the treaties signed before the return of Buonaparte, they might perhaps fairly be censured as being dictated too much by feeling, and too little by reflection. Perhaps more full information ought to have been obtained before ministers ventured to trust to the rapturous exclamations with which the allies were in the first instance received by the people of Paris, as their saviours and deliverers. It was vain, however, now to lament over the confidence so misplaced in that versatile people, which had cost the country so dearly in the precious blood of its inhabitants. Perhaps generosity had never been more nobly displayed, and certainly that generosity had never been more perfidiously requited. Whether it were wise or unwise originally to make that experiment, was a question not now before the house, and fruitless in the discussion, unless to impress upon the world the important lesson which events had af-

forded. The noble earl had put several cases, in the principle of which he (lord G.) concurred, though the principle had been carried too far; but he contended that under the circumstances in which France had been placed, it would have been a mockery not to consider her in the light of a nation actually at war, however some factions might be divided in the interior. Securities were therefore necessary from the king; though, of course, the terms ought to have been more severe, if the British government had treated with Fouché, Carnot, or Buonaparte. The first measure of security undoubtedly was the disbanding of the army, which had restored the usurper, and rekindled the flame of war. The natural benevolence of the present sovereign of France, which in his situation was sometimes inconvenient, had formerly induced him to rely upon that army, under the flattering appellation of the saviours of their country, and the restorers of their king; but he had recently found it necessary to annihilate the power of those whom his generosity could not conciliate. But this was not the only security required that the peace of Europe should not be disturbed: wise policy and the soundest principles of justice required that France should be dismembered, not in the invidious sense in which the noble earl had employed the word, but that her power should be so reduced as no longer to be able to break in upon the tranquillity which other states were anxious to preserve. The dismemberment which he (lord G.) referred to, was such a reduction of territory as was consonant with the usage of Europe, and with the practice of France herself. It was far from his wish to exert any portion of the insolence of power that France had recently displayed:

displayed : but if our ancestors had acted wisely in endeavouring to establish a balance of power as the best security, it was a policy that ought now to be pursued as being just because it was wise : yet, from the date of the treaty of Utrecht to the day when Buonaparte entered Moscow, the power of France had exceeded the limit to which it should have been confined. Louis XIV. like Buonaparte, had fought not for justice, but for glory ; not to redress, but to inflict wrong ; not to restore territory to injured states, but to aggrandize his own : and both these conquerors, in the end, had met with similar disappointments ; for Louis XIV. after trampling upon surrounding countries, at last found himself at the mercy of those whom he had roused by aggression, and insulted by humiliation. To the eternal disgrace of England, however, she lost the glorious opportunity then afforded ; and at the treaty of Utrecht, instead of accomplishing objects of solid security, she employed herself only in petty pursuits of commercial advantages. The consequence was, that France retained her overbearing influence, and by that means succeeded in wresting from Great Britain her valuable colonies of America. Within these few months another opportunity, still more advantageous, had been lost ; and when the noble earl spoke of a liberal policy, he ought to recollect that liberality was still more due to ourselves and to Europe. The northern frontier of France, which Louis XIV. had extended, by wresting the Netherlands from a great military power, the house of Austria, was a point of peculiar importance to Great Britain, Holland, and Germany. All the precautions taken in and subsequent to the barrier treaty had been unavailing, and

France, whenever a war occurred, uniformly broke through all the guards that had been erected ; the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was compelled by the fact that France was actually in possession of Antwerp, and was overpowering Maestricht by a successful siege. History therefore showed the necessity of some even greater securities in this quarter than had hitherto been obtained, notwithstanding the often-quoted opinion of the duke of Wellington, that he would rather fight a battle at the gates of Brussels, than with all the advantages of a triple line of fortresses. Having neglected this opportunity, perhaps the measure next to be recommended was the uniting of the Netherlands to Holland : but experience within a few months had shown that, notwithstanding, three days would bring an active enemy to the very walls of the capital.

The noble lord, anticipating these remarks, had said, that the cession of this frontier would inflict a deep and rankling wound on the people of France. But how far was this principle to be carried ? or, if the feelings of the people of France ought to be consulted, how would the noble earl vindicate the measures that had been adopted ? Yet if every town on the northern frontier had been dismembered from France, she would not be contracted within her fit and ancient limits. The application of the principle of delicacy which the noble earl for the first time had introduced into politics, if carried to its extent, would permit France to overrun once more all the countries of Europe : if she were not to be restrained, because her pride or vanity would be wounded, what security was there that the allies might not have to fight again all their bloody battles for independence ? In his lordship's opinion the
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allies were bound to insist upon a considerable diminution of the power of France; and he was convinced that those national sacrifices would in every view have been more effectual in establishing tranquillity in France and in confirming security in Europe. To the contributions that had been levied he did not object on principle, because compensation was due in justice to those who had suffered: but the extracting of money from the people was an act of much greater humiliation than if territorial indemnification had been secured: besides, contributions were hardly ever found to pay even the cost of collection. But on the face of the treaties, the pecuniary compensation was so trivial and contemptible, that his majesty's government had not thought worth while to make any mention of the expected sums in the estimates drawn up to meet the expenses of the year: they were in fact as dust in the balance, compared with the enormous burthens to be laid upon the country for the peace establishment. At the same time it was to be remembered, that though the amount was insignificant for us to receive, it was grievous for the French to pay; and, in the collection, it fell not only upon the actors in the scenes of iniquity, but upon the victims. In his lordship's opinion, this was the last sacrifice that the people ought to have been compelled to make, since it was that which would most effectually defeat the object of ministers, if indeed they were anxious to secure the popularity of the family of the Bourbons. The demand for money came home to the breast and bosom of the meanest individual; it was felt by all as a private injury, while the securing of a just barrier to a neighbouring state would have been regretted by none. The effect of the

system now pursued was, that while other nations were enjoying the fruits of peace by decreased burdens, Louis XVIII. was compelled to impose additional taxes upon his subjects, as well upon those who had expelled him, as upon those who had been the means of restoring him to his throne. The people of France would not fail also to draw a disadvantageous contrast between the government of Louis and that of Buonaparte; the reduction of taxation would have been a balm to the wounded feelings of the people, instead of which the French were compelled to submit to heavier burdens than the military despot had ever laid upon them, for the purpose of enabling their conquerors to enjoy the luxuries of peace. These contributions also, it should be remembered, were not merely for one, but for three or five years, during which time, if the people submitted, Louis would be a severer taskmaster than his predecessor, who made them the gilded slaves of his usurpation.

Upon the question of humiliation, it could not be denied, that while the frontier towns for five years continued under the dominion of foreign troops, the subjection would be much more severe and galling, and even in those where the discipline of British troops was observed, daily and hourly disturbances must occur from the rising of the inhabitants against those whom they would call their oppressors. This anomalous mode of occupation would provoke resistance, while a regular and decided cession of the place would put an end to all disputes, and produce compulsory acquiescence. Attempts had been made to reconcile the people of England to the employment of 30,000 men in France, on the ground that the whole expense was to be borne

borne by the country in which they were quartered. This assertion was, in the first place, one of the greatest fallacies and delusions into which a minister had ever fallen, but which could not impose upon the good sense of the country; and in the next place, if such a force were necessary abroad, he (lord G.) would infinitely rather that it should be maintained by British than by French pay. He could not but view the accumulation of this large body of men, at so small a distance from our shores, entirely at the will of the sovereign, without a constitutional jealousy and suspicion: and that jealousy was increased by the circumstance that parliament was deprived of one of its two constitutional modes of control over the armies of the country; it was a most dangerous precedent, and he was more particularly opposed to any thing that, in the eyes of Englishmen, could render a standing army of such a magnitude less disgusting. The statement, however, was a fallacy and deception, inasmuch as, if the French government would consent to the sacrifice necessary for the maintenance of such a force, it would consent to the payment of an equivalent, and thereby give the parliament the power of paying those troops, or of devoting the money to any other purpose. It therefore was evident that, in this respect at least, an improvident bargain had been made, which besides threatened, in a constitutional view, the most alarming consequences. It had been justly said by the noble lord opposite, on a former occasion, that the greatest evil that now existed in Europe, was the enormous military establishments of the different powers, and the military spirit that had been thence introduced. Hence he should have thought that the monarchs

of Europe would have felt it an imperious call upon them to reduce their armies, not only as most burthensome to their people, but pregnant with dangers to their own thrones, already tottering under the weight.

If, then, there was one axiom more evident than another, it would have been, in the first instance, for the allied sovereigns to reduce that exorbitant power that first led the way to immense military establishments; and, in the next place, unless their professions of regard to Christian principles were all mere words and sound, whose only object was deception, to have proved their sincerity by this test—the reduction of their standing armies by common consent. Thus would they not only have alleviated the burthens of their people, and checked the military spirit of the age, but have guarded against the most pressing dangers which threatened their own thrones. It might be said with perfect truth of that system of standing armies, of which France set the first example, that after first destroying the state, it next destroyed the sovereign. The same standing army that rendered Louis XIV. absolute, cost Louis XVI. his life, by the obstacles it opposed to reform. It was unnecessary to remind their lordships that the predominance of the army destroyed the empire of Rome. The ministers ought to have embraced the opportunity presented; for if any one of the powers was peculiarly called upon to urge the necessity of reducing standing armies, it was that described as the arbiter and mediator of the negotiations, and which, above all others, had the urgent motives and interest to reduce the military rage of the times. The existence of a standing army in France had at all times been the only pretext for ours. Whenever jealousy

jealousy was at any time expressed at our gradual increase of military establishments, the answer was, "France is your neighbour and rival, and the excessive augmentation of its army imposes the necessity of deviating from the maxims of our ancestors." Here, then, was the opportunity presented. You had disbanded the army of France, whose government had, if any other ever had, the clearest interest in cultivating peaceful relations. Indeed, every step of that government to reassemble an army in France might be pronounced a step towards its own destruction. Was this the time, then, for the British government to recommend and enforce, not the reality, nor even the appearance of peace; but, on the contrary, the exhibition of Europe in arms, perpetuating all the feelings and principles of war? Did their lordships really think that the armies planted in France would remain inactive? Would they occupy their positions like mere watch-boxes, on the frontiers, deprived of all their accustomed excitement and activity? How many officers might be supposed to be in that army, who were sighing for the renewal of hostilities? How many spirits in such a body might wish for the re-excitement of war, for promotion, nay, for plunder? How many wishes and acts might be directed towards that object? He knew no apter measure to re-kindle war than this of assembling the force of Europe on the frontiers of France. It would require long years of prudence to quench the military spirit that had unfortunately been generated. But the very first step towards this would have been to withdraw the armies from the seat of war and mutual inflammation, home to their respective countries. The whole was evidently part of a new system.

It had been the policy of the British government to make great exertions in war, and great reductions in peace. But this policy was now to be abandoned. Of the appalling force of 150,000 men stationed in France, 30,000 were to be British, not under the eye, nor affected by the feelings, of their countrymen; and not even paid by parliament, nor virtually under its control. He was convinced that it was part of a combined system to raise this country to the condition of a great military power; for, even while this immense force was to be kept up abroad, the home establishment was at least to be doubled. This was stated to be done as a balance to the military powers of Europe. Against this doctrine he must protest: this was not one of the military powers. We never calculated on an equality with the armies of Austria, or Russia, or Prussia. This was the measure that would, if any thing could, make him repent of having given his support to the renewal of the war. His argument then was, You may conclude a peace with the military commander of France,—he would probably be anxious to do so,—but it would be only a precarious peace, on which there could be no reliance, except from the dreadful alternative of remaining in arms—a state worse than war itself. It was a system ruinous to our resources, injurious to our military spirit, but, above all, it was inconsistent with the very existence of our free constitution. The noble lord then stated, that there were some passages in the address to which he felt no objection, but he should propose an amendment on the first part of that address.—Here the noble lord read the amendment, which was in substance an abstract of the principles enforced in the course of his speech.

It

It expressed regret that the treaties entered into on the restoration of universal peace contained in them so little of a really pacific character, but still presented the fearful image of war. It stated the disappointment their lordships felt that the British government had not strongly urged on the great powers of Europe the reduction of their military establishments. That the house would be at all times anxious to support the high situation it had attained; but that the station of this country never had been, and never could in consistency with its real interests be, that of a great military power.

Lord Holland felt it absolutely necessary not to give a silent vote on this occasion. Though aware that the principles and policy of the late war were supported by parliament, he was ready to acknowledge himself averse to both, and should regret to the last moment of his life that he had not last session an opportunity of expressing the views he entertained on that subject. It was not because he disapproved of the war that he should now vote for the amendment of his noble friend; but because he conceived that a new principle was meant to be acted upon, different even from that on which the war was defended. It was clear we had not a peace establishment in the true sense of the word. Could that be called a peace establishment when we were to keep on foot as large a body of troops to preserve, forsooth, the Bourbons on the throne of France, as we had ever done at any former period to oppose the ambition of these same Bourbons? It was an establishment which would cost 12 millions; larger, in fact, than we supported during the whole of the American war, and even during the war of the French revolution up to 1796; and this af-

ter we were told that we had effected all our objects. Either the grossest delusion was practised upon the people, or they could not be congratulated on such a peace as this. The noble lord opposite had taken credit for having reestablished the Bourbons. He (lord Holland) very much suspected that the restoration of that family in 1814 was a complete farce, owing to the presence of foreign bayonets. If in 1745 a French army had landed, and established the Pretender, he, had he been alive at that time, might have submitted, but in his heart he must have detested the usurper; and if any thing could have added to it, it was his being forced on the country by foreigners. If the people of France were really reconciled to the Bourbons, he had no doubt the latter were likely to take the first opportunity to break the treaty. The whole history of that family showed that they had not only the deepest hatred of England as a rival, but the deepest hatred of our laws, our religion, and our liberties. A noble diplomatist had stated, that the virtues of the present sovereign of France were the best guarantee of the treaty. But as there were only four persons, without issue, between the throne of France and Ferdinand of Spain, the same noble lord would hardly state that the virtues of the latter were the best guarantee. Lord H. proceeded to ridicule the idea thrown out that three-fourths of the people of France were for the Bourbons. Were that the case, the remaining fourth must be most extraordinary men indeed, both in talents and resources. This fourth had lost a great deal of blood at Waterloo; 19,000 of them, some accounts stated, were in prison in France. He (lord H.) had heard at least that 9000 rations were daily served out to prisoners there; at any rate it

was

was notorious that there had not been so many persons in confinement there since the days of Robespierre. But still, after all, this wonderful fourth required 150,000 allied troops in addition to all the other population of France, to keep it down. The doctrine of legitimacy by divine right was impious, and he denied that the Bourbons were legitimate princes in the true sense of that word, as being objects of the constitutional choice of the people. The present sovereign was, in fact, the English king of France, and possessed just the same right to the crown as Joseph had to that of Spain—the right of force. Before we undertook the job of supporting the Bourbons, we should consider the cost it would entail on this country.—The noble lord, amidst a variety of other observations, for which we have not room, adverted to the sending of Buonaparte to St. Helena, which he characterized as unjustifiable and ungenerous. He had no wish to screen the political delinquencies of that man; but he was convinced, that had he been descended from a line of princes, most of them perhaps as mischievously ambitious as himself, he would have received a different treatment. This treatment he contrasted with that which the captive king John of France had experienced from Edward the Black Prince, after the battle of Poitiers, as described by the historian Hume.

The earl of Blessington supported the address.

The marquis of Lansdowne supported the amendment in a speech of considerable length.

Earl Bathurst defended the conduct of government in the measures which had been taken both before and after the battle of Waterloo.

The marquis of Buckingham felt great satisfaction at the restoration

of the Bourbons; but disapproved of a large military establishment in time of peace.

After a few words from lord St. John, the house divided on the amendment, when there appeared, proxies included—

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The original question was then put and carried.

The subject of the treaties was brought forward in the house of commons by lord Castlereagh, who, after going over nearly the same ground as the earl of Liverpool, concluded by moving an address to the princeregent, approving of them.

This was opposed by lord Milton, who proposed an amendment, generally acknowledging the advantages gained, but regretting those arrangements which were calculated to cherish animosity in the enemy, without affording safety to the Netherlands, and which were likely to prevent tranquillity, and to place this country in a military state inconsistent with the station she had ever maintained in conformity to her military strength and the principles of her constitution.

Mr. Fazakerly seconded the amendment.

Sir James Mackintosh would not follow the noble lord who moved the address into all the details which his situation enabled him to possess, and which his duty required him to lay before the house. He would merely take a view of the leading question, of the policy of the present treaty with France. The honourable gentleman, who had spoken with so much spirit immediately before him, had not discussed that question, and had only touched upon those leading points of congratulation

gratulation which might be offered to the prince regent on the successful termination of the war. The noble lord, he (sir J. Mackintosh) thought, had not given its proper character and due weight to the battle of Waterloo, either in his speech or his negotiations. It was a victory which, both in its magnitude and results, scarcely contained its parallel in the annals of mankind. Had lord Wellington and Blücher been defeated, it is difficult to say what change might have happened in the spirit of the alliance, what defection might have taken place in some, and what reluctance to engage actually might have been created in others. This victory, therefore, might be regarded as the source of all the efficiency, of all the energy of the alliance. The noble lord anticipated opposition to some of his abstract principles of interference from the side of the house in which he (Sir James) generally sat. That opposition he was not disposed to offer. He concurred with the noble lord who moved the amendment, and with the honourable gentleman who seconded it, and who had, on his first appearance in the house, given a specimen of those abilities which all his friends knew he possessed, although they had not seen them formerly displayed. He would not discuss the question of legitimacy; a government might be called legitimate that was established by law, and that acted in conformity with the principles of that constitution upon which it was founded. A government once legitimate might forfeit its character to that title by its subsequent acts, and consequently its right to claim the obedience of its former subjects. This house owed its existence, and the present dynasty its throne, to 1816.

the assertion of those principles. With regard to them there could be no doubt, and there was no necessity of entering into a detailed discussion concerning them. A more practical question now claimed his consideration. He admitted himself, and he believed his honourable friends with whom he generally acted, admitted the rights of conquest. When we, therefore, conquered France, in conjunction with our allies, we might exercise all the rights which our position gave us. These rights are indemnity for the past, and security for the future. If these rights were abused, nations were answerable at the bar of justice and morality. The ministry professed to have exercised these rights as they ought, and this right called upon the commons house of England to judge of their conduct and to award their approbation. He (sir J.) would only enter upon the general principle of the arrangements they had made in consequence of the power with which the resources of the country and the unparalleled success of our army had intrusted them, and not into every particular branch of those arrangements. Had we then obtained a safe, a just, and an honourable peace—a peace that secured our own tranquillity and the tranquillity of Europe? There was, according to the statement of the noble lord, a million and a half of armed men in France, or approaching her frontiers; we had it therefore in our power to establish upon firm foundations that peace which we had conquered. Had we then acquired the fruits of peace? and are we now allowed to taste them after so many sacrifices? were a great military establishment, and an overwhelming load of taxation to support it, the natural fruits of a glorious peace and a wise negotiation?

tiation? The noble lord had explained this circumstance by the necessity for interfering in the affairs of France to support the Bourbon dynasty, and had justified this line of policy by appealing to whig principles, and the stipulations of the treaties of the triple and quadruple alliance. These treaties had no bearing on the present question, as had been shown by the noble lord (lord Milton) who moved the amendment. These treaties were entered into by the government of that country whose dynasty they settled; they maintained an order of things in opposition to the doctrine of indefeasible right, and founded on the exclusion of what would be called a legitimate family from the throne of their ancestors. He would go the length of saying, that there might be in some cases a guarantee against revolt, if the people should be disposed to endanger the general tranquillity by their turbulence; but he did not think it lawful or just to maintain a family upon the throne in whatever manner they behaved, or with whatever sentiments they were regarded by the nation over which they were placed. A contract to maintain injustice was not a treaty; nor could the stipulations which so violently opposed the wishes of a nation, as to require an overpowering foreign force to carry them into effect, be regarded as either just or expedient. There were two omissions in the treaties on the table of the house. There was no stipulation, as in the treaty of Utrecht, that excluded the family of France or Spain from eventually uniting both those kingdoms under one chief. There was no security provided against the aggressions of France on the side of the Netherlands. He protested strong-

ly against the principle acted upon by the noble lord of perfect confidence in Russia, merely on account of the personal character of the emperor. He contended, that though we had not taken territory from France, we had adopted measures more galling and irritating to the pride and patriotism of that people.

Lord Nugent objected to the treaty, and supported lord Milton's amendment.

On the motion of Mr. Tierney, the debate was adjourned till the next day.

February 20th.—In the house of commons, before the debate on the treaties was resumed, there was some animated and rather warm conversation between Mr. Brougham, lord Castlereagh, Mr. Horner, and Mr. Tierney, on the expenditure of ministers; and an explanation given by his lordship respecting a monument to Cardinal York, the last survivor of the Stewarts, towards which the prince regent had contributed out of the surplus of the money paid by the French government, for the removal from Paris to Rome, of the statues which belonged to the latter city.

The principal speakers on the adjourned debate were Messrs. Douglas, Bankes, and C. Grant, for the address; and sir Samuel Romilly, Messrs. Law, Wm. Eliott, Horner, and Ponsonby, in favor of the amendment.

Sir Samuel Romilly, after some observations more immediately in reply to lord Castlereagh's charge of inconsistency in the whigs, with respect to the doctrine of interference in the domestic affairs of foreign nations, insisted that, looking back to the repeated declarations of the allies, but more especially of the British government, the question was,

was, whether, after those declarations in the face of Europe, this country, with any regard to consistency, could put in her claim to restore the dynasty of Bourbon in opposition to the known and expressed wishes of nearly the whole French nation? To those who had not witnessed the acts of the British cabinet, and had only referred to its professions, it would seem strange that at this day such a discussion should be necessary. During the whole course of the war, ministers had asserted (with what sincerity was now obvious) that they did not fight to replace a particular family on a throne from whence it had been driven. When the contrary was charged in parliament, the noble lord had frequently declared in his place that it was a libel and a calumny. No longer since than the beginning of the last year, after the return of Bonaparte from Elba, and the issue of a proclamation by the duke of Wellington, in which he professed that the object of renewed hostilities was to restore the house of Bourbon, the lamented member for Bedford (never more to be lamented than at the present moment) in his place had demanded of the noble lord if that proclamation had the sanction of ministers? The usual reply was given—that to state that the object of this country was to restore the Bourbons was a calumny upon this government, which adhered with fidelity to the professions they had all along given, that their design only was to remove the individual who had placed himself at the head of the French nation, and whose authority was inconsistent with the safety of the rest of Europe. The declaration of the prince regent, on ratifying the treaty of the 23th of March, was exactly to the same effect; in which his

royal highness stated, that that "treaty was not to be considered as binding his Britannic majesty to prosecute the war with a view to impose upon France any particular government."

Lord Castlereagh, across the table, requested that sir S. Romilly would read the passage immediately succeeding.

Sir S. Romilly apprehended that one part of the declaration could not contradict the other. It went on to state, "that however solicitous the prince regent must be to see his most Christian majesty restored, and however anxious he is to contribute, in conjunction with his allies, to so auspicious an event, he nevertheless deems himself called upon to make this declaration upon the exchange of the ratification, as well in consideration of what is due to his most Christian majesty's interests in France, as in conformity to the principles upon which the British government has invariably regulated its conduct." Did the noble lord mean to assert, that the latter part of the declaration was designedly framed to render nugatory what had preceded? For, even supposing the noble lord were correct, that the passage just read bore his construction, he must contend that the British government had been guilty of a species of duplicity in asserting that their only purpose was to remove Bonaparte; when, in truth, their secret and resolved design was, to compel the French nation to submit to the family of Bourbon. This was followed by the letter of lord Clancarty, of the 6th May, to which he (sir S. R.) had referred on the first day of the session. Bonaparte, on his arrival in Paris, had written a letter to the prince regent, offering to observe the stipulations of the treaty of Pa-

ris, which letter was transmitted to lord Clancarty at Vienna, to be by him laid before the sovereigns. The result of the deliberation was communicated by his lordship, and the objects there disclosed were consonant with the declarations that had been previously made. "After reading this paper, (said lord Clancarty,) the general opinion appeared to be, that no answer should be returned, and no notice whatever taken of the proposal: but one opinion has appeared to guide the councils of the several sovereigns; they adhere, and, from the commencement, have never ceased to adhere to their declaration of the 13th March, with respect to the actual ruler of France. They are in a state of hostility with him and his adherents, not from choice, but from necessity; because past experience has shown that no faith is to be kept with him, and that no reliance can be placed on the professions of one who has hitherto disregarded the most solemn compacts." His lordship afterwards went on to state—"They are at war, then, for the purpose of obtaining some security for their own independence, and for the reconquest of that peace and permanent tranquillity for which the world has so long panted. They are not even at war for the greater or less proportion of security which France can afford them of future tranquillity; but because France, under its present chief, is unable to afford them any security whatever. In this war they do not desire to interfere with any legitimate right of the French people; they have no design to oppose the claim of that nation to choose their own form of government, or intention to trench in any respect upon their independence as a great and free people." Then followed the passage which

the noble lord had charged him with omitting: "They no otherwise seek to influence the proceedings of the French, in the choice of this or any other dynasty or form of government, than may be essential to the safety and permanent tranquillity of the rest of Europe, such reasonable security being afforded by France in this respect as other states have a legitimate right to claim in their own defence." He (sir S. R.) was not so well acquainted as the noble lord (whose abilities in that way were acknowledged) with the mysteries of diplomatic language; but it seemed to him that in ordinary acceptation the words would not bear any double sense, in order to favour the argument of the noble lord. The whole letter was a disclaimer of war for the restoration of the Bourbons, while it was professed to be undertaken against Bonaparte, on the ground that his character was such as to prevent all reliance upon his good faith. The right of the French people to choose their own governor and government was admitted. How the noble lord would reconcile these contradictions between profession and practice, was as mysterious as the language of lord Clancarty, if it could be made to bear the double construction. It was not to be denied that the effect of these declarations in France had been to lull the people into a supposed security, and to prevent that resistance which might have been made even after the battle of Waterloo. The assemblies in Paris had deemed it useless to make any exertions for independence, which they believed was not intended to be invaded, and many were as anxious as the allies to remove Bonaparte from the throne. The noble lord was, doubtless, aware of the effect these soothing professions

nions would have in putting an end to hostilities that otherwise would have been carried on, though with what success it was not necessary to determine. The forcible restoration of Louis XVIII. soon succeeded, for the king followed in the rear of the allied armies, which possessed themselves of Paris, and prevented all possibility of a free choice on the part of the nation. It was a mockery to talk of a voluntary election under such circumstances of compulsion; and those who had fondly relied on the promises of the allies, not yet victorious, were disappointed in their expectations after the capital had submitted. Those who had voted in the parliament of Great Britain for the renewal of hostilities, had no less reason to complain of the insincerity of the declarations of government, who talked of free choice while they enforced an unwilling people, by a gross breach of faith, to receive a king, whom, if permitted, they would have refused to accept.

He begged the house to reflect, before it concurred in the address, that the time might come when Russia, Prussia, and France, would be confederated against England; when an English king was to be forced upon the people who had expelled him. The example that we had set might then be followed by our enemies; and as we now maintained that French revolutionary politics were inconsistent with the safety of Europe, it might then be asserted that the principles of English constitutional liberty were inconsistent with the security of other states; that the liberty of the press, which in England alone, of all the nations in the world, was enjoyed, threatened danger to the thrones of neighbouring princes. Even at this day, the freedom with which the

press of this country arraigned sovereigns for their follies or their crimes, pointing at them the finger of public contempt and scorn, had excited much dislike upon the continent, and had made our newspapers the objects of jealousy and prohibition; they were accused of breaking in upon the sanctity of sovereigns, and of making no distinction between the peasant and the prince in their daring accusations. Who was able to determine how long the other sovereigns might permit this system to exist, or how long a period would elapse before they combined against England to crush this fearless independence? Surely there was nothing absurd in this prospect, when even the noble lord had spoken of the dangers resulting from the promulgation of the principles of modern whiggism; and having taken a lesson in the well-disciplined school of the continent, reprobated even the freedom with which debates were conducted in the British parliament. If the noble lord could be induced so severely to reprobate this liberty of speech and of the press, who could say how soon his efforts might not be aided from quarters with which he had been recently so much connected? Our army too, it would be recollected, on its return from France, would be well prepared to second his efforts, and to extinguish our liberties, under pretence that they were deviating into license. With regard to the securities obtained for a lasting peace, he could not avoid saying that they were such as were rather calculated to defeat than to ensure the object, since the consequence would be to ensure the resentment of a whole nation. When the noble lord spoke of the popularity of England in France, and of the general appro-

bation of the measures of our cabinet, it would have been well if he had adduced some evidence of his assertions. What the noble lord had said upon the subject of contributions was equally unsupported; and it would be difficult to prove that the English was the only nation that felt taxation, and that the French would disregard it even when enforced by a military power, more especially when it was recollected that a question on the taxes of the country had been one principal cause of the expulsion of Louis on the return of Bonaparte. The people in France must necessarily feel, when they were called upon to pay taxes for the support of foreign soldiers, that they owed these taxes to the restoration of the king, and that this restoration was effected by the English nation. With regard also to the stripping the Louvre, independent of the injustice of that transaction, to him it appeared that no difference of opinion could exist as to its impolicy. It was impossible that such an act should not inflict a sense of disgrace upon the people of that country, and excite in their minds a spirit of resentment against those who despoiled them of a collection that was so much an object of their national pride. As some surprise seemed to be testified, on the other side, at the mention of the word injustice, he was desirous of explaining himself, by stating, that he was at least far from satisfied with the justice of that proceeding. It was said that these monuments of art were the fruits of unjust war; but were they not also the subject of various treaties, by which they were formally conceded to France? When he heard so much said of the fine moral lesson which we had by this means taught to that country, he could not avoid re-

collecting some circumstances with regard to one of the principal actors in this spoliation. He alluded to Austria, and to her seizure of the Corinthian horses. Austria gave back to Venice her horses, but did not give back to her her republic and her independence. It was remarkable too that these horses were conceded by the same treaty, that of Campo Formio, by which Venice was transferred to the dominion of the house of Austria. Without going, however, any further into the merits of this question, he should give his vote for the amendment, upon a firm belief that the peace was utterly insecure, and that it would last only till France should have acquired strength for resistance, when her hostility would burst out more rancorous and fatal than ever. He was aware that his opinions did not concur with those of a large majority of the house; but they were his honest persuasion, and he deemed it his duty to express it.

Mr. Wm. Elliott.—The two parts into which he wished to divide his observations were, first, the policy which, under the circumstances of the times, he conceived ought to have been observed; and, in the next place, how far the engagements entered into have conformed to that policy. To advert, first, to the doctrine that the war was personal against the late ruler of France, and that declarations to this effect had been made by the allied powers: he must remark, that these declarations were out of the question, that they had never been acted on, and that they were terminated by the issue of arms at Waterloo. He believed likewise that the representations of imposing a government on the French nation had been very much exaggerated. His own views, indeed, had always looked

looked to some settled order of things founded on civil principles, and to a revival of some civil institutions, in which they might appear embodied. He had considered likewise that the restoration of Louis XVIII. was the first step in this necessary process. In his person he saw the rightful successor to the throne of France, the legitimate heir of Louis XVII., who was the lineal and legitimate heir of Louis XVI., who, in his opinion, had been unjustly deposed. He held no such principle as that of indefeasible succession or divine right; he knew none who adhered to a doctrine at once so absurd and profane; or, if there were a few insane enthusiasts who did so, their insanity ought not to prejudice opinions that were better founded. Amongst what he considered those well founded opinions was, that there were, amongst the institutions moulded by time upon the frame and genius of society, such things as hereditary prescriptive monarchy, and hereditary prescriptive nobility, not of divine right, but of human institution. He believed that kings had duties to perform, and that subjects had duties also; that obedience was due in return for protection, and, if due, that it became a binding moral obligation. Cases of imperative necessity, such as would justify a resumption of power, might occur, as exceptions occurred in every other case of moral duty, but not on views of speculative or contingent advantage, or from a notion that the people, at their own will and pleasure, had a right to choose and change, without regard to the safety of themselves or their neighbours. Such a doctrine as this appeared to him to be upon a par, in point of absurdity, with that of a divine and indefeasible title. He had never seen any

such case in the history of the French revolution. Our own, on the other hand, was a fair example of this imperative necessity. Our revolution was against a king who sought to destroy the liberties of his country; theirs was against a king who had voluntarily convoked the national assemblies, and who had consented to a system which might have mellowed and ripened into a regular plan of liberty. It was impossible for him to attempt any distribution of public opinion in France; but he was persuaded that all rational men, and the pacific classes of society, as was well known indeed in the north and in the west, were zealously attached to their ancient monarchy, and to the person of their present sovereign. He was disposed on this subject to hazard another opinion, that the character of the chamber of deputies, it mattered not to him however chosen, was a strong proof of the prevalence of a loyal spirit in France. The constituents of that assembly had, however, included a larger number of electors than had ever before voted; nor could he doubt that the disposition of such a body must be a fair representation of the disposition that animated a large proportion of the nation. He must add, that he for one had never expected that we should suddenly return to a state of perfect repose and safety after so long a struggle. The nobility and property of France, as well as its monarchy, had been destroyed, a revolted army had been just disbanded, and, amidst these elements of danger, some apprehensions must remain. After so long and furious a tempest, the swell must not be expected to subside in a moment. It was not in the nature of things that entire confidence and security should be created in an instant with regard to a

nation for many years torn by faction, in which religion and virtue had been studiously eradicated, and in which an army existed, hot with the spoils of Europe, and inured to revolutionary movements.

But he now came to the consideration of the two courses which presented themselves; and the first of which was the question of dismemberment. He regretted much to differ on this point from one whose general talents, long experience, and statesmanlike and enlarged views, had always commanded his respect. But with regard to a reduction of territory, his own feeling was, that it was extremely difficult how to decide upon its execution, and that if France should return to a state of moral order, it was unnecessary. If experience should prove that she was irreclaimable, then he should be prepared to go a great deal further. He did not however think her strength at present very formidable, and it was at all times desirable that France should not be too much reduced; she was a most essential member of the European system, and might one day prove one of its most powerful guardians. The ascendancy she had lately acquired, attributable in some degree to errors of conduct in the commencement of the war against her, was chiefly to be ascribed to that distempered energy, imparted by the revolutionary spirit, which bounded over the Alps and the Rhine, and gave a wonderful consistency and steadiness to her operations. But, previous to this period, the acquisitions of France had not been extensive. Under Louis XV. she obtained Lorraine, and under Louis XVI. greatly improved her naval and commercial resources. It had been said that she then made use of these

means to aim a deadly blow at our existence; but we might more properly be said to have inflicted it on ourselves by the injustice and impolicy of the contest in which we had engaged. If Lorraine and Alsace were to be taken from France, it was clear that the French would be against such an arrangement. If those countries were to be added to Austria, what would Prussia, what would Bavaria say? We should only throw ourselves into all the intricacies of a question of adjustment of territory. Besides, France was a rich and fertile country, it was a tempting bait for the cupidity of sovereigns; if we once broke ground on such a field for avarice, where should we stop? Would Austria, would the other powers, exercise any moderation? No! France would soon become what Poland is. It had been alleged, indeed, that these very countries were unjust acquisitions of France, and added to her territory by fraud or violence. But if we were to go into the origin of every acquisition, and ravel into the iniquities of preceding ages, there would be no end to our dissensions.

With respect to the arrangements that had been entered into, he felt the force of all the objections that had been urged; he was sure we ought to feel a wholesome jealousy of the proposed establishment; and he should regret if the nerves of the house of commons were not exquisitely sensible on this point. But with all the disadvantages that attached to the arrangements proposed, he acquiesced in them, because they afforded the best chance of maintaining the alliance that had been entered into; they were the best protection against future dangers, and had given England a greater weight among the combined powers. He felt that the gentle-

man

man who sat behind, and who differed from him in opinion, would here oppose a triumphant argument in arraigning him as the supporter of a standing army; but this argument, however specious, was not sound; it was not logical: the case was in effect the same as if a civil magistrate were to post infantry in defence of the peace.—What! it would be said, a civil magistrate restore peace by the intervention of armed men? Yes! when necessity called for such an interference; and that was the whole case before us. The danger opposed to us was a combination of military force, and could only be met by a military force in return. Admitting the general danger of a large peace establishment, yet the army proposed for the defence of the frontier of France was a necessary evil, and, as against Bonaparte, we must have kept up a much larger military, with the addition of an enormous naval establishment. From the difference between the French and English currency, (a difference which we must make up to our soldiery,) it would amount to the same thing as if the establishment were larger by 6,000 men than in reality it is; but even this must be cheerfully submitted to, if the measure of keeping the forces in France were, as he contended it was, a necessary measure. In 1802 he had gone further; but, whatever might be the case then, and however necessary an army might be in France, he could not see any ground for such an establishment as had been proposed in other quarters. In 1802 Bonaparte had Holland, Spain, and Italy, at his feet: but now France had no navy; Holland, Spain, Portugal, Russia, Turkey, no navy; what had we then to fear? He could not but think, that as to colonies and garri-

sons, our establishment ought to be low. We had been told much of the station we ought to occupy in Europe; but it was insanity, if we wished to become a continental power. Two propositions were entertained on this subject; one, that because ours was an island, we should have no intercourse with other nations; so far from this, he hoped we should always consider ourselves identified with the rest of the world; but he deprecated the idea of our becoming a continental power, and thought that, by husbanding our resources alone, we could ever shoot forth to vigour again. He thought that a great source of error in the present treaties was the indemnity to be contributed by France; he did not deny the practice, but the policy of the measure. Nothing was so difficult to France as the arrangement of her finances, and we might have saved all the money to be contributed, by one year's diminution of our peace establishment. On the part of France, the payment of this contribution would risk all the tranquillity for which we had contended. He could not therefore vote for the address proposed by the noble lord, and he did not think himself of sufficient importance to move an amendment; but he was anxious nevertheless to give his sentiments to the house, and had for that reason only taken up their attention so long.

Mr. Horner, after paying some high compliments to the heroism of the army, stated that his main objections to the treaties were, that they did not provide that security which the country had a right to expect; and it demanded the most serious consideration, that, in prosecuting the war to an end, his majesty's ministers had at last disclosed that important project which they had

had so anxiously disavowed at first; namely, the determination of forcing the Bourbon family on the throne of France, contrary to the faith of the crown, contrary to the pledge which had been given to parliament, and in direct violation of the solemn engagement and promise to the nation of France at large. On former occasions the noble lord had expressly avowed, that the professed object of the war was of a very different nature. The idea of forcing any particular person on the French had been repeatedly disclaimed, on the principle that it was carrying their measures further than the justice of the case allowed: but now, forsooth, it was openly, and without a blush, acknowledged, that however the national honour had been violated, it had always been considered that such a result of the contest would be satisfactory. It was now too late, indeed, to say, that they had not resolved to interfere with the internal government of France; but they excused themselves by saying, that they might interpose on a necessary occasion. He appealed, however, to the memory and understanding of those who had voted for the war on the express faith of such declarations. Those honourable members (and many of them differed from gentlemen on his side in other respects) thought it impossible that such declarations could be repeated without having a clear and positive meaning. It was a war, as they thought, not undertaken by ministers with a view of forcing the Bourbons on the nation of France, but that let our success be carried to the utmost extent, the rights of conquest were not to be used for that purpose. Several friends of his, in that and the other house of parliament, had understood the govern-

ment to have pledged themselves irrevocably on that point. But the pledge was not only made to parliament, but was expressly given to the people of France. An honourable gentleman had observed, that if it were given, it was not accepted by them; and he had stated, that this was evident by the attack which they made on the lines of the duke of Wellington. But the house should not be led away by such weak and clumsy arguments; for they must all remember that ministers had insisted on the distinction between the people and the army, and had positively declared that they were at war with Bonaparte, and him only; and it was for the purpose of securing the people against the despotism of the army that the declarations of the allied sovereigns had been issued. He was thoroughly persuaded, therefore, that the virtuous, thinking, and intelligent portion of that house had voted upon the declaration of the allies, and the express assurances of the noble lord. Was there to be no faith, then, in these solemn promises? Could it be a satisfactory feeling to any honest member, who possessed the generous spirit of an Englishman, to know that the engagements of ministers with the French nation had not been kept? His majesty's government had declared manfully, boldly, and plainly, what their purposes were; but it was one of the most melancholy features of the times, that the bonds of political faith were not so strong as they used to be. Whatever doubts might exist in some minds as to the support of the declaration on which the war was commenced, there could be no possible misunderstanding as to the object of the treaties. It was no longer to get rid of the dangerous ambition of Bonaparte; it was not

not to prevent the military power of France from encroaching on neighbouring states. No ! it was to maintain the family of the Bourbons on the throne, whatever might be the feelings of the people towards them.

He would, however, confine himself to the consideration of these three points : namely, the policy of maintaining an army of occupation on the French territories, the promise of supporting the legitimate sovereign, and the league among the military powers against what they called revolutionary principles. Now, in his view of the subject, nothing could be weaker than to levy large contributions of money on France. The noble lord had thought that it would operate as a sort of tranquillizing policy ; but, as far as he was enabled to judge of the feelings of that country, he believed the effect would be quite the reverse. It had been stated, indeed, that these contributions were to be considered as belonging to the crown, and that the prince regent was to enjoy them as a privy purse. He would abstain from entering into that question at present, though he could not but admire the unbounded generosity of giving a large sum to the pope to bring his pictures home, and another to erect a monument to Henry IX. With regard to the army of occupation, it must not be forgotten that this large body of forces, amounting to 150,000 men, of different nations, languages, and manners, were placed in the heart of France, under the sole command of a great and victorious general, who had always been her enemy, and who had recently laid her prostrate. It was from the presence of this army, however, that ministers were weak enough to think she would be reduced to acquiesce in the government of the Bourbons, and to agree

with the whole views of the allies in the regulation of her internal policy. What could be more preposterous ? Did they really believe that she would not feel this perpetual fester in her vital parts, and that she would not endeavour to get rid of it ? An honourable friend of his had said, that the more galling her situation was, the greater security we must enjoy ; but surely he did violence to common sense and language, when he stated such a proposition. As to the king of France, his own wishes were, without thinking the family of the Bourbons had a right to the throne, that the government *de facto* should as speedily as possible be rendered the choice of the nation. But what must be the character of this army of occupation on their feelings, when they reflected on the person who brought it there ? Who was the author of this degradation ? Who was the cause of this stigma and disgrace to their nation ? Every one knew, every one felt, it was Louis : it was he, the legitimate monarch of France, who could not, however, have been placed on the throne without these foreign bayonets. And what kept him on it ? The foreign armies. For what purpose were contributions levied ? Why, to defray the expense of foreign armies. It was merely because he was seated on the throne that the allied sovereigns kept their troops in France. If any thing could be more galling to them than another, it was this : a native prince now governs them, but, in order to support his power, he retains a foreign army in the country. What could they think of this ? Why, every Frenchman who thought at all, must think him guilty of the greatest treason. If this were a moment to indulge feelings of national animosity, we should rejoice in their degra-

degradation, when we saw them submit to the Bourbons, forced upon them by us under these humiliating circumstances. Instead of safety, as the noble lord expressed, was there not much greater danger that they might make a general movement against these foreign troops? He agreed that at present it might be defeated; but with what consequences to that nation, and what consequences to Europe? Did any one doubt that the dismemberment of that unhappy country would not be effected? Did any one suppose for a moment that she would not be annihilated? The noble lord, however, in his usual style of taunt, had desired them to believe that the allies could never do any thing wrong. The noble lord now shook his head, by which, of course, he meant a change in his opinions. Yes, the noble lord might sign a treaty against France, and then say that the aggrandizement of Russia was one reason why we should not press more heavily on the French. He supposed, however, that it belonged only to the noble lord to settle all these matters, and that, on their side of the house, they were not to be at liberty to whisper a single word. But it was most important, that they should take a view of the state in which Europe would be left, if France were no longer a substantive power in Europe. Then, indeed, would be the consideration of an extensive peace establishment, if France shall fall into the hands of great military despots. He would then ask the house, whether all these dangers were not more probable by undertaking to maintain the family of the Bourbons on the throne? And yet, at all events,—for such was the expression of the noble lord,—it was the essential basis of the treaties that Louis should

be forced upon the people. He had heard the noble lord speak of the constitutional charter: but why was that mentioned? It was a mockery, an insult, a base delusion, to refer to that charter: it had been violated most flagrantly in each successive instance, and, as far as the people were concerned, had no meaning or import whatever. He had never stated, as a broad proposition, that under no circumstances could one state interfere with another: he thought a case might possibly arise, but it must be one of absolute necessity. Gentlemen had cited the authority of Mr. Fox; but it was only common justice to the memory of that illustrious statesman to say, that he had qualified his opinion in the year 1792 by observing, “that in the circumstances of that day, it would not be for the honour or the interest of Great Britain to interfere with the internal regulations of France.” The noble lord had said, that in policy honourable members on his side of the house ought to be rather against interference: and he had attempted, but in a most weak and clumsy manner, to prove that he had obtained a great victory over them as modern whigs, who had degenerated from the maxims of their progenitors. It was a little unfortunate that none of his historical references were applicable to his case, but were literally, substantially, and fundamentally, in precedent for their argument. For what was the nature of the triple and quadruple alliances? We declared the “office of King” to be forfeited, and elected another sovereign to rule over us, and the military powers of Europe declared that they would not interfere with the arrangements we had made in regard to legitimacy. This showed that the noble lord was as ill versed in

inatory precedents as in whig precedents. As to legitimacy, he would merely observe, that it was altogether a domestic question, and one country ought not to interfere with another respecting it. Much had been said concerning restoration, but he wanted to know, whether the people had any rights restored to them? The instances of Russia, Wirtemberg, and the countries bordering on the Rhine, were quite enough to prove the contrary.

He should therefore proceed to the last proposition—the league of the allies. Now, could any man think that those military despots would assemble for any other purpose than that of declaring every measure revolutionary which had the popular voice in its favour? The noble lord, in his speech, had given the house a specimen of the way in which the common interests of the people were treated by those sovereigns. He had said that they regarded the speeches of honourable members in favour of liberty, with a jealous eye. He trusted, however, that they did not so express themselves in the presence of the noble lord, and obtain his approbation. If such were the fact, it would be a powerful illustration of the influence of bad company. And yet he had his suspicions; for no sooner did the British parliament assemble, than the government of France prohibited the importation of our journals. What! they were afraid, then, to let the people read the liberal opinions of this country. Yes, it was true that sentiments in favour of liberty had been frequently expressed in that house. That dear and excellent friend of his, who was now no more, had always stood forward as the champion of freedom: his honest and independent heart never missed an occasion

to defend his fellow-subjects, and the world, from tyranny and oppression. He would say a word or two concerning the feelings of those sovereigns who had been so highly praised by the noble lord in favour of liberty, and whose jealousy of freedom of debate the noble lord had justified. Their notions on our discussions must be of a very peculiar nature, and their timidity of opposition principles and freedom of speech must be very great, if they received no bias on the other side from the noble lord's efforts. In those same newspapers where they read an account of the dangerous doctrines of the whig side of the house, they likewise found the speeches and the reasoning of the noble lord; and if they were not satisfied with his parliamentary eloquence, he could make them a speech to satisfy them in their own language. The opinions of these military despots, on this as well as upon other subjects, he entirely disregarded. No prospect could be entertained that any thing would be done by them for the improvement and rights of mankind. His hopes of improvement were derived from a different quarter. They were not directed to innovation, but to a beneficial change effected through the medium of constitutional organs, and the wholesome operation of public opinion. Even though there was reason to believe that the sovereigns appointed their meetings with no preconcerted designs against the liberties of the world; even although they formed no deliberate conspiracy against the rights of their subjects; still he could not view the close association that would appear to be established between such great military powers, without great jealousy. The great object of our late struggle was

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swowed to be the destruction of the military principle in Europe, which was incompatible with the liberties, the happiness, and the social tranquillity of mankind. By unparalleled efforts, by persevering and heroic sacrifices, we had extinguished the great military despotism which agitated, conquered, and oppressed the nations of the continent; but was the situation of Europe much improved, if the present system was to be carried into complete effect, and the late arrangements were henceforward to be universally adhered to? We had indeed annihilated the most extensive, the universally felt military despotism; but there were now three or four to spring up and to occupy its place. Their union, for purposes connected with their own support and extension, might be nearly as dangerous as the one from which we congratulated ourselves that we were delivered. These military sovereigns were to meet and consult for their common security or mutual interests, and nothing could be done, or permitted to exist in Europe, without their consent. He then went into an examination of the securities established by the treaties, which he contended were by no means sufficient.

Mr. C. Grant agreed with his honourable and learned friend (Mr. Horner) in the congratulations he had offered the country on the magnitude and glory of the battle of Waterloo; but he contended, in opposition to the doctrines of his speech, that the peace to which it had led, corresponded with it in glory and stability. The good faith of this country, he contended, was not violated, and our character in Europe remained as high as ever. The Bourbons were not forced upon France by us and the allies, but were the choice of the great body of the na-

tion. Bonaparte had only the army in his favour, as was evident from his precipitate fall after defeat. The spirit of the military system, and the revolutionary spirit, on which that individual depended for his power, must be put down. It was not as yet completely subdued, as was contended by his honourable friend (Mr. Horner). The treaties of the triple and quadruple alliance had been referred to by him, and a charge of inconsistency had been attempted to be fixed on his noble friend (lord Castlereagh) for the explanation he gave of them. This charge was unfounded. These treaties actually guarantied the throne of England to a particular family, by an armed force stipulated by the parties to it. There was no mention made of the choice of the people of England. The forces of the alliance were stipulated to support the family alluded to, even in opposition to its own subjects. The partition treaty, which dismembered the dominions of Spain without making Spain a party, was an instance of interference which the ministerial side of the house might triumphantly quote in support of the late interference. He (Mr. Grant) admitted that it was a great object to maintain the Bourbons on the throne, but that object was pursued because it was believed to be connected with the welfare of France and the tranquillity of Europe. We had been accused of pouring insult upon France. She might be humiliated, but there was no attempt to insult her, unless she were to call the battle of Waterloo an insult. With respect to the securities this country had thought proper to demand from France, it had been argued by some that the pecuniary indemnities were all others the most affecting to the French.

French nation; and, on the contrary, by others it was urged that the cessions made by France, small as they were, were the most burthensome. Others had again maintained that the army of occupation was the most galling to the feelings of France. But gentlemen laboured under mistaken views of the subject. The basis upon which government founded their proceedings, was not confined to those narrow ideas of political justice which seemed to be entertained, but proceeded upon the broadest principles of justice and moderation. The man who had raised the military glory of France to the highest pitch

had re-entered the lists under every possible advantage. But what was the result? It was the most memorable defeat that had ever yet been recorded in the pages of history. Who was it then that was the author of the disgrace of the French people? Was not France placed in a situation of military despotism; and was it not then incumbent upon this government, if possible, to free the people from their chains of slavery?

After a few observations from Mr. Ponsonby and a reply from lord Castlereagh, the house divided; for the amendment 77—against it 240.—majority 163.

CHAPTER V.

House of Commons—Discussion on the Elgin Marbles—Debates on the Army Estimates—Dreadful Picture of Ireland drawn by Mr. Peel in the course of those Debates—Petitions against the Income Tax, and in favour of Economy.

ON the 23d of February, after some conversation on a petition from the earl of Elgin, relative to the purchase of his marbles, supposed to be the works of Phidias, in which several members contended that his lordship having obtained these marbles, in his official character as British ambassador at the port, had no personal and private right to them, a committee was appointed to inquire into their value, and into the propriety and advantage of purchasing them for the nation.

On the 26th of February an immense number of petitions were presented against the continuance of the income tax, and one from Northampton against the peace establishment. The presenting of the

former petitions gave rise to some animated discussion between ministers and the opposition, in the course of which the chancellor of the exchequer was charged by Mr. Baring with a resolution to run a race with the country, because he announced his resolution of bringing on the subject of the income tax almost immediately.

The house having afterwards gone into a committee of supply, a discussion took place on the army estimates.

Lord John Russell and Mr. Frankland having spoken at length against keeping on foot a military force, as being pregnant with danger to the liberties of the country,

Mr. Yorke spoke in favour of the proposed establishment: he wished gentlemen

gentlemen on the other side to look at the situation of the country ;— to look at its increased population ; —at the enormous augmentation of our possessions ;—and above all, at our wealth. (*Hear! and a laugh.*) Yes, he wished them to consider our wealth ; for, though there might exist a temporary distress, no one would pretend that there was a want of real wealth, either in England or Ireland. As to the expense, did they really believe, if ministers were to disband the whole army tomorrow, and make the British grenadiers scavengers and dustmen, that any expense would be saved to the country ? He desired them again to look at the estimates upon the table of the house ; to consider what was strictly due to the officers on half pay ; and also the charge of supporting the charitable institutions connected with the army, and then say whether a greater expense would not be incurred by disbanding our forces.

Mr. Brougham said it appeared to be the settled plan of ministers, this session, to refuse answers to all questions, and even to leave motions to be discussed by others, and to hear a debate, without even an attempt to answer.

Lord Palmerston replied ; and after some preliminary observations, went into a detail of the estimates : he should endeavour to state the grounds for keeping up the amount of force now in contemplation, and he should for the present confine himself to the 99,000 men proposed for Great Britain, Ireland, and the colonies. As to India, the amount of the force in that quarter was settled by charter, and any objection to this should come in the shape of a separate motion. France, too, as a subject of a new and a separate nature, might fairly be left

to a separate consideration. Before proceeding further, he wished to impress on the house, that though he was speaking of a peace establishment, we could not all at once recur to that scale of establishment which a future period might justify ; that the present scale was a sort of intermediate arrangement between the highest amount in time of war, and the lowest in peace. He should divide this force of 99,000 men into four portions ; for Great Britain, for Ireland, for our old colonies, and our new acquisitions ; and the distribution would be, for Great Britain 25,000, for Ireland the same, for our old colonies 23,000, for our new acquisitions 23,000 ; and for the purposes of continual reliefs 3,000. He should not go into any detail about Ireland, but only observe, that subjects and governments were connected by the bond of protection afforded by the one, and obedience due from the other : that when a country was in a state of disturbance, its magistrates insulted, and its property insecure, we could not apply the general principles of policy that were acted on in a state of tranquillity ; and if legislators wished laws to be obeyed, it was a sacred duty to protect those who had the execution of them. With regard to the remaining questions, he should enter into that of the colonies first ; those which he comprehended under the title of our old colonies were Gibraltar, Canada, and Nova Scotia, Jamaica, and other West India islands. The force on all these in the year 1791 was 17,000 men—the force now proposed would amount to 23,000 ; making an increase of about 7000. As to Gibraltar, a mistake had existed on the other side of the house, for a large force was employed there in 1791, and is present ;

present; the force now required was 4000, which would not be thought too much when we recollected how much the works in that place had been augmented. The force in North America, including the Bahamas, amounted in 1791 to 5000 men; that proposed at present to 9,500, the increase being given entirely to Canada, and in that country there were circumstances internal as well as external that would sufficiently justify such an augmentation. The idea that an increased population demands a greater force for its protection had been treated with contempt on the other side of the house; but the arguments adopted consisted in a misrepresentation, and were no answers to the proposition. Nearly the whole of Upper Canada had been settled since the period of 1791; the vulnerable points and objects of attack had since that period become infinitely more numerous, while morasses, forests, and all the natural obstacles to conquest, had diminished in the same proportion; the spade of the colonist had acted as pioneer for an enemy. He did not mean to express any distrust of the United States; that country, as well as this, had learned by experience, that our mutual interests demanded a state of peace; but that country must be considered at least like all others, and in general there were no better means of ensuring peace with any country, than by letting it be known that you are prepared for war. When we considered the rapid progress of the United States, as a military power, the increase of 3 or 4000 men on the side of Canada was not more than the altered state of that country required. The navigation of the rivers in that quarter was often interrupted, and forces might not arrive at the moment.

ment when they were required, which rendered a large standing force there the more requisite. It was unnecessary for him to expatiate on the advantages we derived from Canada in a commercial view, and the vessels employed in that commerce, amounting to nearly a fourth of the whole tonnage of this country. With respect to Jamaica, the force in 1791 amounted to 2000 men; 4000 were now allotted to that station; and the same observations applied to Jamaica and the West Indies which had been urged in defence of the establishment in Canada; their increase in wealth and population, and the increase of the United States in power, made it clear, that in the event of a war the West India islands would be the first object of attack. For the force necessary in Jamaica, we had a criterion in the opinion of the colony itself, for the colony had agreed to provision any garrison exceeding 3,000 men. Now, as to expense, it was cheaper to maintain a garrison of 4,000 men, provisioned by the colony, than one of 2,000 at our own entire expense. The force in the Leeward islands was 4,200 in 1791; at present it would be 5,500: and the same observations applied here, with this addition, that at Antigua there was a large naval arsenal. In the present condition, too, of the West Indies, and the rise of the Black empire, is was our duty (however we might exult in the abolition of the slave trade) to afford protection to our fellow countrymen in those islands; and it would be mercy to the Blacks themselves to prevent, by a display of strength, any attempt at bloody and unavailing insurrection. Under all these circumstances, the proposed addition of 7,000 men in that quarter could

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not be esteemed more than was absolutely required. With regard to our new colonies, we had not the same point of comparison, as to their establishments, as we had in our old; but we had a point, in the garrisons which the enemy maintained at the time of their surrender. He anticipated, as an objection to such a comparison, that those garrisons were for a time of war, and the present for a period of peace; but he should show that the latter were proportionably less than the former. These new colonies were Ceylon, the Mauritius, the Cape, the settlements on the African coast, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Lucia, Berbice, Essequibo, Malta, and the Ionian isles. It was difficult to ascertain the precise amount of the enemy's force in those places, because we were unacquainted with the extent of their losses. But the amount, at the time of surrender, was from 29 to 30,000 men, while the force now proposed did not exceed 23,000: if to the 30,000 we were to add 2 or 3,000 for those who fell by sickness or the sword, we should have 32 or 33,000 for the amount; so that our proportion would be as 2 to 3, and the house would surely not consider this too high. For Ceylon 3,000 men had been thought necessary; but in that island were two establishments, Trincomalé and Columbo, neither of which had any ready means of communication with the other; which rendered an independent force necessary in each; 3,000 were allotted for the Mauritius, and the same number for the Cape. The inhabitants of the Mauritius were wholly French, and of such a spirit, that they testified the greatest joy at Bonaparte's return to Paris; besides which, the colony was an important naval station; and there

was this difference between all these new colonies and the old ones, that the latter were settled by adventurers from our own country; the former were newly conquered from an enemy, were important as outposts and barriers, and as military positions afforded the greatest advantages in the protection of our commerce. Of the 3,000 men allotted to the Cape, 1,000 were stationed up the country to protect our gradually increasing settlements against the inroads of savages; 1,000 were appropriated to the settlements on the coast of Africa. The design of these settlements was to promote commerce and civilization among the natives, and to prevent the recurrence of any slave trade; 4,000 men were required to protect our new West India islands, and would be divided among six different stations: of these, Trinidad was extensive, and St. Lucia ceded because it was an important naval station; so that less than 4,000 could not be thought sufficient. In Malta and the Ionian islands would be 7,000 men; 4,000 in Malta, and 3,000 men in the Ionian Islands. However strong Malta might be in itself, yet walls could not be defended without men, and the stronger a fortress was, in general the more soldiers were required for its garrison. The Ionian islands were a recent acquisition, and the number proposed was experimental; the inhabitants were partly French; but if less could be found sufficient, government would most readily avail itself of any means for reduction. In St. Helena were 1,200. For the purpose of the relief that must from time to time be pursued, 3,000 would be necessary. It was impossible that our brave garrisons should be condemned to perpetual exile, and under our present system

stem it was necessary to bring home a whole regiment at every removal: under this system, nearly 7000 would be necessary for the purpose of relief, and supplying the place of those performing their passage: but as so large a portion of the army remained in France, only three thousand could be appropriated for that purpose. Twenty-five thousand men would be stationed in Great Britain, being 8,000 more than the number retained in 1791. In stationing an army in France, we must contemplate the possibility, at least, of its being called into action: however, if that never occurred, and no supply were necessary, 3,000 would be requisite for the purpose of relieving this army. The honourable and learned gentleman had stated that it was ridiculous, because the stores in our arsenals increased, to increase also the number of troops on duty; but the ridicule carried with it its own refutation, for it was confessedly necessary to increase the number of our watchmen in proportion to the value of the property to be guarded. In these arsenals, too, many new works had been erected; and there was no economy to suffer these to dilapidate for want of the force necessary to prevent the depredations that would otherwise be made on them. As to the colonies, it would be much better to state to the house what colony it would be advisable to relinquish, and what to retain, than thus to indulge in a general declamation, that our colonies were altogether unnecessary. Let the gentlemen on the other side propose such an establishment as they deemed proper; but let them remember the responsibility they would incur if any disaster should ensue from an ill-considered economy. There was only thus an addition of 25,000

men, which certainly was far from being extravagant, considering the extent of possessions which had been acquired by the country. As the number of troops over the establishment of 1791 was not thus important, our establishment was chiefly interesting, in the present discussion, in a financial point of view. What effect would the reduction of our forces to the level of former peace establishments have in enabling us to abolish, with advantage to the resources of the country, the property tax? The saving that would result from returning as far as we could to the establishments of 1791, would not amount to 600,000*l.* and thus, with any reasonable measure of reduction that could be recommended, we could not abolish the property tax. The question then resolved itself into this—Were we to desert the station that we had acquired among the nations of Europe? were we to descend from the elevated rank which we occupied? were we to withdraw that influence which we had exerted so beneficially, and so much to our credit, as one of the great European powers, and, instead of supporting an establishment that was necessary for our dignity and security, to abandon every measure of protection or influence? If we pursued this conduct—if we thus completely disarmed ourselves, and slumbered unguardedly at our post—we might, at no very distant period, be roused from our supine imprudence, and be taught the value of the necessary defences which we had relinquished, by being trampled under the feet of powers, with which we could, under a different system, successfully contend, and whose forces we had no reason to dread. Would we expose ourselves to even a remote chance of such danger?

Would we abandon those colonial possessions which we had acquired with so much blood and treasure, for the small addition to our burthens which the necessary additional establishment required us to support? He again contended that a return to a former peace establishment would not afford such a saving as was erroneously stated to the public, when the property tax became the subject of discussion. Out of the sum of nearly nine millions required by the army estimates of this year (and he strongly protested against the idea of considering the expenditure of this year as the standard of our future peace establishment) there was one million that would not be required in the following year. This million was required by the charges of the militia, by foreign corps that were to be disbanded, and were even now disbanding, and for defraying several other items of expense that would terminate with the year, and would, of course, make no part of our permanent establishment. Thus the present estimates might admit of a reduction to eight millions, which, when all circumstances were considered, would scarcely bear a comparison with the establishments of former periods of peace. His right honourable friend (Mr. Yorke) had properly stated that nearly two millions of this sum could not be taken off, whatever system we adopted with respect to the number and efficiency of our standing army. These two millions of charge upon the country were created by the half-pay and allowances of officers, by pensions to officers' widows, by the pensions on Chelsea hospital, &c. And when the deduction on these accounts was made, it would be found that only six millions remained for supporting

our effective establishment. When it was considered that the pay of officers and soldiers had been increased since 1792, that the pay of the latter had been doubled, and that the support of the former had become much more expensive to the nation by an augmentation both of pay and allowances, it might be allowed that the estimates laid before the house had nothing in them either extraordinary or alarming. He had, at different times, in his official capacity, proposed to parliament advances of pay, and ameliorations of the condition of the army, to which he had obtained the ready sanction of the house. Indeed he found honourable members of both sides, on such occasions, disposed rather to exceed those plans which he thought it his duty to propose, than to fall short of them. Parliament, he was sure, would not now manifest a disposition to destroy its own work. The noble lord would not proceed further in these details, as he had perhaps already trespassed too long on the time of the house. He hoped that the honourable gentlemen opposite would withdraw their opposition to the motion of his right honourable friend (the chancellor of the exchequer), and allow the committee to proceed in the examination of the estimates without delay. If this could not be done to-night, he hoped that the usual course would be permitted to be pursued as soon as possible, that the public service might not suffer from procrastination. The object of the opposite side of the house was professedly a minute and impartial examination of the whole subject, the amount of the estimates, their necessity, the distribution of the forces, and every thing connected with them. A full discussion would take place in the committee of

of the whole house, and it surely was not very consistent in gentlemen who professed a desire for minute discussion, to oppose the best means by which it might be obtained.

The debate was adjourned on the motion of Mr. Ponsonby.

February 27.—Several petitions against the income tax were presented, which, as usual, gave rise to fresh discussion on the subject; in the course of which the chancellor of the exchequer expressly denied that the renewal of it would be a violation of the faith of parliament. Parliament never could, and never had made such a pledge as was described; and the words “and no longer,” which were in former acts, were omitted in that last year.

This assertion of the chancellor of the exchequer called forth some very pointed and severe observations from several members: they said, that though they had differed with him, on former occasions, they had always thought him a plain, honest, fair-dealing man; but it now appeared that he had concealed his intentions under that ambiguous sort of statement, which had deceived not only the people, but their representatives; he now stated that he never meant the tax to be given up; but why did he not say so at the time it was imposed? It was a breach of faith to the people to the amount of six millions.

The chancellor of the exchequer explained, that when the tax was before the house last year, he had expressed a hope that it would not be necessary beyond the year. He now stated a case of necessity; and if the house should not be satisfied with it, he would not press the continuance of the tax.

After some further discussion, Mr. Rose having said, that if the in-

come tax was relinquished, worse and more painful taxes might be imposed,

Mr. Brougham said, if any thing could induce him to persevere in the system he had proposed, of constantly putting questions to ministers, and thus holding up to the country their determined resolution not to give way in consideration of its distresses, it would be the conduct of the right honourable gentleman, who seeing that distress, and knowing the aversion of the country to the tax, had recourse to the desperate expedient of saying, “Beware how you wince under the little finger of the chancellor of the exchequer, or in a few days you may feel the weight of his whole hand.”

The adjourned debate on the army estimates was then resumed:—the speakers were Messrs. J. P. Grant, Robinson, Freemantle, Peel, sir R. Heron, sir J. Newport, sir F. Flood, and lord Binning. Of those speeches, the only one which contains much important and interesting matter is that of Mr. Peel; and as it supplies the deficiency in the statement of lord Palmerston, with regard to the military establishment of Ireland, and dwells strongly and ably on the necessity for that establishment, by drawing a vivid and dreadful picture,—and we are afraid too true a picture,—of the state of that unhappy country, we shall give Mr. Peel’s speech at length.

Mr. Peel next rose and said, that, with the permission of the house, he should be extremely happy to fill up the deficiency in the statement of his noble friend (lord Palmerston) last night, in regard to the military establishment for Ireland; a task which his noble friend had devolved upon him. He thought

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there was no gentleman who would not admit that the civil power was insufficient for maintaining the tranquillity of that part of the united kingdom. Into the causes of that unhappy state of things which rendered a military establishment of 25,000 men absolutely necessary for Ireland, he would not enter; but he would beg gentlemen to recollect, that as they had been told last night that England was not Germany, so England was not Ireland. In the latter country (observed the right honourable gentleman) we had not the inestimable blessing of a resident gentry, feeling a community of interests with the mass of the population; neither was there a local magistracy universally diffused; so that large districts were either left without a magistracy at all, or it became necessary to select persons who were not well qualified for its functions. Ireland also had a crowded and increasing population, without adequate means of giving them employment. The right honourable gentleman proceeded to state that the employment of the military force in Ireland was for three purposes: first, for the performance of the ordinary military duties of forts and garrisons; second, for the preservation of the public peace; and third, for the suppression of that grievous bane of Ireland—illicit distillation. What he therefore maintained was, that the 25,000 men appointed for Ireland, would be, in fact, no more than 20,000 effective men fit for action. He was perfectly aware of the necessity of ascertaining the precise amount of troops necessary for each of the principal cities in Ireland, and particularly of Dublin; but the house must be acquainted with the difficulty of obtaining such a particular account as was necessary, in order

that the establishment might, by due consideration and strict attention, be reduced to the very lowest amount possible for the safety of Ireland. Taking but one single instance, he conceived he should satisfactorily show to the house, the immense number of men which would necessarily and absolutely be required. The nightly guard of Dublin required no less than 659 men; and although a very considerable reduction had taken place, yet it was found absolutely indispensable that so large a force should be kept up. The way in which this nightly guard was stationed, was, for Dublin-castle, the park, and other stations, 165; for the store-houses, barracks, and other military buildings, 320; for prisons, the revenue store, and other public departments, 174. He stated this to show that every possible attention had been paid, as far as possible, to reduce the amount of the forces. He came now to another part of the subject, which was the main question to be considered—the employment of the 25,000 military in Ireland under the present peace establishment: and, in order to consider the subject fairly and properly, it would be necessary to consider what had been the establishments in Ireland in former years. Taking, then, the year 1802, when the military force was lower than had ever been employed in that part of the united kingdom—since that period it was 23,000 men; from 1803 to 1807, the military force kept up was 32,000 men on an average; and since 1810 and 1811 there has been an effective force of not less than 35,000 men. He was well aware what answer would be made to this statement by the other side, that during the time stated it was a war and not a peace establishment; and that,

that, therefore, it could be considered as no criterion. Of course he must admit in some degree the force of this argument, because the amount of the military force was now reduced to only 25,000 men; but it was with deep regret that he had to observe to the house, that a great part of the 35,000 men employed had been so occupied, not for the purpose of repelling invasion, but in aid of the civil power, which had been found too weak of itself to maintain order and tranquillity. At present there were in Ireland 38,000 men, and the number of quarters occupied by that army amounted to 441. The principle upon which this was conducted, was the formation of a committee, and an office was appointed for the purpose of reporting the different grievances which came to its knowledge: it was not to be supposed that this committee listened to every idle report which might be made; unless that report had the approbation of a regularly appointed officer, it was not attended to. The distribution of this army, then, as he had stated, was in 441 quarters; and he begged to state to the house, that, upon the reduction of the army, from its present amount in April, more than 200 of these quarters, however necessary they might be considered to be kept up, must be absolutely abandoned. He wished gentlemen not to impute to him any desire to employ unnecessarily a military force, for he perfectly well knew its evils; but he would contend, that it was far better that a military force should exist, than that justice should not be done; it was far better to apprehend the nightly plunderer, than suffer him, unrestrained, to spread dismay and destruction throughout the whole country. It was indispensably ne-

cessary to empower the magistrates to act with vigour and authority. Their activity was in the present state of Ireland most serviceable, and it was the duty of parliament to provide them with such means as to enable them to do justice, maintain tranquillity, and provide for the personal safety of the people. There was another point to be considered by the house, and which, he conceived, would show the imperative necessity of granting this protection. It could not be expected that gentlemen would reside on their estates in Ireland, unless such protection were afforded. The payment of the taxes, and the protection given from the state, must be reciprocal; and if that was not the case, it would soon be found that England would become the residence of the Irish gentry. There was still another point which he wished to mention, and on which he expected still less opposition, as he was persuaded the house would go along with him, when he maintained the necessity of keeping up a military force, in order to prevent having recourse to stronger measures, more inconsistent with the rights and liberties of a free people. This was no fanciful argument; and it would be seen, by what he was about to state, to what extent the insurrection act had been applied. In some cases it had been used on the application of magistrates, and in some cases, he was happy to observe, it had been refused. The act had been applied in several baronies of Tipperary, when it was agreed to apply for an extension of the powers of the bill. It was also applied in the counties of Wexford, Westmeath, and in King's county, and it had produced the effect, at least in the last-mentioned county, of restoring tranquillity.

quillity. In a meeting which had been held on the subject, it had been proposed both to take off the insurrection act and remove the troops; but the unanimous reply of the magistrates was, that if the troops were removed, the insurrection act must remain; but that if the troops remained, the act would be dispensed with. In the county of Galway a meeting was held for the same purpose; but there also it was found necessary to retain the troops. Even, therefore, on constitutional grounds, to prevent a recurrence of those measures which had been so happily abandoned, a military force must be maintained in Ireland. With regard to the employment of these troops in the country, a system had been adopted, which had by some been considered, he was aware, objectionable; viz. that the military should be employed on the duty of custom-house officers. This plan, he would remind the house, had existed ever since the year 1789; but if gentlemen thought that it was intrinsically bad, it was not to be supposed that it should be for that reason now abandoned. To show that this had been the policy of government in former periods, he would state, that in 1806 there were 448 military parties employed to suppress illicit distillation; and in the late period of 1815, the large amount of 1,889. This, therefore, was a question involving many points of great importance; and if this illicit distillation was not suppressed, it would ultimately lead to the subversion of the revenue. He would state particularly, one striking instance which he now recollected, to show the necessity of a sufficient force being applied to this purpose. In a northern county frequent seizures had been made, by a force of forty men, of these spirits,

and particularly one in which, he believed, the same party fired 200 rounds in their own defence, and were on their return attacked, and obliged to take refuge in a house by the road side; and had it not been for an additional force of 200 men at that time coming up, they would have been completely destroyed. The result, therefore, that he wished to impress upon the house, was this—that the government must either abandon these seizures altogether, or employ a military force. He wished, however, not to be misunderstood. He did not mean to say that this military force would produce any permanent effect; but were these bands of robbers to be permitted to occupy the country without molestation? was the property of unoffending individuals to be destroyed by midnight depredators, without some steps being taken to put a stop to them? The past settlement of Ireland might be considered to be bad: admitting the fact, he would ask, was it possible to correct it in an hour? Was it possible to do it by April next, when the present army was to be organized? Could the manners and habits of a people be reformed in so short a period? Unless these robbers and murderers who were infesting the country were removed, all residence in Ireland would become impracticable. He thought much might also be effected by the amelioration of the police; but, at any rate, he had rather have a civil than a military army of police. He much regretted the present state of the police in Ireland, and he hoped the bill he had the honour of bringing in last session on the subject would have had its due effect; but what he anticipated the most favourable result from, was the improving and enlightening the minds
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of the people. From the general disposition which had evinced itself, he had seen that the lower orders showed the greatest avidity after knowledge; and he conceived that, whatever just ideas might be held upon preserving the œconomy of the country, it was the policy of England to promote, as far as possible, the education of the lower classes of the Irish people. It would be much better to have a well-instructed catholic, than one who should be abandoned to the most profound ignorance. From education, therefore, he anticipated the greatest benefit; but, at the same time, he would remind the house, that it was not to be done in a moment; and that, in the mean time, justice must be done and executed with that rigour suitable to the state of the country. If he had, therefore, succeeded in showing that the disorders in Ireland were necessary to be corrected, and that the civil power was not sufficient of itself to perform that duty—if he had succeeded in showing that it was the interest of all parties that a military force should be kept up, with a view to restoring confidence, and inducing the stay of those whose residence in the country was of all things the most desirable—if he should have succeeded in showing these points to the house, he should sit down contented under the idea that the case of the necessity of the employment of the standing army in Ireland was most clearly made out.

On the suggestion of lord Folkestone, the debate on the army estimates was again adjourned.

On the 28th of February, several petitions were presented to the house of commons against the income tax, and in favour of retrenchment and œconomy, which gave rise to

some discussion; after which, the debate on the army estimates was again resumed.

Mr. Law, observing that we had heard much of a large military establishment, agreed in many of the objections that had been urged against it, and looked with great jealousy on the military spirit that was now so widely predominant.—But taking into consideration the state of the country, he could not vote against the establishment proposed, at least as an establishment for this year. The gentlemen on one side of the house had fallen into two errors—one, in considering this establishment a permanent peace establishment; the other, in considering that the peace would be permanent. We forgot that the waves continued to roll long after the storm that raised them had subsided. The dangers that threatened us were from two causes—from government, and from their subjects. It was an extraordinary feature since the French revolution, that many small states in Germany, though not regulated by forms of government that could promise any such result, had been the means of distributing much happiness and security among their subjects. This security which their subjects enjoyed arose from public opinion. It was false that the French had every where done mischief; in Italy they had done good: they had diffused in that country education, courage, desire of liberty, and a passion for uniting the various petty states into one great kingdom; all these views had been forgotten at the congress of Vienna, and Italy had been again divided. When he looked to the situation of Austria, he found her settled, but depending for her finances upon Italy; when he looked at Prussia, he observed her deriving
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her strength from Saxony, each equally with a view to future war. Nothing but apprehension could be excited by contemplating the position of Russia, whether we looked to the extent or the character of her population. That character was in no degree changed, however the amount of the population had increased, or the frontiers of the empire had been extended, since the time when lord Chatham had described Russia as moving eccentrically in an orbit of her own, and as governed by a power in which assassination stood in place of the functions of lords and commons. With her left washed by the Baltic, her right by the Black Sea, and her back resting on the confines of the world, she wielded the elements of nature as means of defence, and poured forth an inexhaustible population when necessary to foreign or distant war. In such a state of things, was it possible not to see that Prussia was held in thralldom, and that France had no hope of safety but in a close alliance with Russia? The more he reflected on the present state of Europe, as it stood affected by what had been done, and by what had been left undone, at the congress of Vienna, the more he felt satisfied that there was no future tranquillity for the world, until the original sin committed in Poland should be redeemed. It was this which had communicated the wicked principle to the French revolution, and had spoiled the mind of European cabinets; and until that dark and fatal crime should be atoned for, the most solemn negotiations were but as a game of chess. Whilst this remained undone, to talk of our character was but to invite a laugh—of our gold, but to induce a desire for it—of our commerce, but to sug-

gest to them the means of throwing the sword into the scale against it. It was with these views of public affairs, and believing that a renewal of war would endanger the civilization of Europe, that he thought an armed mediation necessary at present. He should vote, on this ground, for the establishment for one year. He did this from a conviction that any fresh disturbance in the centre of Europe, and unequal as the Netherlands were to their own defence, must inevitably disturb the order of things established by the late arrangements. This country was often described as placed upon an eminence from which she could look down upon the vast plain of European politics; but he had always understood, that it was the part of wisdom, mixed with benevolence, sometimes to descend into the plain, and to decide between the combatants. In the ancient mythology, Wisdom was represented as armed, because the experience of the world has always proved that the best examples and the noblest precepts fail of their efficacy, unaccompanied by a power of enforcing them.

Lord Folkstone would not follow the honourable gentleman into those considerations of foreign policy to which he had drawn the attention of the house, and the inquiry into which it was so desirable should be made in the presence of the noble lord (lord Castlereagh). He was more disposed to commence his observations by referring to the speech of a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) on the melancholy state of Ireland, which, as represented on the other side, must be admitted on all hands to demand investigation. It appeared that the prevailing system of government in that country, instead of

of quieting its agitations, was only leading from bad to worse; and that this, instead of being brought forward as a proper subject of inquiry, had not even been deemed worthy of mention in the speech delivered by the commissioners from the throne. It had been urged that the whole question of the establishment was but a question of degree, and that it was at least necessary to refer the estimates to a committee. But this argument, if it proved any thing, proved too much, for it would equally apply to any proposed amount; and would it be said that the house ought to entertain a proposition for keeping up a force of 500,000 men? The *onus probandi* lay on the other side; it was for them to show the actual necessity of such an establishment; for the old doctrine of the constitution was, that no standing army at all ought to be maintained in time of peace. The right honourable gentleman, in recommending this establishment, should consider his ways and means of supporting it. He appeared to rely on the property-tax. Was he sure of that resource, after the petitions which had been already received, and those which might be expected? If he succeeded, was he sure that it would avail him to the supposed amount under the new modifications? He believed that the effect of such modifications would be to produce a mite to the treasury, without diminishing the oppression and vexation to the subject: but, without entering into the financial view of the question, he would ask, could the present proposition be reconciled to any fair principles of the constitution? It had been said that a large establishment in time of peace had been recognised by successive acts of parliament; but he

conceived there was a material difference between what was strictly legal and what was constitutional. Lord Coke had declared, that Magna Charta was the foundation of our constitution, which no subsequent act of the legislature could abrogate or alter. Empson and Dudley were able financiers of that day; but their acting under temporary legal authority, against the free principles of the constitution, did not save them, as lord Coke observed, from justly suffering for their exactions. How was it possible to doubt that the patronage of the army must increase the influence of the crown in that house, and that by granting that patronage the house must diminish in the same proportion its power of refusing it hereafter? He did feel as strongly convinced as he could be of any truth not manifest to his outward senses, that there existed in some quarter a resolute determination to establish a military government in this country. Let the house reflect on the external system of the court, on the clubs now forming, on the recent profusion of military honours and decorations, and then say whether there was not strong evidence of such a design? He respected, as much as any man, the character of our army and the valour of its officers, and he thought they supplied the means to a prudent government, not of increasing but of cutting down the establishment; but the habits and subordination of military life were essentially different from the feelings inspired by the principles and practice of freedom. The officers of the army had their own ideas and habits, and an affectation was growing up among them of separating themselves from the civil classes, and of forming, as it were,
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a perfectly distinct branch of society. They were beginning to associate together exclusively, and to assume a military air and costume on all occasions. Instead of a groom, some general officers were followed by a hussar through the streets. Small matters, though singly, perhaps, unimportant, when taken together, and indicative of the same spirit, called for jealousy and vigilance, at least from those who thought they saw a leaning towards a military government in the present measures of administration. He might advert to the frequent use of soldiers in matters of police, and to their employment whenever there was a levee at Carlton-house. It was now the custom on this latter occasion to line the streets and blockade the roads by armed cavalry. The usual path was obstructed, and so far the people were already put under military law.

Another point too, of which he could not but take notice, was, that when the prince regent came to parliament, his passage to the house was guarded by a detachment of troops, and by a military display which was quite new in this country, and had never taken place when his majesty was able to meet his parliament. His majesty was satisfied with a small body-guard of twenty or thirty men. Whether such precautions were necessary he neither knew nor cared, but he was sure they were both new and unconstitutional. In the same manner, at the balls given to the allied sovereigns at White's and the marquis of Hertford's, dragoons were employed to preserve order. He had lived under despotic governments, as might be believed when he stated that he had resided at St. Petersburg, and undoubtedly there the constant employment of the

military contributed much to the ease and comfort of select society. But our own was a free constitution, and we could not retain its advantages without its inconveniencies. Every one admitted, however, that the latter were as nothing in the comparison. Whilst on this subject, it was worth remarking, that a considerable increase of the usual guard had taken place at the Horse-Guards; every where we saw sentries multiplied, and that not an exhibition could be opened without a file of soldiers. Until he could perceive some reason for all this, he must suspect that something was in contemplation, dangerous to the form of our free government. It was remarkable, too, that on all occasions the prince regent was advised to come down to parliament, not in the usual costume of sovereignty, as in a dress coat, but attired in military uniform. The honourable gentlemen on the other side might smile at these remarks: but he requested them to remember them fifteen years hence, for nothing could be more different than the practice now, and the practice fifteen years ago. Amongst the items included in the estimates were some for what were called charitable institutions. One of these was the establishment at Chelsea for the education of soldiers' children. But how were they educated? The boys were dressed as soldiers, they were taught the military exercise, and performed all their duties by beat of drum. The military college near Bagshot appeared to him to be a most odious and improper institution. It was an establishment in which hundreds of young gentlemen, instead of being educated, after the usual form, in classical studies, or the habits of civil business, were taught nothing but what was essential

essential to military life. This might be justifiable, and perhaps necessary, when the nation was engaged in hostilities, and against a formidable enemy; but with a state of peace we ought to return to peaceful occupations and pursuits, as we had done at every former period of our history. "Oh! but the times are changed," it was said on the other side. He wished that the right honourable gentleman who made this observation had at once fairly and manfully met the argument by alleging that the British constitution was no more.

Whatever justification had been made out for the Irish, none, he was sure, could be offered for the English establishment. In the first place, he objected to the word *depth*, both because it was a military, and because it was not an English, word. He considered them as a mere pretence for maintaining a sort of fortresses in this country; and when he heard them described as useful, extensive, and important, he was satisfied that they could only be so against the liberties and constitution of England. To maintain soldiers only to walk idly about in these places, was at best only to throw good money after bad; and he feared that, if suffered to remain, we should ere long be told of the necessity of still further extending them. For his own part, he regarded them as mere expensive encumbrances, not necessary either for our security or prosperity, both of which had grown up unaided by such means; and he believed the real ground on which they were required, was, that they were thought necessary in consequence of an increased population. That this was the true principle of these innovations in the frame of our domestic policy, had, indeed, been on

one occasion admitted incidentally by the late Mr. Perceval himself; but still that was during a period of war and difficulty. The noble lord proceeded to contend that it was the soundest policy of this country to husband its resources in time of peace, to reserve itself for great occasions; and if the peace should unfortunately prove short, then we should be enabled to return to the contest with redoubled vigour. He lamented the absence of the noble lord (Castlereagh), particularly after the speech which the house had just heard from the honourable gentleman on the floor. He should have thought that the honourable member would, under hardly any circumstances, have fired off such an attack on the treaties during the noble lord's absence. He should have been happy to have heard his answer to it; for, if we were to credit the speech in question, we might regard ourselves as on the eve of a new war. He must again repeat, that he mainly objected to the estimates on account of the military phrensy which had gone abroad, of which they were an indication, and which they tended to propagate. He lamented that any ministers should be found to give their countenance and encouragement to such a spirit. He hoped the house would see the precipice on which they were standing before it was too late, and refuse to vote for war establishments, at a time when we were assured by ministers of the prospect of profound and lasting peace.

Mr. R. Ward defended the estimates at considerable length. In the course of his speech, talking of the gentleman opposite (Mr. Brougham) and those *in his train*, he was called to order by that gentleman, who,—in consequence of his saying that if the gentlemen on his

his side of the house were in the train of another, they at least received no pay for it,—was himself called to order by Mr. W. Fitzgerald and Mr. Stewart Wortley, the latter of whom observed that Mr. Brougham assumed a tone and manner, and took upon himself to school every body in a way quite unprecedented.

After the house had resumed the direct object of debate, sir James Mackintosh rose to perform a duty which he was anxious to have discharged at a much earlier hour; namely, that of protesting against a measure which, in his judgement, would lead to the substitution of a military government, instead of the free constitution of this country. He had listened with the utmost admiration to the forcible, eloquent, and constitutional speech of the noble lord; it contained (said the honourable gentleman) more old English spirit, and more sound old English principles, than any speech that I ever delivered within these walls—I mean than any that I ever heard delivered. He would leave his majesty's ministers to defend themselves against the speech of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Ward), and in his view of this subject he would not enter into any controversy with the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel), who had stated, as the result of his opinions, that Ireland could not be governed by the civil power. He honoured the sincerity, the candour, and the prudence of his observations; but he could not forbear to state his conviction that the present unhappy state of that part of the united kingdom might be traced to the popery laws, which had deprived the people of proper guides and leaders. There were only two countries in

Europe, England and Spain, where intolerance existed: he brought them together with regret, and could not mention them without a blush. The right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Yorke) had stated, that the Revolution was the source of a standing army in this kingdom; but this was not the fact. Oliver Cromwell (continued the honourable member) was the founder of a standing army, and he employed it to expel the representatives of the people from this house, and to drive your predecessor, sir, from the chair. Charles II., on his restoration, preserved as much of that army as he could. James II., also, kept up standing armies; but it was one of the principal points that were settled at the Revolution, that they should exist only for a year, and depend entirely on the breath of parliament. Such was the history of standing armies; and after a period of 130 years, his majesty's ministers now proposed, for the first time, to withdraw them from the control of the legislature. The annual grant of money was now proposed only for a violation of the constitution, and to keep up a greater army than James II. had in his hands. He agreed with the right honourable gentleman, that, with respect to this establishment, it was a question of degree and amount. But he complained, that ministers had said it was to depend only on necessity; it ought also to depend on the spirit of the constitution, and that question ought to be decided before the consideration of colonies and garrisons. Gentlemen on his side were said to be guilty of calumny, in stating that there was an intention of raising a military despotism; but he believed, that with regard to population, the present establishment was greater, by 40,000

40,000 men, than the military establishment of France, compared with the number of her people. The right honourable gentleman had begun with quoting the fatal effects of a low peace establishment in the years 1744, and 1779: and he (sir J. M.) had heard with astonishment that a late minister, in 1793, had regretted his reduction of the standing army. He was fully assured, that no such sentiment had been expressed by that illustrious character; but even if it had, it would have been a most absurd proposition. Did any man think that 10,000 men more or less would have had the slightest influence on the great contest which we were afterwards obliged to maintain? As well might a farmer at the foot of Vesuvius lament that he had not added a foot or two more of wall to his fence, to prevent the irruption of the mountain. If we were now to have so large an establishment, what would it be when France was restored to herself, and proposed to revenge her humiliated state? This was not a country which required military establishments to keep up a military spirit in the people. Old English liberty, low peace establishments, and a stern house of commons, had made us victorious at Blenheim and Waterloo, and the same constitutional system would always provide us with Churchills and Wellesleys.

Mr. W. Pole said, gentlemen must admit that some standing army ought to be kept up; and if they did not deny that position, the question was at an end *quoad* the constitution, and must be considered only with reference to amount and degree.

Sir F. Burdett said, that he was sorry to rise at so late an hour of the night, but he felt this to be a

subject of such vital importance, that he should feel wanting in his duty if he did not take his stand with the noble lord who had preceded him, and who had so ably given his opinion. The right honourable gentleman who had just sat down, had repeated with a very triumphant air, that it was quite absurd to suppose that no standing army was necessary; and that the natural consequence was, that we must go into a committee to investigate the subject. But this triumphant argument, he contended, was erroneous; for nothing was more common than the mode now adopted. Supposing a man intended to buy an estate, but the price of that estate was so exorbitant that he was obliged to reject the proposal entirely, without entering into any particulars as to the goodness or badness of the estate, was he not competent to do it? This then was exactly a case in point. Ministers had made a proposition for a standing army of such an amount, and of such an exorbitant nature, as at no former period any minister would have dared to make. We had therefore no occasion to go into any detail, or to make any further inquiry; we took our stand on the broad principle of the exorbitancy of the demand. We cared not what case was made out, or what details were entered into, when in the outset a proposition was made inconsistent with the liberties of the country. It had been said, "perish our commerce, let our constitution live:" but he would now say, "perish the military establishment, let our constitution live." The right honourable gentleman who spoke before the right honourable gentleman who had just sat down, had referred to the pages of history, and had asked whether

whether it could be said that Charles II. was the legitimate sovereign of the country? He was legitimate, because he was chosen by the will of the people, and invited to the throne by the parliament of the country, and not like Louis XVIII. who obtained the throne by the bayonet and military force. It had also been said by the same right honourable gentleman, that it was Oliver Cromwell who had dissolved the parliament, and had first set up that military despotism so much abhorred; but this assertion, he contended, was not founded in fact; for what did Cromwell do? The whole amount of the army kept up for England, Ireland, and Scotland, in those turbulent times, was only 25,000 men. If we looked back into the pages of history, and referred to all the tyrannies that ever existed, it would be seen that never was there such an establishment as the present. The Roman imperial guard was but 12,000, the Janissaries of Constantinople amounted to only 12,000 men, and the whole despotism of Bonaparte was kept up and supported by 40,000 men, forming his imperial guard. Were these 100,000 men proposed to be kept up in England, Ireland, and her colonies, a mere chimera, a delusion? Was this immense force to be considered as nothing? He had always maintained the opinion of Bolingbroke, that 100 national troops within the walls were more dangerous than 100,000 out of them. A good deal had been said about not attributing motives to any man but those which were of the most pure nature; he perfectly agreed that the decency of debate compelled every one not to impute to any man within the walls of the house any motives but such as were the most

public, and least hostile to the interests of the country. The decency of debate compelled this; yet if he should be guarded by the same scruples out of the house, he should deserve to be considered as a fool and a hypocrite. If any constitutional jealousy was entertained against this most scandalous and enormous proposition, we were to be taunted by gentlemen on the other side with maintaining idle chimeras.

It had been also stated, that we had got rid of the bugbear of Bonaparte, and we had heard an eloquent episode, complaining of a fresh bugbear in the power of Russia. For his part, he confessed that he had no apprehensions of the kind; he did not conceive that there was any danger that this country would be so soon plunged into a new war: but, at all events, he would wish to know why this country was to be mixed with the other powers of Europe; why we were to be enslaved because other countries were enslaved? What he most heartily wished was to reinstate this country in its former freedom. Another of those forcible arguments which had been made use of by the other side was, "What! after having gone so far, should we relax in our exertions, and plainly confess our weakness, that we were incompetent to be on the same footing with the other powers?" This reminded him of a story of a great hero, who, it was said, after having fought a great battle, was afraid to take off his armour, for fear of showing some defect or weakness. But where, he would ask, was the harm of taking off this armour which had been so long worn in the field of battle? Where was the fear of now meeting with a foe, excepting indeed from the Bourbon family,

family, who had been so industriously set upon the throne? It had been further urged, in the same ingenious strain, that there might be a resurrection of the French army; but whether it was meant that those French soldiers who were killed in the battle of Waterloo were to be called from their graves, or that the devil should lend his wings to assist Bonaparte in his flight from St. Helena to head these men so risen, he knew not; but what he was afraid of, what he most dreaded, was the grievous distresses of the country, the national debt, and the immense peace establishment; these were subjects which called for just alarm; and retrenchment should be the word in every Englishman's mouth. This was not the time when we should be amused by idle stories of resurrections and insurrections without the least foundation, or the least pretence to truth or accuracy. An honourable gentleman, who had spoken early in the debate, had dwelt much upon the degradation of the army if they were disbanded. Were grenadiers, it was asked, to return to that degrading employment of dustmen and coal-heavers? He should be very glad to see them in such situations; and he knew of no employment, however low or degrading it might to some appear, which was not entitled to be respected by the greatest men in the country. As to what had been said about grenadiers turning scavengers and dustmen, he believed that there were persons in much higher ranks of society who were quite as well inclined to do dirty work. It was notorious that the guards were employed in common work in town; and it was not thought discredit-able. What was said about dignity

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was all sham pretence, and must fail of exciting sympathy. If the merits of soldiers deserved the continuance of pay after disbanding them, he should not object to that. But the great expenses of these establishments went to other people, which he was for saving, though he would reward the soldier. There was a set of men quite overlooked: the midshipmen, who must be considered as gentlemen, and had a scientific education, were turned adrift upon the world. Though friendly to æconomy, he was no enemy to merited rewards, but he was so to a detrimental system.

The secretary of state for Ireland had drawn such a lamentable and disgraceful picture of Ireland, as showed it to be out of the state of a civilized society. Yet Ireland was not mentioned in the speech from the throne, which was a sin of omission as culpable as a sin of commission. By omitting all mention of Ireland, it might be supposed that Ireland was alluded to as well as England, when the flourishing state of commerce was spoken of. How did it happen that, near the close of the American war, when the combined fleets were riding in the Channel, and threatening invasion — when Ireland was without troops, the people rose as one man, with lord Charlemont at their head, and deterred the enemy from his threatened attempt to land? But the whole case was not laid open, it mainly rested on the illicit distillation of whisky. So inadequate were the causes assigned! We were to keep down Ireland by the sword, to prevent illicit distillation. This he was unwilling to agree to. The troops were stationed for this purpose in Ireland in several hundred different positions. As to this great question of im-

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morality, he apprehended there was no prohibition to the people to buy what he might call the government whisky. The more they drank that, at a high price and inferior quality, and thereby paid the duties, so much the better, and then we should indeed hear of the flourishing state of the revenue. This was keeping up a sham force for morality, and a real one for the revenue. He had been told that this illicit whisky was so much superior, that it was drunk at the table of the viceroy, and that the officers commanding the detachment would not drink the government whisky. But why not remove the cause of all this evil, and do as was done by the commutation tax respecting tea, of which, till the duties were removed, the smuggling could not be stopped? By economy alone we could alleviate the burthens, and dispense with this whisky revenue. But this subject demanded consideration by itself, and he should pursue it no further.

The establishment to be maintained in England was of greater importance: as to increase of population, he thought that argument applied the other way, though it had been said that the army could not prudently be kept, even on the proposed footing, without having its outposts in France, where, by the by, they were to be employed in keeping down the people of France. A greater population should require less military force. It was rather on the militia, on the volunteers, and on the affection of the people, that government should depend to maintain the constitution, and to defend the country against the attacks of foreign enemies. Then the great number of our colonies was urged as a reason for a great force. If there was no ap-

prehension of insurrection in the colonies, he could see no reason for this. On what other ground could danger be apprehended? Never, since England was England, had there been so little pretence, at home or abroad, for an increased military peace establishment. A few ships of war would protect our islands. Who could or would attack us? Why have the colonies, if they only brought difficulties? He wished now to take his stand against a plan which would alter the constitution. If this measure was necessary this year, in what year would not circumstances be found to induce its continuance? What was called temporary would be made permanent. Look at the growth of the forces since we had only a few guards and garrisons. Our forefathers never believed, or could dream of establishing a standing army. If the measure passed by law, the people might think they had no more right to be enslaved by parliament than by prerogative. In Elizabeth's reign, the martial spirit was as high as now, divested of its foppery. The Spanish ambassador was surprised at the queen's want of pomp, and inquired where were her guards? That princess pointed to the people, and told him they were her guards. It was for an English parliament to compel a minister to bring forward some plan with modifications, which they could look at, and which was endurable; but they ought to look at the whole plan before they put their seal to the destruction of the constitution.

Mr. Peel and Sir F. Burdett mutually explained.

Mr. Tierney said, that all that eloquence, knowledge of history, and honest English feelings could do, had been attempted. He participated

participated in them, but should not take up the time of the house by weakening their effect. He had suggested a call of the house, because, if ever there was a question that concerned the great landed interest, it was the present. Now they had a full attendance, and to that great body he particularly desired to address a few words, without going deeply into the subject. He hoped to show a *prima facie* case against this large establishment, which it behoved ministers to answer. He could not do so, if he did not briefly notice the state of our finances first. He could show the absolute necessity of real economy. We had for near 25 years contended for the overthrow of the military domination of France, and had at last met with success that exceeded the hopes of the most sanguine. We had destroyed that power with which, it was said, no other nation was safe. Might he, or might he not, then, congratulate the house on this great event? If there was now no danger, the army was too large; if there was impending danger, the army appeared too small. He must assume that Europe was now safe, and England in security. He would say that the revenue had been declining for the last six months, and our surplus was so small, that our finances could scarcely be in a worse way. The difference between July 5, and January the 5th last, was from 67,400,000*l.* to 66,000,000*l.* He should not then enter into any details of the different branches in which the revenue failed. The consolidated fund was 39,308,000*l.* and there were 2,700,000*l.* of permanent war taxes, making a total of 42,000,000*l.* Deduct the interest of debt, 37,758,000*l.* including sinking fund, &c. There were also

the Austrian loan of 400,000*l.*, and the debt of Portugal, and various charges, to the amount of 1,500,000*l.* and the interest on the exchequer bills. The 20,000,000*l.* outstanding must be at five per cent. the 6,000,000*l.* to be issued at four per cent. making 1,240,000*l.* There was a permanent charge of 40,498,000*l.* He threw out any thing that might aggravate the statement. The total remaining of all the produce of taxes was 1,819,000*l.* for service from the consolidated fund. The only other source was derived from what was called the annual amount of taxes. He reasoned on the ordinary way of making up the accounts for the last five or six years. Now all other resources must be of a novel kind: 2,700,000*l.* of war taxes, be it recollected, were already made permanent; but there was the falling-off he had noticed of 1,000,000*l.* in the revenue. But this reduction could not be a reduction of one million out of seven, but of one out of nine millions; and he did not believe it would be possible out of the nine to procure more than six; he did not believe that the present taxes could ever remain at the same rate, for the war expenditure contributed in a degree to revenue; but now, when even that source had failed, and when every mode of supply was cut off by the accumulated distresses of the country, he was persuaded that it would be impossible to levy taxes to the same amount. Admitting, however, that 10 millions could be raised by the means proposed, all that remained was the property tax, and that would not be equal to the return of last year; for it must be remembered, that last year's return was in fact the return of the year preceding; and though the

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chancellor

chancellor of the exchequer had stated that the amount for the 5th of January 1816 exceeded, by more than a million, the amount returned for the 5th of January 1815, yet he could prove incontrovertibly, that the amount of the year ending in July 1815 was less, by a million, than the amount of the year ending in July 1814. He would venture to assert, that the utmost the property tax would produce next year, would not exceed eleven millions. The right honourable gentleman had taken the half of that tax, which, added to the former ten millions, would make up fifteen and a half, while the right honourable gentleman had calculated on 20. The right honourable gentleman knew as well as himself, that Ireland, instead of contributing three millions, must throw itself upon us for support; and thus so much more would be added to our exigencies. We had been told that this demand for twenty millions of money, would not be a permanent demand: but it was admitted, after deducting the 30,000 men stationed in France, that there was to be a permanent establishment of 111,000 men. Now, in order to compare this establishment with that of 1791, we must deduct for the new colonies 23,000 men, which would leave 88,000; 25,000 for Ireland, which would leave 63,000; in short, the result of the papers on the table showed that there would be an exceeding of 27,000 in this peace establishment over that of 1791. Now, was not this a *prima facie* case that would establish a sufficient ground for alarm? And ought we not to pray his royal highness the prince regent to order that other and far different estimates be produced? The secretary at war, in the luminous statement which he

had made of the disposition of the forces, had divided that subject into four branches—England, Ireland, the old, and new colonies. After what had fallen from members, whose authority he could not doubt, he might admit that so much was necessary for Ireland; but not for a year (that would be the way to remove Ireland from the attention and remembrance of the house). He thought such a force should be granted only for the exigency of the present moment.

As for England, he was utterly unable to conceive the grounds on which the force should be so much increased. If the population was greater, had it proportionably degenerated in spirit? On the head of the new colonies, he was still less able to comprehend why we were called upon for an army to support islands, at the very moment when we had reduced our navy, which was the more obvious defence for such possessions. But this convinced him the more, that our navy was reduced for the sole purpose of applying more money to the army. He deprecated this neglect of our peculiar constitutional force, and would ask whether the navy, by any conduct during the late war, had justified the apparent imputation, that we deemed them unable or unwilling to defend us? If there was danger, a fair proportion had not been maintained between army and navy. If there was no danger, why did we keep up an army? With regard to the old colonies, the secretary at war had probably relied on the opinions of military men; and if we went into a committee, the utmost we could do, would be to sift the secretary at war! But the house in such matters ought itself to take the depositions of military men, and had

had they done so at a former period, Walcheren had never been attacked. The opinion of military men ought to be asked by the house itself. Among other statements, the noble lord had mentioned one thousand men stationed at the Cape, for the purpose of resisting what he termed the natives; for it would have sounded too ridiculous to have said in plain truth the Hottentots! The noble lord had very probably made due inquiry at the Horseguards; but inquiry at the Horseguards was very different from a formal examination before that house. In the former case, it was almost impossible that they whose opinions were requested, should not gravitate towards the centre of influence. But we had been told "we were to provide against future contingencies; we were to be prepared." He must observe that the present were no preparations! This was not a rehearsal, but a performance; we were cursed with all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of war! This was no provision against future evils, the present exhaustion and ruin; and if ever war did come, there must be a stop to the payment of the interest of the national debt—we must defraud our creditors, we must sink in bankruptcy. He did not wish to prevent a proper establishment, but the question was, what should be deemed such? The secretary at war had said that only 600,000*l.* would be saved, if 25,000 men were to be struck off the list; for his part, he could not comprehend this statement; but if we could save only 6*l.* we were bound in duty to exert every effort for doing so. Ministers themselves had stated that every possible saving should be made. Ministers loudly proclaimed the necessity of economy, and

their desire to adopt plans for carrying it into execution; but all the savings we had yet heard of were to be created by an increase of salaries. Could any set of men then be viewed with more distrust and jealousy than such an administration? Could the country gentlemen of England, who had been assembled here by the call of the house, place any reliance upon them, or concur in their measures, when the most prominent points of their policy had been a bribery of the tax-gatherer, and a pampering of the army? He wished the noble lord were in his place, that he might now remind him of what passed on a former occasion, when he proposed the measure that had procured so full an attendance in the house. The noble lord then tauntingly told him, that the country would not be interested in what was said or done on the side of the house on which he generally sat. This prophecy had not been fulfilled. The country had been roused, and bestirred itself from one end of it to the other; and he was convinced that many of the country members had come up charged with the sentiments and fears entertained by the districts to which they belonged. The inconsistency of ministers had been apparent; and they could not expect confidence in their statements while they themselves contradicted them; nor could they rationally anticipate that the gentlemen who composed this house would vote for such extravagant estimates while no real danger could be pointed out, and while it was considered that ministers themselves wished, before they thought of their establishments, to lull us to the most profound repose. There was nothing now but black spots in the horizon, (for ministers

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were still determined to look into the clouds)—and upon the simple declaration of the existence of such spots we were required to encumber ourselves with taxes, and to incur the danger of losing our liberties. He concluded by imploring the members of the house, who had been sent up by their constituents to attend to their interests and the interests of the empire, to weigh well what they were required to do, before they lent themselves to the support of ministers; to consider what account they could render to their own minds, their friends, to the people of Great Britain, and to the world, if they adopted the course proposed by the administration, and contributed so powerfully to overthrow the liberties and the constitution of their country.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the right honourable gentleman opposite, who had been so much applauded by those who surrounded him, had made an able speech to show the weakness of the cause he supported. (*Hear.*) He was not disposed to retract what he had said. A few rather insignificant facts, and some striking observations and comparisons, had been mixed up and pointed in such a manner as to have an imposing appearance, that might mislead the inattentive and the ill-informed, but could produce no effect on those who possessed reflection or knowledge. The house was not required to decide on the propriety of the estimates, but to enter upon such a course of proceedings as would

enable the house to come to an enlightened decision. The right honourable gentleman entered into various details on finance, on former peace establishments, on the forces to be kept up in our colonies, and the principle adopted in their distribution, on the necessity which the present aspect of things imposed upon us of consulting our permanent security by preserving a defensive attitude, and took an opportunity of replying to several arguments maintained on the other side of the house.

Lord Cochrane, who rose amid loud cries of Question, particularly directed the attention of the house to the situation of Malta and the West Indies.

Mr. Stuart Wortley thought there should be the strictest œconomy; and believed that the present government, with an attention to retrenchment, was the best the country could enjoy.

Mr. Bennet (amid the loudest cries of Question) only begged leave to ask the chancellor of the exchequer whether the salaries of six collectors of the taxes in Scotland, and 36 in England, had been increased?

The chancellor of the exchequer answered in the negative.

Mr. Protheroe, although he might object to the estimates, would vote for going into a committee to consider them.

The house then divided—

For leaving the chair

Against it

Majority

241
112
129

CHAPTER VI.

Lord King's Motion respecting Loans to Foreign Powers—Debates in the House of Commons, in a Committee on the Army Estimates—Mr. Western's Speech on the Agricultural Distresses of the Country—Debates on the Duke of Bedford's Motion respecting the State of the Nation—Bills respecting the Custody of Bonaparte—The Marquis of Lansdown's Motion respecting the Army—Provision for the Princess Charlotte on her Marriage.

HOUSE of lords, March 1.—A motion was made by lord King, the object of which was to ascertain what measures had been taken by ministers to obtain payment, first, of a loan to Austria, in the year 1793: secondly, of the balance due by France on account of prisoners of war; thirdly, of the Russian loan; and fourthly, of the advances of 600,000*l.*, and afterwards of 300,000*l.* to Portugal.—Negatived without a division.

In the house of commons, numerous petitions continued to be laid on the table, against the property tax: ministers, however, declared that they did not mean to give it up: and Mr. Lushington, on the 1st of March, defended the tax, as a just, wise, and necessary measure, —which reached those wealthy persons who lived like beggars, and made them pay like princes.

On the 4th of March, a petition having been presented to the house of commons, from Somersetshire, against the property tax, and complaining of the agricultural distresses, owing to the heavy taxes, and sinecure places and pensions, Mr. Methuen rose, and delivered a speech, which deserves to be given at length, as proceeding from a member, who agreed to second the address at the beginning of the session, when he thought ministers sincere in their professions of œconomy, but afterwards openly censured their conduct, when he found they were not

inclined to practise what they professed and promised.

Mr. Methuen said, that all were pleased and satisfied at hearing in the speech from the throne professions of œconomy. The times were such as to call upon every gentleman to speak out fairly. Though he had been generally friendly to the measures of government, yet such were the present circumstances, that, were he in the situation of the noble lord, he should venture respectfully but firmly to address majesty itself, and say that the pledge of œconomy given in the royal speech must be fulfilled; that now no excess should be committed, no more useless or fanciful expenditure incurred, whether on cottages or pavilions. Money exclusively belonging to the control of parliament should not be otherwise appropriated, though even to the use of the country. Practice must be added to theory. By these means alone the security and satisfaction of the people were to be found. Public distress called for remedies, and parliament was bound to interfere with every branch of expenditure, from the highest to the lowest. With such language as this he would approach majesty itself. If the vast military establishment, with an encouragement of extravagance, was to go on, there would soon be an end to our national prosperity. If such things continued, he trusted that the house would soon rise with

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one voice, and address the throne. Whatever some might think, he was satisfied that public spirit was yet alive within the walls of that house, and was ready to revive from the apparent slumber into which it might have fallen from the circumstances of the times, and a generous excess of confidence. Some unfair impression had gone abroad as to the conduct of members of that house. A newspaper he had read spoke of those members who voted for going into the committee on the army estimates, as intending to vote for every item of them. This was incorrect. He had himself voted for going into the committee, as the proper place for discussing the particulars, and because he thought voting against it was like voting against any army whatever.

A petition from Leominster against the property tax called the attention of the house to the formation of a military club under the sanction of the commander-in-chief; and expressed a hope that the house of commons would not fail to watch the proceedings of such a formidable body. This gave rise to some discussion respecting the nature of the club; sir C. Monck, Mr. C. Wymie, lord Milton, and Mr. Brougham representing it as unconstitutional and dangerous; and Mr. Gooch, colonel Wood, and Mr. Rose defending it.

After this discussion, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day, for the house to resolve itself into a committee on the army estimates. The debates on this question, though very long, do not present much novelty. We shall therefore content ourselves with selecting such speeches as throw the most light on the subject, present it in a novel point of view, or display considerable talents.

Lord Palmerston's speech deserves notice, as pointing out the reductions which had been already made. He observed that after the general statement which he had already submitted to the house, it would be unnecessary for him to go into all the details of the proposed establishment on the present occasion, and he should therefore reserve himself for those explanations which the course of the discussion might require. He believed he should most consult the convenience of the house by confining himself to a comparative view, in the outset, of the late and the proposed new military establishment, and by drawing the attention of the committee to the reductions already made, or about to be carried into effect. It was, however, necessary for him to remind the committee, that the establishments now to be submitted to their consideration ought not to be considered as a fixed, but as an intermediate system, adapted to a period in which the country was passing from war to peace. The total amount of the reduction to be effected in the course of the present year was in number 87,000, including those still maintained, but not at the expense of this country. The saving under this head was a sum of five millions. A part of this force, it was true, was transferred to the pay of France, but still the number of men actually reduced was no less than 53,000. When he added to this number the foreign troops formerly in our service, and now disbanded, the whole amount in the diminution of our establishment was already 74,000 men. Of these 1,000 were household troops. The cavalry either reduced or transferred to the pay of France, was a force of 9,000 men, of whom 1,600 had been reduced at home. In point of ex-
pense,

pense, this alteration would produce a retrenchment of \$14,000. and a total saving under this head of 1,389,000*l*. Upon the subject of miscellaneous services, he had to state a gross diminution of 392,000*l*.; but, from the increase of non-effective pay, a real reduction of expenditure to the amount of 192,000*l*. To persons not conversant with details of this nature, it might be proper to remark, that in every estimate of entire numerical military strength, 1-eighth should be deducted for the class of trumpeters and drummers. Adverting to this allowance, the whole force of rank and file would be found to be 97,000 men. In India the only reduction yet known to have taken place was 742 men. The smallness of this decrease, he was satisfied, however, could occasion no surprise under the recent circumstances in that part of the world. Under the head of disembodied militia, a saving would be effected to the amount of 1,486,000*l*. and that portion of this force still embodied would be disbanded as soon as possible. Upon the staff establishment, and that of garrisons, there had been a reduction of 173,000*l*. In the force for the home service, this reduction consisted of two lieutenant-generals, two major-generals, two aides-de-camp to the prince regent, and two to the duke of York. Abroad there had been a reduction of five commanders-in-chief, one full general, six lieutenants-general, and fifty major-generals. It was proposed to reduce further two lieutenant-generals, two major-generals, and to supply the place of two other lieutenant by major-generals. The five appointments as commander-in-chief to be discontinued were at Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, the island of Mauritius, Jamaica,

and Gibraltar. These different offices would be filled by lieutenant-generals. In the public departments connected with the military establishments of the country, it was obvious that sufficient time had not yet elapsed to carry into execution all the projected curtailments of expense. A diminution had, however, taken place to the extent of 16,000*l*. in the office of the commander-in-chief, the war-office, and the army pay department. At Chelsea there was a reduction of 3,800*l*. and a further saving might be expected from the new system of paying the pensions at quarterly periods. Under the head of volunteer corps the expense was lessened to the amount of 42,000*l*. and it was also intended to reduce the allowances to the yeomanry from 4*l*. to 3*l*. a man. The expense of the local militia would in future be less than it had been to the amount of 263,000*l*. The committee would not fail to bear in mind, that the system of reduction was in full progress, and if its operation was gradual, that this depended on a variety of circumstances which must be taken into account in order to form a right judgement on the whole question. A sum of 450,000*l*. had been already curtailed by the reduction of foreign corps; and when it was considered that many regiments, at the conclusion of the war, were either in America or the West Indies, it would be easy to understand the cause of their not having been before disbanded. He had likewise to notice, that a retrenchment had been effected in the military college of 377*l*.; in the asylum of orphans 899*l*.; and in hospitals generally a sum of 53,000*l*. On the compassionate list there was a saving of 7,000*l*. The expense of the commissariat department was diminished 100,000*l*. and that of barracks

barracks 34,000*l.*; both less than might be expected, without taking into calculation the amount of the retired allowances. An arrangement was about to be entered into with the Portuguese court, on the subject of the British officers in that service. The result of the whole view which he had submitted to the consideration of parliament was, as he had stated in the outset of his observations, that there was a real reduction of 74,000 men, and of 5,000,000*l.* of expense. The whole expense of the establishment for the present year would be found to be 6,000,000*l.* less compared with the last year, and that it would be further reduced 8,000,000*l.* in the year ensuing. The temporary charges pressing upon the country at present amounted to 1,000,000*l.* The half-pay to officers, and the pensions to the men, would be considered to limit the saving upon the reduction of 20,000 men to the sum of 600,000*l.* The pensions to the men amounted to 110,000*l.*, and the entire deduction, on account of the army in France, would be a sum of 909,000*l.* The noble lord, after restating some of the particulars, concluded by moving a resolution, "That 176,715 men, including the army to be maintained in France, and the forces to be disbanded in the course of the present year, be voted for the service of his majesty."

Mr. Bankes spoke at considerable length against lord Palmerston's motion. While he concurred with ministers in thinking that Ireland required the force which they proposed for it, he could not perceive the necessity of keeping the number of troops, which they meant to keep in Britain, or in the colonies: he concluded his speech by strongly insisting on the absolute necessity of retrenchment and economy in every

department and branch of government.

Lord Castlereagh said, that having been prevented by indisposition from expressing his sentiments in the previous debates which had taken place on this subject, and being still rather unwell, he was anxious to take the earliest opportunity of delivering his view of the question. And here he must say, that he thought his honourable friend, who spoke last, would have done better, and acted more practically, if, instead of negating the resolutions which ministers, on the best consideration, had thought it their duty to propose, he had submitted his own proposition respecting the amount of the military establishment which he deemed sufficient. But on a question of such immense importance, which branched out into discussions so multifarious in their bearings, so mixed up with all the relations of the country, he was happy that the subject had undergone the kind of preliminary discussion which it had done, because the question for the consideration of the house was now in a great degree narrowed to its own substratum. He was perfectly prepared to meet the honourable gentlemen opposite on the question of economy in an enlarged sense of that word. There was no degree of saving, consistent with what government deemed their duty to the country, that they did not owe to the people, who had trusted them so largely, for their noble and magnanimous exertions. Ministers never would oppose any question of economy on the ground of its insignificance alone. It was the duty of government to see what relief could be given to the people of this country; but he would protest against giving that kind of relief, in regard to a diminution

minution of its establishment, that might pass the line of sound policy and discretion. He complained that gentlemen opposite were disposed to deal ungenerously with ministers; and all he had to beg of parliament was, that they would not suffer ministers to be put down by any clamour for œconomy, for none had a deeper interest than ministers themselves in the enforcement of all practicable œconomy. There was no individual whose situation imposed that duty more strongly; and he would venture to state, that the difficulties of conducting the affairs of the country were much greater in peace than in war, at least such a war as the country had gone through. Ministers, under such circumstances, had a duty to perform, from which they would not shrink; never would they be found coveting and captivating the public applause by an affectation of œconomy that was not founded on what they conceived to be principles of public duty. He wished to dispel that cloud of prejudice that had been ungenerously attempted to be thrown round the government, as if a case had been already established against them of utter oblivion of œconomy; and he trusted that the case he should be able to make out would place their conduct in a just point of view. Last year the house confided to ministers the greatest extent of supply that had ever been confided to the ministers of this or any other country,—amounting to a sum of not less than 120 millions. Of this sum 80 millions were appropriated to the active service of the year. The country was at that time newly engaged in a tremendous conflict, while the war was not terminated with America. The conflict had been gloriously terminated, and treaties had been entered

into, which, he hoped, might have as much permanence as could be generally looked for in the transactions of mankind. The expenditure of last year had also, he trusted, been conducted with a provident œconomy; for arrears to the amount of 20 millions had been liquidated, the unfunded debt of the country had been reduced 20 millions; and, as his right honourable friend the chancellor of the exchequer had stated, there was besides a surplus of three millions applicable to the expenditure of the present year. In the whole, therefore, this made a sum of 43 millions towards diminishing the encumbrances on the country.

It was to be considered, also, that we were now only at the close of that tremendous war, and could not at once apply the system of reduction to our distant possessions. The fact was, that he was not now arguing the permanent peace estimates; they were the intermediate estimates between a state of war and peace, having much attached to them of the nature of a war expenditure. After the American war, it required some years before the permanent peace establishment could be fixed. Here he might be permitted to say, that the previous debate by gentlemen opposite was in fact directed by anticipation to a presumptive establishment. But intermediate as the establishment was, still it was only 29 millions, while that of last year was 80 millions. Was there any presumption, then, that ministers had not accelerated their reductions as much as it was possible to effect? Indeed, as to the navy, this was a point that had been granted by gentlemen on the other side; nay, he had even heard reproaches against ministers of having reduced that branch with too much rapidity.

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Here he would remark, that the notion of a permanent peace establishment, which should never vary as compared with former years, was quite ideal; it was tying ministers to a stake, as if circumstances were always to remain the same as in preceding years of peace. We must look to the constitution of the army, which had undergone such great changes, and to the novel expenditure which had grown up under the sanction of parliament. First, there was what he would call the dead expense of half-pay to the officers, and pensions to the men. The increase in these points had been introduced by the administration to which the gentlemen opposite gave their support, and he had opposed it at the time, as laying the foundation for a most improvident scale of expenditure on the return of peace, and which at some future day would press heavily on the finances of the empire. The country owed to the administration of gentlemen opposite this great weight of what he would call dead expense.

And here also he must observe, that he did not impute it as a crime to the same administration that they doubled the amount of the property tax. On the contrary, they received his support to the measure. But he begged not to be subjected to the torture of having that tax described as abominable and inquisitorial, which they themselves had sanctioned. It was a matter of fair question, whether it was wise and proper while the country was engaged in war; but he begged the house to take into consideration the intermediate situation between war and peace, and consider whether some intermediate proportion of that tax were not fairly justifiable. Under these circumstances, it required more nerves than he was possessed

of to come and clamour down this tax as the most objectionable of all measures. Gentlemen opposite could not then argue against the tax on the ground of its demerits, unless they turned their backs against all consistency, or even decency. But, to return from this digression, he would assert, that if the establishment were reduced to 66,000 men, as was the jet of his honourable friend's argument, the dead expense of half-pay and pensions resulting from the discharge of so many men would alone amount to three millions,—a larger expense, for no service at all, than the whole of Mr. Pitt's establishment amounted to. He might also state, that the dead expense for the navy amounted to 1,200,000*l.* which, added to the three millions of dead expense for the army, would reduce the honourable gentleman's proposed establishment of 20 millions to something less than 17 millions. He would set the false æconomy of former times upon a par with that clamour about æconomy now, which had fastened a sort of night-mare on the breast of the country. The army in point of composition never was so good as now, but it was not equally applicable as formerly to detailed service in our colonies. What was the case in former times? If a battalion was to be sent abroad, it only required so many men to be infused into it from some other regiment, and the skeleton regiments on foreign service were thus easily completed. The commander-in-chief could not therefore supply the demands of our colonies with the same number of men as formerly. Whole regiments must be sent out at a time; while, on the other hand, the skeleton regiments were brought home as they were. After these preliminary considerations, he should

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now come to argue the amount of the military establishment for the year, putting out of consideration the forces serving in India and in France. If foreign troops had been selected for the latter purpose, as some gentlemen had recommended, this would rather have increased the expense; for it was to be considered that the British troops thus brought home and disbanded would have been entitled to half-pay for the officers, and pensions to many of the men, which would have thrown a large burthen on the country.

He came now to the 99,000 men of the proposed establishment, or rather the 11,000, including also the officers; and here he estimated that, on every practical principle, this would not be the amount at the disposal of the government. It would not in fact work to an amount within one-tenth of its whole number; so that, on the whole establishment, government would not have more than 89,000 privates at its disposal. There was also another consideration. He apprehended that there was no objection to the system of relief for our foreign possessions; and he estimated that there must always be seven regiments, of one thousand men each, sailing to relieve their different establishments, and keep them complete. Consequently 7,000 more, in addition to the 10,000 he had already noticed, might be considered as lost to all effective service, that number being to be considered as constantly on board of transports, in a state of conveyance to all parts of the world. This formed a deduction of 17,000 effective from the 99,000 proposed for the establishment. He next adverted to the 25,000 for Ireland, to which he believed no objection had been stated from any quarter; but,

deplorable as the situation of that country might be at present, he trusted that circumstances would soon enable us to look forward to a lower establishment. He came now to the amount destined for home service, which he conceived the point likely to be most disputed; but, there was no one branch of our military establishment on which he was more convinced of the necessity of its amount. It was evident that the army in France, as well as our colonial establishments, must be fed from some reservoir at home; and what then was the proposed amount, but 25,000 men, which were to be applicable to all services? On this alone there might be a great deficiency in effectives, which might be estimated at a twentieth. But the great drain on this force would be for the service of our colonies; so that, when this was taken into account, it would hardly give the country Mr. Pitt's army of 17,000 men in time of peace. He was perfectly prepared to deny that there was any fear of foreign attack; still, however, from the spirit which had gone abroad in modern times, it could hardly be as much expected, as at other periods of the world, that nations would be suffered to rest in peace under their fig-tree. But whilst we discharged our minds of all considerations of external danger, still a certain force was necessary for the internal police of the country; for though we must look to the civil magistrate in the first instance for the maintenance of the laws, yet, amid such a variety of complicated interests, a popular impatience might arise, requiring that the military should be called upon for co-operation. But, besides all this, there were duties to perform of a military kind. He was enabled to state, from a paper in his possession,

sion, the number of men required for those official duties just after the battle of Waterloo, when the home-service was drained to the very utmost, and when the lowest scale of duty connected with jails, garrisons, and depots, was acted upon. The total was then no less than 18,000. It was with great reluctance that government employed troops to repress smuggling, but this was the only way of supporting the collection of revenue in Ireland; and what would be the effect on our revenue, if no attempt was made to put down smuggling on our own coast, to which the increased taxation was so great a temptation? A small vibration in the revenue of this country would soon cover the expenses of a small number of cavalry employed to repress smuggling. Seven regiments would therefore be distributed along the coast, as rapidity of motion was of great consequence in this service.

Having stated, he hoped satisfactorily, to the house, the reasons of the increase of the establishment for England and Ireland, he would beg leave now to call its attention to the military force proposed to be kept up in the old and new colonies, comparing the present peace establishment with that of 1792. The number kept up, then, in 1792, for the old colonies, was 17,000 men; the proposition now was for 23,800, being an increase of nearly 7000. The manner in which this force had been distributed, had previously been related to the house; but he had no hesitation in stating that in the next year a considerable reduction would certainly take place in the force kept up in the West Indies, because, as Guadaloupe and Martinique were still in our possession, and would before next year be given up to France, a reduction

would necessarily take place. It was also the intention to reduce one more of the black corps into a regiment, and therefore the house would see, that in truth, as to the old colonies, there was no essential increase in contemplation. In Canada and Nova Scotia the force proposed was 9,500 men, and in this branch of the service, he hoped the house would concur with him, that the amount was not too high. He should be the last to suppose that any jealousy existed between this country and America; but if we looked at their possessions and the new character they had assumed, it was impossible for any man to argue that these estimates were taken too high. The very cultivation of Canada opened a new field to America. That colony had so swelled in importance to this country, as no man could in former times have dreamt of. As far as the old possessions of the crown were concerned, he had shown that there was no essential difference between the present establishment and that of 1792. What, then, was the force intended to be kept up in the new colonies? It would be found, that in comparison to the extent of our new possessions, the force was very inconsiderable. They consisted of Ceylon, the Mauritius, the Cape, the settlements on the coast of Africa, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Lucia, Berbice, Essequibo, Malta, and the Ionian islands. It had been observed, that the possession of St. Lucia made a very great difference in the amount of men to be kept up. He agreed that it did in one point of view, but not in another. He believed that it was the intention to make that place an important naval station, and it would be recollected, that when Guadaloupe and Martinique should be given up, almost all the most important

portant of the harbours of the West Indies would be in the hands of foreign powers. With respect therefore to these colonies, he hoped the house would not think that 4000 men were too great an increase for the whole six new colonies; and he wished it to be recollected, that the situation of these possessions was most materially changed by the great alteration which had taken place in St. Domingo since 1792. As to what possessions were occupied by these 12,000 men; first, there was Ceylon. In that island were two great establishments at the most widely separated points of the island. It was frequently more easy to go to Bengal, than from one of these establishments to the other; with this difficulty of communication, it was necessary to keep a large force at each point, in case disturbances should arise. We were now sovereigns of the whole island, and were bound to provide for its tranquillity. For Ceylon he could not state less than 3,000 men. The next point was the Mauritius: his honourable friend knew enough of the internal state of that colony, the late period at which it had been taken from France, and the joy testified by the inhabitants at the news of Bonaparte's return to Paris; so that 3,000 would not be considered too many in that quarter. The Cape was, indeed, more happily circumstanced; but we were obliged to occupy positions in the interior, so that his honourable friend would see that the number of 3,000 could not be reduced. The force on the coast of Africa might perhaps be reduced to 1,000. At some future period the Ionian islands were to bear a portion of their own expense; but when his honourable friend thought 3,000 extravagant for that

station, did he consider what it was?—that it consisted of a considerable cluster, and not of a single island, and contained a fortress nearly as strong as Malta? A garrison of such a nature must be fully occupied, in order that insult might not be enticed by weakness, so that 1,500 would not be too many for Corfu; but his honourable friend must bear in mind that this would be the maximum. Places which were gained in war necessarily retained a portion of their ancient spirit and attachments, and must, therefore, be held for a time with due regard to military caution. And let any military man be asked if those forces were sufficient to withstand a regular attack; they were only enough to keep the population in order, which was the more necessary, as the Ionian islands, Malta, and the Cape, were vital possessions in point of military importance; and though we had not contended for sugar islands, yet our policy had been to secure the empire against future attack. In order to this, we had acquired what in former days would have been thought romance—the keys of every great military position. When, therefore, the honourable gentleman, by a stroke of his pen, would change 22,000 into 12,000, he would only ruin the country by such œconomy, and it became necessary to awaken parliament and the people from the delusion that was held out.

His noble friend (lord Palmerston) had been pressed to explain why a reduction of 20,000 men should make so little variation in the expenditure as 7,800,000*l.* He held in his hand an estimate, which showed the expense of 20,000 troops, partly cavalry, guards, and infantry, to amount to 901,000*l.*; adding something

something for dead expenses, as half-pay, pensions, &c. the sum might be estimated at a million. But, in reducing the number of men, it was not true that all the establishment would fall in proportion. However, the reduction of a million would be the utmost. Now, this year's establishment was nine millions; of these nine millions one was not connected with peace; there remained then eight millions; the half-pay, pensions, and dead expenses, reduced these to six millions; and it was not wonderful if the reduction of 20,000 men would not save more than a million. He hoped the honourable gentleman would not think he disparaged the saving of a million; but the question was, whether they could or could not. He mentioned it with triumph, (and the honourable gentlemen on the other side might join in that triumph, for they were the authors of the measure) that, by raising the income tax, this country had found herself in a position in which she never stood at the conclusion of any former war. It was not that we were victorious, not that we had extended our empire; but it was more, we had gained a character. Add to this, that instead of trailing on through years of peace the drag of the preceding war, we had been able to give a boon to the country of not less than 8 millions of taxes. He knew that honourable gentlemen would say this was not a concession, but a putting on; but he thought it a new and a proud situation to be able to remit eight millions. He thought, therefore, that the reduction of a million, however desirable, was nothing when put in competition with our safety; and he was certain, (though he should forbear discussing the property tax at

present), that if we wound up the war with that tax, under its improved modification, we should bring home ease to every door. He conjured the house not to break down our establishment improvidently, but gradually to reduce it; and he hoped we should have no more of those "detestations of taxes," which was altogether a novel principle. He deprecated that false œconomy that would shun the danger which presented itself, and was convinced that our only safety lay in meeting the difficulty of the times.

After Lord Castlereagh sat down, the debate was adjourned till Wednesday, the 6th of March.

March 6.—The house having gone into a committee of supply, Mr. Calcraft said, that having moved the question of adjournment on Monday night, he should now take that opportunity of delivering his sentiments on the army estimates. He disapproved of these estimates, on account of the amount of the force proposed to be kept up, on account of the patronage and influence that would accrue to the crown, and the expense they would entail on the country. The first item he should notice was the household troops, (cavalry), which were proposed to be on a peace establishment extraordinarily increased. In 1791 they were only 779 in number; although now it was proposed to fix them at 1,744, considerably more than double, and an amount not at all required for any purpose of parade or police. He thought them the very best troops in Europe; but as they were a very expensive establishment, he saw no ground for retaining them to such an amount. The honourable gentleman also objected to the establishment of the foot guards, as far

far too numerous. In 1791, they were 3,765; but now they were proposed to be fixed at somewhat more than 6,000. He next came to the dragoons. In 1791 there were thirteen regiments of dragoons, amounting only to 3,057 men; but now there were to be seventeen regiments, comprising a total of 12,567 men. This was as much too high as the other was too low. It seems that now these regiments were to be employed in the repression of smuggling. This he reprobated, as tending to the utter ruin of the discipline of the men, particularly considering the propensity to intoxication which was too frequent among British soldiers. He should think one half of the number sufficient; but he was not for reducing the regiments, but their strength in men. In 1791 the infantry of the line, including the West Indies, the garrison and veteran battalions, and the waggon train, consisted of 102 regiments; but now they amounted to 157. He was willing, for the present, to concede the question, that 25,000 men were necessary for the tranquillity of Ireland, and only deplored that they were to be employed in duties that would totally destroy their discipline. With respect to the regiments in the East India company's territories, he would leave them out of the question, as the country was bound by the charter to maintain them. Neither would he enter into the policy of maintaining an army of 30,000 men in France, though he thought that army would suffer greatly in its quality and virtue, notwithstanding it was commanded by the duke of Wellington, should it remain in the French empire for any considerable time. As to the 25,000 men proposed for the home service, he demanded the reduction of cavalry
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ry regiments and household troops to the amount he had mentioned; namely, 6,000 of the former, and 4,000 of the latter. He could not understand by the noble lord's statement, that more were wanted than 15,000; but the noble lord thought that the new kingdom of Chatham, and other fortresses, ought to be garrisoned by troops of the line; but why not by artillerymen and marines? If reduction and economy were to be practised, he did not see why artillerymen should not be as careful guardians of arsenals, depôts, and dock-yards, as any other men whatever; and, therefore, he could not leave out of his calculation that very useful and valuable body of men. In the Mediterranean we had Malta, Gibraltar, and the Ionian islands; and the noble lord said that 11,000 men were necessary for the defence of those places. But, as to Gibraltar, the Spanish lines were destroyed, and whatever her own subjects might have to fear from Spain, very little danger need be apprehended by other countries. It was not necessary, therefore, to have so large a force as 4,000 in that garrison; 3,000, and even less, now we were in profound peace, were adequate to every duty. Malta was one of the strongest places in the world; it could not be attacked without a superior navy, and, besides, we possessed the affection of the inhabitants, which rendered that island impregnable. In regard to the Ionian islands, there was a very strong fortress in Corfu, and surely 1,000 or 1,200 men would amply answer all necessary purposes. A very considerable reduction, therefore, might be made of the force allotted to the Mediterranean, he thought at least 3,000 men. With respect to the West Indies, the security of those
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possessions was greatly augmented by the acquisition of St. Lucia: two or three ships of the line on that station would render such numerous garrisons unnecessary. Independent of this, Canada, which was to be occupied by 10,000 men, would furnish a speedy relief to the West Indies, should any thing occur that required an additional force. In Jamaica we should always have a large body of men disposable for other purposes; and, on a late occasion, the island said, "If you will send us 3,000 men, we will supply them with provisions." As to the garrisons in the East Indies, the Cape, and Ceylon, he thought they were much over-stated. To allot 3,000 to such a situation as the Cape, where there was nothing but a Hottentot force, was quite ridiculous. Upon what ground of duty, relief, or establishment, would such a force be wanted? A fourth of the number proposed would be sufficient for every purpose, notwithstanding we had a governor there with a salary of 20,000*l.* per annum. He should, therefore, demand that the troops at the Cape should be reduced from 3,000 to 2,000. As to Ceylon, it did not require so large an establishment as the noble lord had stated; and the Mauritius was one of the most impregnable situations on the ocean. He did not know what the population was, but he thought that two battalions, or 1,400 men, were sufficient for all the duties of that settlement. As to the floating force, it ought to be struck entirely out of the establishment for the different purposes which he had mentioned.

He had thus gone through the whole of our possessions, and the result of his calculation on this subject was, that 23,000 men should be deducted from the 99,000 proposed, leaving a balance of 76,000, which

he considered an adequate peace establishment. The saving from this reduction, considering that 5,000 men were cavalry, would amount to about 1,300,000*l.* This sum would pay the interest of a loan for four or five years. In regard to the army in France, he did not see that any regiment of the guards was mentioned to be in that country; but he understood that a very strong brigade of those troops was still there. (Lord Castlereagh observed across the table, that the guards were to be sent home immediately.) He then came to the general and staff officers, and could not sufficiently express his astonishment that no less than thirty-eight general officers were now on the staff in Great Britain and Ireland. The staff at head-quarters consisted of five general officers, but no man could say that they were necessary to the service. They had no duty whatever to perform; and as it was extremely grating to the public to see such a wanton and improper expenditure, he hoped they would be reduced. The same might be said of the adjutant-general, the quarter-master-general, and the deputy quarter-master. The expense of the public departments, exclusive of the staff at head-quarters, amounted to 186,631*l.* per annum. The preceding year was a period of extensive warfare, but since 1803 there had been a difference of 60,000*l.* in one head of the service.

Next came the charge of half-pay and military allowances, and the pensions of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals. These, it appeared, amounted to near 1,300,000*l.*, which the noble lord called the dead expense, and seemed to infer that the greater part of it was attributable to the plans of a right honourable gentleman, now no more (Mr. Windham).

Windham). He had forgotten, however, to deduct 500,000*l.* for these establishments in 1805, which would leave a balance of 800,000*l.* And where did this money go? Among the soldiers who had fought our battles, and who circulated it in every village of the country. In his opinion, no circumstance had contributed more to preserve the military spirit of the people, than this new mode of rewarding those who had served us well; and there was no transaction in his life which gave him greater pleasure, than having concurred with that right honourable gentleman in his well-judged plans. We gave 10,000*l.* to a lord lieutenant of Ireland, but grudged 4*d.* or 10*d.* or 1*s.* a day to a soldier; and when the country had been saved by his valour, to reward him with this scanty allowance was a subject of regret and reproach. As to volunteer corps, he saw no occasion for them, unless they were to serve without pay. The present charge attending that force, amounting to one hundred and twenty-two thousand pounds per annum, ought to be saved. The local militia was a useful service: he had never voted against it, but it was not wanted in peace. This was, therefore, another expense that the country should no longer bear. The military college was an excellent institution; but he objected to the extent of the expenditure. In the last seven years it had greatly increased; but a sum ought to be specified, and government should say, You must keep within those bounds. Heads of departments could not, otherwise, do any thing with respect to economy. The number of professors, inspectors, and masters, ought to be reduced: many of them had little or nothing to do—a system quite different from that of Dr. Bell and

Mr. Lancaster, where the scholars instructed each other. As to the military asylum, he should like to see it thrive, but it ought to be limited in its expenditure. The estimate for retired chaplains, amounting to 17,000*l.* and upwards, showed that those gentlemen had no more objection to good pay than adjutant-generals and quarter-master-generals; but this branch had increased too rapidly, and he hoped a limit would be put to it. With respect to the course to arrest the motion for the speaker's leaving the chair, it had been asked what would gentlemen do, if they had a majority, and dismissed the estimates, and ministers refused to furnish new ones? His answer was, that they should have addressed the crown for a dismissal of ministers, who, under such circumstances, ought not to retain their places.

Mr. Rose, upon the whole, gave his cordial support to the estimates.

Mr. Stuart Wortley followed the course adopted by the noble secretary of state with respect to the distribution of force. The old colonies were the first to be considered, for which 23,800 men were to be provided. As to Canada and Nova Scotia, he conceived that 9,500 men were as little as could be well kept up in that part of our possessions, because the frontier of Upper Canada was particularly open to the attacks of the Americans. With regard to the West Indies, he conceived it was quite absurd to suppose that the Americans could interrupt us in that quarter. Independently of Martinique and Guadaloupe, he conceived a reduction of 1,500 men might be made in the whole amount for the West Indies. As to the Cape, he considered that the 2,000 men for that colony was very much over-rated; and with re-

spect to the Mauritius, although he was as much as any man aware of its great importance to this country, yet he did not conceive that it was in any danger. Looking at the Mediterranean, he was ready to allow that those colonies were more liable to attack than any of the others. But with respect to Malta, he conceived that it was completely guarded against any attack. For Gibraltar he did not think that 4,000 were too many, considering that more than that number had been kept up ever since the year 1782. The Ionian islands, he maintained, might be reinforced from Malta with the greatest facility. With regard to Ireland, he confessed that he did not think 25,000 men too many, and indeed, from what he had heard, he conceived that it was likely that many more would be necessary. Then, as to England, he particularly complained of the great addition since 1792 in the household troops. They were now augmented to 9,844; but how these troops could be distributed he could not imagine, considering that their service was only parade and garrison duty. Were so many required for parade men? He recommended a reduction in the local militia, for if ever there was 100,000, thrown away, it was upon this militia. With respect to the yeomanry, he had every reason to think well of their good services, but he had great doubt whether they were necessary. As to the military college and asylum, he had some doubt whether they should not be abandoned. How many great officers had existed who had no school of instruction but the field? Such establishments were unnecessary in time of peace. On the whole he conceived, that at any rate no greater reduction could be made than 10,000

in the whole establishment, reckoning a reduction of 4,000 in the guards at home, and 6,000 in the household troops. He should bear what ministers had to say in reply, and if he should not be satisfied with it, he should move an amendment to reduce the establishment to the amount he had stated.

Mr. Wilberforce, in a constitutional view, felt the importance of keeping up a small army, for a large army was not only dangerous to our enemies, but to ourselves. With regard to Ireland, he believed the 25,000 men were not too many: but we had another point in view besides preserving the peace—to reign in the hearts of the people. The state of that unfortunate country deserved the most serious consideration. He did not feel so well satisfied with the reasons stated for maintaining the force in England, and he conceived, that as to the argument used for relieving the troops abroad with forces from this country in the time of Mr. Pitt, there was in proportion a much larger foreign force to be supplied. With respect to our forces in foreign settlements, he maintained, that considering the facilities we have of transporting from one point to another, a smaller force was sufficient. Our West India islands had been said to have been affected by the change which had taken place in Hayti. He admitted it might have some effect, but at least the Leeward islands could not be injured by it. The petitions which had been presented to parliament in such numbers showed the sense of the country, and the great distress of the landed interest; and he particularly recommended to the house to guard with a jealous eye the growing principle of a standing army, which, as it appeared to him, had been increased in every peace

peace establishment, until the constitution was actually subverted. It never should be forgotten that, by keeping up this standing army, we were acting contrary to the genius and spirit of all our statesmen—that thenavy was the bulwark of England.

Mr. Goulburn argued at considerable length that the additional establishment for the colonies was called for by the increase of colonial territory, and that the advantages derived from this increase in our foreign possessions more than counterbalanced the expense. This was sufficiently proved by the receipts of the treasury, and by the export of British manufactures to the conquered colonies. The West Indies were now garrisoned in a great degree by Black troops; and this change at once lessened the expense, but increased the necessary number of men. The Cape of Good Hope required a larger force from the warlike character of the Caffres, and their habits of depredation. The importance and value of our Eastern and Mediterranean possessions were universally admitted as they respected the shipping interest, and this might account for the greater reduction in our naval force, the means of augmenting which were always to be found in an extensive foreign commerce.

Lord Castlereagh was happy to admit that the details of this proposition had been examined with great candour; but if it would be false pride not to concede to fair argument, it would be false modesty in his majesty's ministers to surrender a deliberate conviction. He believed the real differences of opinion lay in a narrow compass, and that the received opinion of the house was entirely against so large a diminution as that proposed by the honourable member opposite (Mr. Banks). If

the question was looked to as to the gross amount, it was material to recollect that one-tenth must be deducted out of the 99,000 men, as non-effective. This would bring the actual difference between them to no more than 5,000 men. The household troops had certainly assumed a new character, but one very advantageous to the country in the course of the late war; and the heavy cavalry, particularly at Waterloo, had proved their superiority to every other cavalry of Europe. The noble lord, after several other remarks, concluded by reminding the house that this establishment was formed upon a view of the exigencies of the present year only.

Mr. Forbes was of opinion that the military force in India was too small, whatever it might be in other quarters. In India there were too few soldiers, and too many missionaries.

The house then divided on Mr. Stuart Wortley's amendment for a reduction of 10,000 men. Against it, 202—For it, 130.—Majority 72.

In the intervals of the debates on the army estimates, numerous petitions were presented against the income tax, which gave rise to warm and animated discussions; in the course of which, the chancellor of the exchequer detailed several modifications of the tax, which he proposed to make; but its subsequent rejection renders it unnecessary to mention them here.

In the commons, on the 7th of March, Mr. Western made a most elaborate and lucid speech on the agricultural distresses of the country, which, from the important facts it contains, as well as from the patriotic spirit which it breathes, deserves to be given at length, though the remedies proposed in it for those distresses are of problematical efficacy.

Mr. Western rose, and stated his intention to move for a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the present distressed state of agriculture. This motion had been postponed from various causes; but yet he could see no reason to anticipate any serious objections to it now, for he felt that there existed so universal a conviction of the extreme distresses of those engaged in agriculture—distresses unparalleled in their extent—that the house could not hesitate one moment to take them under their consideration. It seemed impossible to decline doing so. If he could suppose any possible objection to be raised against his proposition, he could imagine it might be said that it would tend to increase the general alarm, and to excite expectations to such a degree as must ultimately be disappointed. But he was of opinion that the present alarm would not be heightened by their deliberations on the measures he meant to propose. Though he was at the same time aware of the limited powers of the legislature, compared with what might be generally expected, yet it was absolutely necessary to do something. It was the duty of the house to show, that, whatever was to be done, they did not decline investigation; but that they were willing to give to this important subject their utmost attention, and to adopt every legitimate means to avert from so many thousands the ruin which impended over them. He felt it to be a task almost impossible for him to describe perfectly the state of agricultural distress. He might leave it to other members, who could state, with more accuracy than he could, the distresses felt in their respective counties. He had received communications on the subject, not only

from friends, of whom he had many acquainted with the subject, but also from many others in all parts of the kingdom. Of the whole of them he could only say, that they exhibited a melancholy picture of distress. He had intended to read some of the most intelligent letters, but he feared that would be rather tedious; and the statements he expected from members would be more important than unofficial letters. He should not, therefore, fatigue the house by reading the letters, but might refer to them. From the various accounts he had moved for, he believed he had brought some documentary evidence. Some of the accounts he moved for had not yet been produced.

Respecting the information he had obtained of the state of distress, he should refer to the situation of two or three places. First, in the county of Norfolk, which stood so high for its agricultural opulence, he found, by an account from the sheriff's office, that last year the writs had increased from 540 to 670, and the number of executions from 96 to 174. He had an account from the county of Worcester, which stated the number of writs and executions, in the year ending February 1815, to be 640, and in the year ending February 1816, to be 892. Exchequer proceedings for assessed taxes, the property tax, &c. &c. amounted to 186. In the county of Suffolk, at a similar period, writs and executions had increased from 450 to 807. Yet many gentlemen, who knew that county, would have thought that Suffolk would have been among the last counties in England to sink under the pressure of circumstances. In the county of Sussex, in a hundred or more, wherein

wherein there are 32 parishes, the number of exchequer processes extended to 26 parishes out of the 32 : and, in another similar division, to 15. In the isle of Ely, in the first year, the property connected with processes amounted to 765% : and, in the second period, to no less a sum than 18,450%. The distresses amounted to 12,000%. There were now in the isle of Ely a great number of farms to be disposed of, for which tenants could not be found.

After mentioning these facts, he thought he might be spared from any further particular statements of the vast extent of the existing calamities. Up to the middle of the year 1813, the interests of agriculture were in a thriving state, at least as much so as that of other branches of labour. Now, it was naturally inquired, what was the cause of its present state? did it arise from the excess of taxation? certainly he should say it did in some degree. Was it from the great amount of the poor's rates? certainly they had long been felt as a pressure. Was it from the tithes? they too pressed severely. In proportion to the amount of capital employed on the land, they were felt more or less. Might not one cause be ascribed to the state of the national debt, and the excess of paper circulation? There was another cause arising from the surplus of produce thrown into the market, and from the effects of a combination of circumstances; effects which operated again as causes. It might also be considered whether the depression arose from the return of peace. His own opinion was, that it did not; for he considered the cutting off the foreign supplies as nearly equivalent to the war demand which had ceased. The rapid fall of prices commenced before the

peace, though the price of wheat in November 1813 was 120 shillings per quarter, which had come down to 52 shillings. It was quite clear, that at the close of 1813 there could be no anticipation of the effects of peace to affect the market. The depression of prices, therefore, appeared to have arisen from an over-produce. It should be remarked, that the surplus produce was created by our own home growth. The effects of a small surplus, or a small deficit, were greater in the market than they could be correctly calculated at, from the effects they produced on the public apprehension. Those whose occupation it was to produce from the soil, were not possessed of such advantages in reducing their products as the manufacturers of different descriptions were. To affect a curtailment would probably occasion a great loss. The price of grain had been forced much higher, by the extraordinary increase of circulating medium. So far as the rise had been occasioned by the extent of circulating medium, the withdrawing of it must be strongly felt; and there must of course be an extraordinary degree of depression. The market had become overloaded with produce. It had been an opinion widely prevailing, that the country could not produce enough for its own consumption. He had, on the contrary, always considered that it could. It was now proved that it had done so to the full extent. Notwithstanding all the great improvements and increase of cultivation which had been carried into effect, there was much yet left to be done. Let gentlemen only consider the great quantity of land which yet remained uncultivated. If they considered this matter fairly, they need not labour under any apprehensions

hensions about the means of provisioning the country. Agriculture had, indeed, within these late years, made most rapid strides in improvement. We now have large supplies of corn from many places where corn had never been grown before. High prices had unquestionably given to agriculture a very considerable stimulus. He confessed he felt all the dangers of what he might call a credit circulation, which was rendered frequently more dangerous by other circumstances. Still he thought it had been of considerable advantage in the increase of produce, and in the increase of the circulating medium, which had been so beneficial to all classes of the community. The credit circulation was calculated to answer another purpose, and it had that effect. It converted a dormant capital into a capital in a state of activity, while, by extending the circulating medium, it sustained the prices of articles and had afforded the means of increasing the produce in the most rapid manner. Thus the farmer who had embarked his capital (say 5000*l.*) felt, that if he could turn his stock into money, he could instantly increase his production. It was by the extremes of credit circulation in the country that the farmer had been enabled to effect this. They enabled him to go to work with augmented activity. Hence the extremes of reduction in the credit had more rapid consequences. The consequences of these causes were to be found in the present abundance of supply. Notwithstanding the increase of our population, the quantity of produce had gone on augmenting, so that we had not only been fully provided with our town home supply, but had produced enough to cause a glut in

the market. The first effect of the fall at the end of the year 1813 was, to occasion a considerable alarm among the farmers. That alarm was increased by the rejection of the corn bill in 1813, and was still further increased by a similar rejection in 1814. This was yet more augmented by the further pressure on our grain by the foreign importations which continued. The farmers then became extremely alarmed, and exceedingly distressed. They were obliged to come direct to market to raise money, and it then became apparent that they had not those means and resources to enable them to meet all difficulties, or to retire, which it had been so much the habit of many persons to suppose. The farmers, indeed, were forced to go to market, where they were obliged to take what price was offered them. It had been pretty generally thought that, during the period of the war, the farmers had made vast profits. He had always believed that this opinion was not well founded. He could not conceive that they had possessed the means of becoming so rich as people imagined. On an average of several years, the price of corn had never risen so high as he himself should have supposed that peculiar circumstances would have raised it. Whether increase of taxation were laid on produce in a direct or indirect manner, it would have an influence on the prices of all commodities. If he looked to the state of several years—if, for instance, at that of ten years preceding 1790 he found wheat at 2*l.* 7*s.* a quarter, while the average of taxation, with charges of debt, was 15 millions. If he looked at the same period previous to 1812, leaving out the two cheap years and one dear year, he found

found wheat on an average to be 87s. per quarter, while the amount of taxes was 75 millions. Here, then, the house would perceive an advance in taxation of from 15 to 75 millions, while the quarter of corn had advanced only from 47s. to 87s. or 88s. He could not but wonder that it had not risen higher with the increase of the quantity of medium. When the taxes were quintupled, he was surprised corn had not risen to a higher price, as the land had many burthens exclusively laid on it. It was therefore hardly to be believed that farmers could have made great sums of money. They had received their returns for their capital, and they had prospered, more, perhaps, than some branches of manufacturers. Corn, therefore, could not fairly be considered as having been too high. However, the circulation of the notes of country banks, about 800 in number, and the extensive application of such large sums, had become contracted, and were now almost withdrawn; and a general want of confidence had ensued.

Under such novel circumstances it was difficult to estimate consequences and results. When the present distressed state would stop, he could not say. If things went on thus, one could hardly predict a limit. It was not possible to say what reductions might happen. The prices of all other things might, by possibility, fall back to what they were 150 years ago. Sometimes we heard that the superabundance of the circulating medium had raised prices to such a pitch of just alarm; but if this circulation vanished, the other extreme might take place. The amount of the value of the produce of the land was immense. It had been estimated in various ways. On his principle of

considering it, he thought it must be very nearly two hundred millions. Some took it at five rents, which he rather inclined to; but if he took it at only four rents, he found a result of 228 millions. The loss of 100 millions would of necessity occasion the loss of the circulating medium, which was now withdrawn. By the fall of the prices of produce it had ceased to exist. Well, then, this was our situation, produced by that first cause of the distress under which agriculture labours—the depressed value of grain, occasioned by a surplus of produce, which, notwithstanding, bears no just proportion to the difference of the prices. Now, as far as we could discern a practicable remedy for this great evil, we should endeavour to find out a market for this inconvenient surplus. That was the most important and desirable point to fix upon, as all the wished-for consequences must follow from ascertaining it. What would be the consequences, if we waited and left matters to go on in their course, without any effort being made by parliament for relief, either as to produce, or to the extent of the market? It would appear that the prices must rise again from their present state to a high one, by the effects of that diminution in the supply of produce which was now going on with such unexampled rapidity. The interests of the farmers were certainly now, if not entirely ruined, yet in a state of progressive destruction. The prices of grain must therefore be expected to rise to an excessive price, if no remedy could be applied in time. When this rise should take place, it would be severely felt. It would not be a rise owing to heavy taxation, or to augmentation of wealth, or to the withdrawing of the circulating medium;

dium : it would be an excessive rise of the price of the first necessities of life, owing to a real scarcity.

Our present state was peculiar. The earnings of industry had been raised during the continuance of the high prices ; yet so little were the people now benefited by it, that they might actually be said to be starving in the midst of plenty. Corn was now to be sold as cheap as dirt in the country. It might be bought at 40s. a quarter. But there might be great rejoicings in towns for cheap bread, while numbers of people were starving. They could not, in fact, purchase as much necessary food as they had been used to do. So rapid was the career of destruction in one of the main branches of the public wealth, strength, happiness, and security ! The productions of industry were now suspended : the consequence was, that the people, naturally and justly, were distressed and injured in their moral feelings. In such a situation, where could they apply to find a demand for their labour ? They were losing the independence which belonged originally to their character. The property of a poor man consisted in his labour. That would no longer be the case, if he could not carry that property to market upon an independent footing. The poor man's labour, he would maintain, was as valuable a property as that of any man in the kingdom, and as useful to the community. He gave his labour to his employer for an equivalent, and was therefore entitled to be considered an independent man. But, now his property was gone, because it ceased to be valuable, all his best feelings were and must be aggrieved. Never could agriculture again become prosperous while such men remained in their present distressed and degrading situation.

He could not hope, as matters now stood, that any relief expected from advanced prices would answer the desired purpose. But if we calculated upon the very lowest peace establishment that it would be secure to adopt, and combined it with the payment of taxes and interest of debt, he could easily conceive that it would not amount to less than an annual expenditure of 50 millions. How was it possible, then, that we could expect to have corn sold, and agriculture maintain itself, at any thing like the same price at which it was formerly sold, when our yearly expenditure amounted only to 15 millions?

In order to afford any substantial assistance to the agricultural interest, he thought relief must be afforded far beyond what his majesty's ministers seemed to have in contemplation. First, then, they must afford such a relief as would extend the market. He here alluded to the effect the malt tax had in reducing the market. The amount of the malt tax for Great Britain was not less than 12,400,000*l*. This was most astonishing ; and if we added the tax on agricultural horses, and the tenant's property tax, there would be not less than 16 millions of taxes bearing on agriculture—a sum greater than the whole amount of the revenue prior to the war. Whatever it might do in times of prosperity, the agriculture of the country could not bear this pressure in a season of distress like the present.

He should call the attention of the house to the effect of this high tax on barley : taking a period of 25 years, from the year 1790 to the year 1815 (excluding, however, the last two years of the period, on account of the great variation in prices,) we should find, if we compared the first
 1815

ten years of that period with the last ten, that there was a difference, in the last ten years, of 420,000 quarters less consumption than in the first ten : if we joined to this consideration that the population in 1792 was ten millions, and in 1812 twelve millions, and that the consumption of barley in the first ten years, for a population of ten millions, was 3,300,000 quarters, the increase of consumption for the two millions increase of population in the last ten years, ought to have been 660,000 quarters ; so that the real decrease of consumption in the last ten years, as compared with the first, amounted to 1,100,000 quarters ; and this reduction alone would produce a greater fall of prices than all the effect of sudden importation. The average price of barley, in the first ten years of the period, had been 1*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* a quarter, and in the last ten years had been 2*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* ; the price then had only increased 10*s.* while the duty in the mean time had increased 24*s.* In the year 1799, the consumption had been 3,300,000 quarters, and the price 30*s.* a quarter. It might be said that last year the consumption had increased ; but this was in consequence of the diminution of price, which had fallen to 20*s.* a quarter. The farmer could not retain his produce by him, but was obliged to bring it out till the markets were glutted : such was the effect of this enormous taxation in this instance ; and the very same effect was produced on other articles. The government were, by these means, actually taking possession of that property which every man ought to retain for himself. The excessive amount of this tax on barley demanded the most serious consideration. Another considerable market for the produce of land was the distilleries. In 1806 the quan-

tity of barley consumed by the distilleries was 450 or 500,000 quarters ; the amount in Ireland, 400,000 quarters. Altogether, the distilleries formed a market for 8 or 900,000 quarters. It was very easy, by taking the amount of the tax, to find the consumption of the distilleries in Great Britain, and the diminution amounted to 100,000 quarters : if we added this to the 1,100,000 quarters reduced demand in consequence of the malt tax, we had a total reduction of 1,200,000 quarters. It was therefore indispensable to reduce the duties on barley, malt, and spirits ; he said on spirits, because, if we did not, we could not prevent smuggling and illicit distilling, particularly smuggling, which could only be obviated by a reduction of the duty. The amount of foreign spirits imported was 3 or 4,000,000 gallons annually, and this quantity, he was informed, would create a consumption of 200,000 quarters of corn : thus, if we for a time prohibited importation, a demand would be raised to the amount of 200 or 150,000 quarters ; and this, added to the 1,100,000 quarters, would effect a serious extension of the market.

He should now come to a most important part of the subject—the act which had been passed for the regulation of the corn trade : he should not now enter into a long discussion of the subject, or of the advantages which might be supposed to have arisen from that act ; but it certainly had had some effect, though not passed till the market was overloaded. At a former period he had expressed his opinion on the policy of the corn laws, and his idea was, that we ought by all means to prevent dependence on foreign countries for any part of our necessary supply. These sentiments were

were the result of long experience ; and, however the advantage of corn laws might be disputed, no one would say that they had been productive of any ill consequences. The effect of those laws had formerly amounted to an absolute prohibition. From the 2^d year of King Charles the Second to 1775, the import price was so high as to effect a prohibition of importation, while exportation was encouraged by high bounties. If this system produced no advantage, nobody would say that any evil had resulted from it. If we looked to the imports and exports, we should find that the commerce of the country had increased during that period, so that no injury could have been incurred ; and during those years the price of corn in England was lower, on the average, than in any part of Europe, while an equable supply was generally produced. This low price did not arise from the poverty of the country, as some might allege, because the imports, and exports had all along been increasing. The system so successfully pursued had been admired and imitated by other nations. An eulogy on it is quoted by Adam Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, from a French author, by whom it had been written in consequence of the French government having enacted a similar law. He says of the English, "that they till for emulation ; their fields are covered with harvests ; and in our years of scarcity we give them that encouragement which we ought to receive from our own government. In consequence of the bad administration of these matters in France, we never cultivate more than we immediately want ; we are therefore often below the requisite supply, and exposed to all the consequences of every bad season."

The honourable member, therefore, thought that we must look for a market beyond the home market, for periods of abundance ; for if we had no market for such surplus produce, abundance would never be produced ; and without abundance, in average years, we should always be below the mark in unfavourable seasons, and subject to the greatest fluctuations of price. He did not altogether rely on the foreign market for this purpose, because the price was so much higher here than abroad that we could not compete with the foreign markets, except, perhaps, under very particular circumstances.

But though he should place no reliance on the foreign market, yet the agriculturist should not feel absolutely limited to the home market. If a bounty were to be granted for a limited time it would produce this effect, and the money would be well bestowed on such an object. For his own part he earnestly wished for such a measure. There was another consideration to which he wished to draw the attention of the house ; namely, that if we failed in finding a foreign mart, on account of the price under which we could not afford to sell, the best measure would be to promote the cultivation by encouraging such an application of the surplus produce of a plentiful season, as might supply the deficiencies of a scarce one. The enterprising spirit of individuals would induce them to buy up corn for this purpose ; but there was a provision in the last act that effectually prevented any merchant from doing so ; this provision was known by the name of the warehousing clause ; it provided for the warehousing of foreign corn, duty free ; and so long as that provision existed we should never warehouse our own.

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He recommended the repeal of this clause. He would go further; however unwilling, on a general principle, to draw capital to any employment by forced and artificial encouragements, he thought it, under present circumstances, advisable to give such a stimulus to agriculture, and to advance from the public treasure half the value of any corn deposited in warehouses. This would operate as a bounty, and he saw no very material objection to such a measure. The public would be no loser; for that which was not consumed would be stored for future seasons. We did not know what would be the result of next harvest; and if it happened to prove deficient, there would be every cause to rejoice in such a measure. If this arrangement failed to produce the desired effect, we might, at last, have recourse to the bounty. In either case, besides the practical advantage that would result, we should inspire a confidence, which, at this period, was most essential; for there prevailed, generally, a want of confidence, and a despondency most alarming.

In the present circumstances, it was proper to extend the same protection to the produce of land as to manufactures; there was no reason why any distinction should be observed between them; and in order to induce a regular supply, we must afford the same encouragement to agricultural as to manufacturing capitals. If other manufacturers were encouraged by protections, bounties, and drawbacks, why should we withhold a similar encouragement from the manufacturer of corn? Was there any real difference between the two? Or were they not both actuated by the same motives and the same stimulus of interest? Foreign corn was subject

to a duty, but that alone was not sufficient; a duty should be imposed on every description of seed. First, on rape; and there would be no ground of apprehension though a very heavy duty should be imposed. The average quantity imported during the war was not more than 7 or 8000 bags per annum: last year there were 80 or 90,000. Within 12 years the price of rape was 46*l.* a last, and the duty proposed could not raise the price above 46*l.* a ton; and if the duty on rape and on foreign train oil were increased, the plant would be grown here in greater quantities. There were other seeds beside rape seed, the importation of which had so much increased of late, as to be very injurious to the sale of our produce in the markets. The whole amount of these seeds imported, if procured from our own soil, would occupy an extent of surface equal to 60,000 acres; and if every acre yielded, as might be expected from good land, in ordinary years three quarters of grain, then we imported what was equivalent to 180,000 quarters of that article. Thus was the market pre-occupied to the extent of the produce of 60,000 acres, and the market for home produce to the amount diminished. A heavy duty should be imposed upon these importations, so as to secure the interests of the cultivators of our soil against the competition of foreigners. There were other articles which we derived from abroad to the detriment of our own agriculture, particularly to that portion of it concerned with pasture. He meant to refer to tallow, butter, cheese, and other commodities, which might be produced to a greater extent in this country, and the importation of which consequently narrowed the consumption of

of the products of home grazing. There were 3000 cwt. of butter and cheese imported, the importance of which, as a cause of injuring the interest of our own dairy-owners, must be appreciated, and probably would be stated by honourable members from those districts where dairy farms were objects of attention. The distress of Ireland, from the want of a market for these among other kinds of produce, was beyond all belief, as the house would hear from the gentlemen of that part of the united kingdom. He would allude to another article of the greatest importance, which should meet with encouragement as the means of relieving the agricultural distress—namely, wool. There was, at present, a duty upon its importation, and a drawback upon its exportation: but they were too trifling to produce any benefit to our own graziers. So little efficient was this protection, that within the last few years the importation had increased from 7 millions of pounds to 15,000,000lbs. whereas, before a late period, it seldom exceeded 3,000,000lbs. We had resorted to markets for this article lately, which never yielded us any before. We had derived a considerable quantity from Germany and other countries, whence we not long ago drew none.

All these circumstances were of great importance when considered in their full extent, and, by proper enactments with regard to them, a great benefit might be conferred on the agriculture of the country. The house and the ministry should seriously deliberate upon them, as, without some assistance given to agriculture, the revenues of the state could not be raised. What revenue could be levied, when the agriculture of the country was in its pre-

sent condition? The taxes laid upon articles manufactured from grain, and the produce of our soil, amounted to 30,000,000l. The whole value of our produce in 1812 might be estimated at two hundred and twenty-eight millions: our taxes were seventy-five millions. Calculating on a diminution of price since 1812 of one third, the whole fund from which the country was supported, would now be reduced in value to 152 millions. The taxes would consequently, at the same rate of diminution, suffer a deficit of 25 millions, or be reduced to about 40 millions. The proportion of state revenue, by this system, was taken at a third of the whole revenue of the country; and as it could not well be higher, the reduction of prices would bring it down 25 millions, upon a taxation of 75 millions. If the taxes continued as they were, or at 75 millions, while the value of produce fell a third, the proportion would be for taxes nearly one half. But the state of affairs was even more unfavourable than this calculation supposed, for produce had not only fallen one third, but one half, since 1812; and, proceeding upon a permanent taxation of 60 millions, more than a half of the national revenue would be required to pay it. Taking the taxes at 60 millions, and multiplying that sum by 3, (the proportion formerly stated) the amount would be, for national revenue, 180 millions; whereas, by the reduction of prices, there only remained 114 millions. Ministers ought to be aware of the state of the country. The taxes could not now be drawn from the profits of agriculture—there were no profits realized, there was no rent received. The taxes were drawn from the capital of the farmers; they were living on their capital, and were ~~making~~

making no profits, either to supply their own necessities or those of the state. The tenants were ruined, and it was vain to expect that any revenue for the use of the state could be extracted from them. The country must be relieved, and it was surprising that ministers should only think of supporting the stockholders, when the distress of agriculture was so pressing. To speak of maintaining the sinking fund at the expense of the agricultural interest was hurrying on the ruin of the country. The maintenance of the sinking fund would only, in our present situation, sink us more deeply in calamity and embarrassment. This fund was like the saving laid by from the gains of a private merchant in a prosperous condition, which saving he might then safely withdraw from trade, while in a state of pressure this conduct would be an indication of madness. Who that wished to execute his operations speedily and successfully by means of a steam engine, would withdraw from it the coals by which it was fed?

He had taken the liberty of stating to the house several facts, and explaining his views and opinions upon them. He wished to read certain resolutions that would embody them, and on which he would afterwards found a bill, if they were agreed to in the committee which he meant to propose. He thought a committee of the whole house would furnish the most proper opportunity of attaining a knowledge of facts, and coming to an enlightened decision. The honourable gentleman then read his resolutions, which were in conformity with the purport of his speech. They were to the following purport:—1. That it was the duty of parliament that the agricultural part of the community laboured under the most unex-

ampled distress. 2. That however various were the causes from which it originated, the demand for the produce of the land was not now such as to enable the cultivator to sell its produce at a price sufficient to indemnify him for his expenses. 3. That the consumption of barley, and consequently the demand for it, were reduced by the tax on malt, and that this duty ought to be abated or repealed. 4. That relief ought to be granted to the holders of agricultural produce, by advancing money to them on the security of that produce, and collecting into public granaries, in a year of surplus, abundance against the return of scarcity. 5. That it was expedient to repeal so much of the corn act of last year as related to the warehousing of foreign grain. 6. That it was expedient to encourage the exportation of corn for some time by a bounty. 7. That it was expedient to encourage the growth of our own soil, by imposing duties on the importation of seeds, and other articles of agricultural produce, from abroad. 8. That the tithes and poor-rates were felt with increasing severity in the present general distress; and that it was expedient to consider of some mode of easing their pressure.—The hon. gentleman then moved for a committee of the whole house on the distressed state of agriculture.

Mr. Frankland Lewis seconded the motion.

Messrs. Robinson, Vansittart and Huskisson, and lord Castlereagh, complimented Mr. Western very highly on the speech which he had made: they said they would give the remedies proposed the most diligent and patient attention in a committee, and suggested that the resolutions should be printed; which was ordered.

On the 8th of March, the report of

of the committee of supply was brought up, when the large peace establishment was opposed by Mess. Coke, Newman, W. Wynne, Wilberforce, Tighe and others; and supported by Messrs. Grant, Courtenay, col. Foley, and lord Palmerstone. Of these speeches, those of Mr. Grant and Mr. Wilberforce alone present any thing particularly deserving of notice on a subject which had been long canvassed.

Mr. C. Grant.—The subject immediately under consideration appeared to him to divide itself into two questions: first, how far the finances of the country could support the proposed establishment? and, secondly, what was the smallest expense required for its support? With regard to the first, if the difficulty were merely financial, he should say, rather limit the extent of your empire than withhold the necessary means of protecting it. The public distress, he admitted, was great, but he believed it to be temporary, and that it warranted no inference of the public resources being exhausted; a similar despondency prevailed at the close of the American war, but the administration of that day nevertheless did not scruple to impose fresh taxes. We had now conceded eight millions of taxation; and if this relief was not adequate to the general expectation, it was, after the close of so arduous a contest, as much as the immediate circumstances of the country admitted. Mr. Pitt felt, in 1783, that he ought to look to something beyond the prevailing wishes of the people: that he had their general security to provide for; and that a time would come when, emerging from their error, they would trace back to his measures the causes of their prosperity or their decline. The good effects of these magnanimous counsels were afterwards realized in the

progressive strength of the empire, and in the accumulation of those vast resources which enabled Great Britain to effect all her subsequent achievements. A similar crisis, he thought, existed at present, and demanded a similar policy. It was very well to look at our colonial establishments, with reference to the year 1792, as affording some ground upon which to view them; but it was equally necessary to attend to the different situation of the empire and to the many additions to our colonies. British statesmen, he should always maintain, ought not to be indifferent to the political transactions of the continent; and what contrast could be stronger than the state of Europe now and its state at the period above mentioned? At that time there were not in Europe above 500,000 men in arms; at present there were three times that number. The greatest political genius might sometimes fail in its views of foreign policy; and it must be remembered that Mr. Pitt, in the year 1792, pronounced Europe to be in a state of profound tranquillity, and that Mr. Burke declared France to be a chasm in its map. We had now unquestionably done much, but it was incumbent on us to secure what we had so happily and nobly gained. There were other victories than those of war, and the victories of peace must now consist in conquering those unsettled elements of society, and that unextinguished spirit of jacobinism, which had been the sources of so many miseries to the world. With respect to the constitutional objection, he had always considered it to be a striking feature in the excellence of our constitution, that it adapted itself to every extent of empire and population. The constitution of some countries, like that of Spain, had been found, by experience, unsuited to the present state of the empire.

able only to the community for which it was originally framed. Our own possessed the faculty of developing every variety of resource, and every principle of action—of causing the democratic interest to keep pace with the prerogatives of the crown. If our empire had been extended to every scene where commerce could carry her sails, the benefits of our constitution had been communicated at the same time. The civil principle had been daily gaining strength; the diffusion of knowledge, the habits of commerce, the increase of opulence, all operated as correctives and counterpoises to an enlarged military establishment. The army imbibed the prevailing feelings of the people, and partook in the general extension and improvement of political science. It was most improbable that in such a state of society, the army should ever entertain the project of deciding between its own integrity and the safety of the empire. He had heard it observed, that history abounded with examples of free states overturned by native generals and native armies. He apprehended that, if these examples were examined, they would be found to have occurred in countries whose moral character, no more than their political circumstances, would bear a comparison with our own. In the states of antiquity, the argument against standing armies was founded on the vast mass of the existing population which was locked up in domestic slavery. In Athens there were but 30,000 free citizens, but there was a population of 300,000 persons. The slaves were without any political existence, and were reckoned as nothing in every estimate of military strength. But let the house look to the population of this country, its growing amount,

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its improved knowledge and wealth, and let them recollect that the army, whatever it was, although commanded by the crown, existed only by parliament. The soldier, he was persuaded, took his full share in the political discussions of the age; every individual felt his own consequence; and, in his opinion, it was this consciousness and love of freedom, no less than native valour, which had accomplished such brilliant results at Waterloo. With respect to the present predominance of a military spirit in this country, it was not a matter of surprise, that, after so large a demand, there should be a large supply. It was a most objectionable mode, however, of attacking that spirit, to take every opportunity of ridiculing it, and of holding up its foibles to public odium and contempt. He thought the foibles themselves entitled to some indulgence, when it was recollected what we owed to that gallant class of men, and that it was not very generous or decorous to turn round upon them, on their return from the scene of danger and of glory, where their best blood had been prodigally poured forth in our defence, and consider them as a fit subject of pleasantry or ridicule.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that no man could entertain a more ardent, warm, and grateful sense of the services which the army had rendered to their country: it had raised us to an elevation which we had never before attained, and it might be justly considered as the instrument by which Providence had been pleased to deliver the nations of Europe from the evils which had so long oppressed them. He was not surprised, therefore, that an honourable gentleman (Mr. Grant) had expressed so tender a feeling

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for the affection that was due to them; but we must not forget the constitution. The war was now at an end; and as we had every prospect of permanent tranquillity, the army ought to be reduced to the smallest limits consistent with the safety of the country. Had not every writer of any importance declared, that one of the greatest dangers to be apprehended by the friends of the constitution was a standing army? The honourable gentleman had argued that various considerations of a domestic nature had materially lessened that danger; but they must all be sensible that there had been growing up a degree of influence in the crown, not only proportioned to the amount of our force, but far exceeding it. The new order of knighthood was much wanted; he highly approved of it, and regretted that it had not been extended to the navy. The military college was an excellent institution, but it rendered the maintenance of a large army in time of peace less necessary. It had often been remarked, that it was not so difficult to find good common soldiers as to get experienced officers; and no plan could be better conducted or executed than this, where a number of young men, selected from the best families, received a regular military education. The great and illustrious personage at the head of the army was entitled to the lasting gratitude of the country; but he was enough of an Englishman not to be offended, if he (Mr. W.) should tell him that he felt a great jealousy of a standing army. If we suffered a larger force to be kept up now than at any former peace, government might wish to increase it at the next peace, and so we might go on until the liberties of the country were entirely subverted. He

did not think that any immediate danger was to be apprehended from the character of our officers; he felt deeply sensible of the value of their services, and relied on their attachment to their country: but the opinion which he had just delivered with respect to constitutional jealousy had been deliberately formed in his closet, and he had never omitted to express it on every proper occasion. He thought that this country was always too ready to go to war, and nothing was more likely to encourage that passion than a large standing army. If it were only for that reason, he should object to keeping up a larger establishment than was absolutely necessary. We had just come off a long and arduous contest, and had combined with the great powers for the preservation of a general peace; and though no person could be more grateful than himself for the part which his noble friend had taken in that adjustment, yet his apprehensions were really excited by that very measure, lest there should not be a war in any part of Europe in which we were not likely to be engaged. If we attempted to interfere in all continental affairs, we should unnecessarily and unwisely involve the constitution, the finances, and the morals of our country. Not many years ago we guarantied the whole Turkish empire. This conduct had always greatly alarmed him, and it was for this reason that he entertained more jealousy than other gentlemen had expressed. If this were a proper time, he could say a great deal on this subject; but the day might come when he should feel it his duty to deliver his sentiments fully. If another reason were to be now resorted to against a standing army, he should assign the immoral consequences of a large establishment

establishment in time of peace; but it was unnecessary to state the various ways in which the morals of a country were affected by military habits. In our naval strength there was this peculiarity, that while it was our natural bulwark of defence, it was not attended with the same danger to the liberties of the country as a large military force. It rendered such an establishment unnecessary, and did not awaken those jealous feelings which the army must always excite. Ministers would do wisely, therefore, not to depart from the policy of our forefathers; for, if they pressed too much on the people, they might lose their affections, and even find that a larger force would be wanted to preserve the tranquillity of the country. With respect to what had been said as to the increased taxation at the end of the American war, it was necessary in order to have any revenue at all; but our establishment was at that time really moderate, and he saw no reason whatever for increasing it at this moment.

The house ultimately divided on an amendment that the report be recommitted, when it was negatived by 190 to 122:—majority for ministers 68.

March 11.—The house having resolved itself into a committee of supply, a considerable discussion took place respecting the sum of 385,000*l.* to be voted for the household troops, both horse and foot guards.

Mr. Calcraft thought they ought to be reduced to the establishment of 1791. He proposed that the horse guards should be reduced from the number of 1,724 to half that number, leaving them stronger by 100 than they were in 1791. With respect to the foot guards, in 1791 they amounted to 3,765; they

were now 8,100: he proposed to reduce them to 4,050, which would be amply sufficient for all the purposes of parade. He moved therefore, as an amendment, to substitute the sum of 192,638*l.* instead of 385,000*l.*:—this amendment was put to the vote, and negatived by 210 to 128.

A second division took place on the motion of Mr. C. Wynne, that the pay and allowances to the household troops should be reduced to those of troops of the line,—which was likewise negatived by 201 to 122.

To the next vote for 333,632*l.* for the cavalry and waggon train, Mr. Tierney moved an amendment, that the house do report progress:—which was negatived by 126 to 62. The original motion was then carried.

House of lords, March 12.—The duke of Bedford drew a strong and vivid picture of the distresses of the nation, particularly of the agricultural classes: he also called their lordships' attention to the immense peace establishment, to the heavy burdens which this establishment unnecessarily imposed on the nation, and to the state of Ireland. He concluded by moving that the house resolve itself into a committee on the state of the nation.

This motion having been seconded by the duke of Sussex, who addressed the house at some length, principally on the state of the nation with regard to our foreign connexions, and with regard to our internal circumstances and resources,

The earl of Aberdeen declared that he was convinced the motion would lead to no useful result; and that, if carried, it would be equivalent to a virtual censure of the administration of the country.

The earl of Limerick agreed with

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the noble duke, that the situation of Ireland did call for inquiry—in inquiry conducted without prejudice or party feelings—an inquiry entered into with an equal desire on all sides of redressing the grievances of that unfortunate and ill-used country. When he applied the term “ill used” to Ireland, he did not mean to say that any ill usage had proceeded from either this or a former administration. The noble duke had indeed said, that Ireland was at present treated as a conquered nation, because an army of 25,000 men was deemed necessary for the maintenance of its tranquillity. But if to enforce obedience to the laws, to protect the peaceable and loyal part of the community, and to collect the revenue, was to treat a people as if they were conquered, his hope was, that Ireland might continue to be so treated. He apprehended, however, that the causes of the misery prevailing in that country lay much deeper: he believed that a conciliatory disposition in a government was always productive of good, but he thought also that precautions were sometimes necessary. He would ask the noble duke, who, from his opportunities must have had ample means of informing himself on the subject, whether he really considered what was vulgarly called Catholic emancipation would be sufficient to remedy all the evils existing in the frame of Irish society? Could the circumstance of a few Catholic noblemen sitting in that house, and a few Catholic gentlemen in the other, put an end at once to that system of murder and of plunder which was the ebullition of a half-civilized peasantry, instigated and set in action by a few concealed and disaffected villains? He meant no insinuation (for such an insinuation would be false) that

the only disturbers of the public peace were of the Catholic persuasion. Catholics and Protestants were too indiscriminately engaged in these atrocities; and it too often happened, from their extent and frequency, that the innocent suffered with the guilty. The employment, however, of soldiers in the collection of the revenue, might be justified by the practice necessarily resorted to even in this country. He could assure the house that from habit as well as education, he was firmly attached to the principles of the established church, which he wished to see preserved in all its respectability and splendour: but, in the actual circumstances of Ireland, the system of tithes, he felt it his duty to state, pressed with peculiar hardship on the peasant. There was nothing of certainty in it; and while the Catholic peasant knew not what he had to expect, he at the same time had to support another class of pastors. The fault, if fault it was, of this country, was one of centuries old, and exhibited a melancholy story, into which he did not intend to enter. It might be observed, that the epoch of the Revolution, that event which secured the laws and liberties of this country, had been to Ireland a period of sorrow and of degradation, when, by a misguided attachment to the banished house of Stuart, it became the scene of civil war, famine, and oppression. It would be tedious were he to state all the instances in which the English legislature had been swayed by jealousy, whenever there appeared the slightest prospect of advancement in the manufacturing and agricultural interests of Ireland. This policy continued to be acquiesced in by the Irish people, because they were entirely under the control of a few land owners who

who subjected themselves to tyranny for the sake of domineering at home. A declaratory law was passed in the reign of George I. which asserted the right of the British parliament, in all cases, to bind the people of that country; and it was not till the year 1782, when we found it impossible any longer to spare a military force, that we allowed Ireland to protect herself; which she accordingly did. It was then shown, that although a French fleet might ride unmolested in the Channel, not a Frenchman dared to plant his foot in Ireland. Her darling independence was then achieved; but it was of a short duration: the minds of her population were again exasperated by religious quarrels, and tainted by French principles, and the Union necessarily followed. Whatever might have been the objections to the measure, its necessity, he thought, was placed beyond dispute; but the enormous taxation that had since fallen on Ireland had made her pay dear for its advantages. Before that event, her whole debt was one million; at present her whole income was absorbed by its annual interest. The hearth money was a grievous evil: and whilst all these causes of disorder were left untouched, he feared it would be vain to expect to see a resident gentry performing the functions of the magistracy in that part of the kingdom. He trusted that he had, in these observations, steered clear from any party bias—it was too serious a question to be made the subject of party agitation. One abundant source of oppression was the system of grand jury; taxation, and perhaps some regulation for enforcing the residence of the higher as well as inferior clergy, might be attended with very salutary effects. He was himself deeply

interested in the prosperity of that country, and believed that, instead of a source of debility, it might be rendered, by a wise and moderate administration, the best bulwark of the empire. The noble lord concluded by expressing a high opinion of the equity and impartiality displayed by the present Irish government.

The marquis of Buckingham, after going through a variety of topics, said that the speech from the throne recommended economy: let parliament answer the call. But what appearance was there of retrenchment on the part of ministers? If their lordships refused to enter into inquiry, they would deprive themselves of the confidence of the people, who were now awake from one end of the kingdom to the other; and the old prediction would be fulfilled,—that England never could be ruined, but by its parliament.

Earl Bathurst thought that no sufficient ground had been laid by the noble duke for his proposed inquiry into the state of the nation,—an inquiry which, being by far too extensive in its nature, and comprehending such an immense variety of topics, would be productive of no practical good. The noble marquis who spoke last but one in the debate, had fairly assigned his reasons; the principal of which was, his distrust of his majesty's ministers. In this view, his most direct mode of proceeding would be to propose an address to the crown, praying the removal of those ministers from office. Several grounds had been dwelt upon in support of the motion; one of which was, the large military establishment proposed to be kept up. Now, after the notice of a motion which the noble marquis had given on this very subject

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for Friday next, this topic could furnish no sufficient reason for going into a committee at present. Indeed, the noble lord had perfectly made up his mind on this point: he had prepared his measures against it. Where, then, on his own arguing, was the necessity for going into a committee of inquiry on the subject?

He (lord B.) would not at present enter at large into the various topics brought forward, but would confine himself to some general observations. The noble duke had told the house, that in framing our military estimates we should consult only our insular situation. But was this consistent with the policy which this country had so long pursued? Was it not stated in the preamble to every mutiny bill, as the reason for maintaining a standing army, that it was necessary for the support of the balance of power in Europe? He knew nothing more likely to produce war, than a knowledge on the part of your enemy, that you were unprepared to meet it, and that an attack might be made with success. The noble marquis had stated that it was strange to keep up such a standing army in peace, when the militia were intended for the very purpose of internal defence. It was singular the noble lord should have forgotten that the militia could only be legally called out on the prospect of hostilities. Another argument was, the extent of the expenditure which such a military establishment would occasion, and with this view it was compared with former peace establishments: but comparisons of this kind should not be made without adverting to the difference of pay at this and former periods. The expenses of half-pay and pensions, independent of any army whatever,

now amounted to two millions; and if the whole army were disbanded, so that a red coat could not be seen in the whole country, the noble marquis would find that the half-pay and pensions alone would equal the expenditure of the army at the beginning of lord Chatham's war. The state of Ireland had been assigned as another reason for the proposed motion; but rather let an express motion be made for that very purpose. It was a topic of sufficient magnitude to require undivided attention: but before the house proceeded to such an inquiry, it would be desirable to hear the specific measures proposed for remedying the evils under which that country laboured; otherwise it might only excite expectations sure to be disappointed. The Catholic question was one of those topics; another was the question relative to Irish tithes. The latter of these, their lordships must be aware, was a very delicate and complex question, even for England; but to raise such a question in the present circumstances of Ireland, appeared to him most objectionable. The noble duke had himself confessed, that when at the head of the Irish government, he had the subject frequently on his mind, but had never been able to make up his mind on it, nor had heard of any feasible plan. Surely then, when, with all his anxiety on the subject, and all the assistance he had received, he was unable to make up his mind, the house would proceed with great caution, before they entertained a measure carrying with it such slight hopes of success. The noble marquis had stated his alarm at the proposed vote of 25,000 men for the service of Ireland. One would have supposed from his language, that this amount of force was quite a new proposition, to which

He should now say a few words on the great agricultural distresses of the country, which had been assigned as another reason for inquiry. It was not his wish to undervalue those distresses. If, indeed, it was a circumstance quite new in the history of the country, that its agriculture should suffer considerable distress after a war, then it might be a fit subject of inquiry; but the fact was, that after the wars of 1762 and 1782, great agricultural distress was experienced; much more might it be expected after

such a war of lengthened duration and extent as we had gone through. The fact was, that the natural effect of all war was to raise the price of provisions, by increasing the demand, while the return of peace as necessarily reduced the demand. In proportion, therefore, to the extent and duration of our exertions in the late war, must be the embarrassments of our agriculture on the return of peace. This distress would, of course, extend to all persons concerned, either directly or indirectly, in the price of provisions, particularly as all contracts had accommodated themselves to the artificial prices occasioned by a state of war; and, from the continuance of that war, it came to be imagined that this artificial state of things would continue indefinitely. In illustration of the demand for agricultural produce created by the war, the noble lord had calculated that they amounted to two millions for England, one million for Ireland, exclusive of one million for the support of prisoners of war. Here there was a demand for agricultural produce to the amount of four millions, which was suddenly stopped by the return of peace, and must necessarily have produced a great effect on the price of commodities. The person first benefited by the demand must have been the farmer; and he was of course the first person to suffer by the fall. The immediate causes, then, of the agricultural distresses, were the diminution of the demand, and the superabundance of supply occasioned by the very large importations in 1814. Foreigners could undersell us in our own market; and one reason was, that, being in distress themselves, they wanted our money. Last year's parliament, by a legislative measure, prevented the

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introduction of this additional supply; but the demand having lessened in the mean time, that measure had immediate effect in giving the farmers a better market. The existing state of things would, however, cure itself. From the want of demand, the supply would naturally fall off; and he feared that the consequence would be to diminish, for some time at least, the amount of an adequate supply. If the agricultural distresses were caused by taxation, they ought to have been most severely felt when that taxation was the heaviest. He admitted the statement of the noble duke, that these distresses were much severer than after the war of 1782; but then it should be considered, that the last war had lasted 21 years,—that the high prices it had occasioned had become apparently in general estimation the standing prices of the country,—and that to these prices all contracts had conformed. But there was one material difference in favour of the present period. After the peace of 1782, taxes were imposed on the country to the amount of a million for two successive years: but now we should have seven millions and a half less to pay next year than we did in this. We had now to look forward to a diminution of taxation; the agriculture of the country would have to pay three millions less next year than it did this; whereas, after the peace of 1782, taxes were created for two successive years, instead of being diminished. He thought, therefore, that the prospects of the country were not deteriorated by the comparison.

The earl of Carnarvon asked under what circumstances, and at what time, were they told that parliament would abstain from making this inquiry, because it would argue

a distrust of his majesty's ministers? After what had transpired, how could it do otherwise than distrust them? What was the picture they exhibited on the first day of the session? Did they mention the distress of the country? Did they say that the prince regent had mentioned it? Did they say that they themselves had considered it? They proposed accumulated taxation,—they threatened a standing army;—and then we were to withdraw inquiry, because measures of such magnificent promise were held forth! We were told not to enter into a committee, lest we should there go into the military establishment, and that would be distrusting his majesty's ministers! We had heard enough of the agricultural distress alone (which indeed might with more propriety be termed the distress of every class of the community), to see that a committee of inquiry was the only means left of making an approach to any thing like relief. The noble lord had said, that every war causes a diminution of imports. It was indeed perfectly clear, that after every long war there must be a declension in the home market; and the noble lord at length admitted that there might be some distress, though not equal to that which prevailed at the end of the American war. He (lord Carnarvon) was glad that ministers had at length opened their ears to the voice of the people; and he hoped they would soon open their eyes to the dangers that encompassed them. But there was a difference between the present state of the country, and that which appeared at the end of the American war; and there was a difference in the causes which called for investigation. The greater part of the late circulation of the country consisted

sisted in the issue of country banks; and a fictitious credit was created, resting on the result of successful speculation, and often resting on no foundation at all: it was a mere bubble, carried along by the breeze of prosperity; but when that breeze should change, the bubble must burst. This was the great source of all our distress; and could only be properly inquired into by going into a committee on the state of the nation.

Notwithstanding the reluctance of his majesty's ministers, on this occasion, to go into the examination of a portentous military system, yet it did seem so connected with financial arrangements, that the house would not be doing its duty to the public, if it neglected to enter into a committee. The noble lord had said, that it was necessary always to sustain a commanding position in Europe: he (lord Carnarvon) knew this; he knew that we always had done so, and had interfered in every continental war: but could the noble lord state how it happened that when we did this with most effect, we did it without ever departing from our insular policy—without creating a large military establishment? Had the noble lord forgotten how it happened in the very last war, that without departing from this policy, we contrived to be actively engaged in every part of Europe, and finally to lead a victorious army to the gates of Paris? How happened it the noble lord did not see, that if we would maintain this superiority, we must adhere to our good old system of husbanding our resources in time of peace? Might he not be permitted to suspect, that those great results were attained because we called forth our force when it was required,—that we had been a

great nation capable of becoming a great army? The noble lord had said there was no danger to our liberties in a great standing army: let him show one instance, in all ancient or modern history, of a great standing army in time of peace, and a free people subsisting at once. The people of Rome were free so long as their armies were engaged in war: but as soon as they had occupied the various provinces of the empire—as soon as external danger disappeared, there was no longer any freedom for the people. And was this because that people did not know, or did not value freedom? there was no nation on earth that had struggled more pertinaciously for the enjoyment of such a blessing! In the feudal times, from the moment the great feudal armies were stationed at home and ceased to take the field, from that moment were the people oppressed by an extended military despotism. In a period of English history, when liberty was not only highly prized, but became, as it were, the fashion of the nation—at the time of the civil wars between Charles and his parliament, the army, as long as it was fully occupied in a contest with a rival army, did its duty and submitted itself to the directions of the parliament. But when the war had ceased, and its employment had ceased with it, what then was the conduct of that same army? At first it formed military committees, of almost equal influence with the decisions of the parliament itself; it next proceeded to overawe the freedom of debate; and lastly, carried away from the table of the other house the gilded bauble (as they called it), similar, however, to that bauble which now lay on the wool-sack before their lordships. Nor was this all; they did not stop till they

they had crowned their efforts with that finishing stroke, the making their own general the despot over the whole nation. And then, with all the precedents before him, the noble lord says there is no danger to our liberties in the existence of a standing army! And why is there no danger? Because, says the noble lord, the press is free. Now the freedom of the press is, indeed, a proof that the army does not yet prevail; but it by no means evinces the certainty that the army never will prevail even against that press itself.

No man could have a higher opinion than himself of the loyalty, valour, and discipline of our army: but we were not to trust quite implicitly to this; and if we trained up our officers in military schools and military clubs, the army would be no more a part of the people than the army of Russia. If we had not hitherto been deprived of our liberties, it was entirely because we had never supported a standing army in time of peace. He regretted that the English soldier was so changed, not only in his manner, his dress, his appearance, but in his very face, from the soldier of our forefathers, that there was nothing English remaining in him but his heart, and the spirit by which it was animated. But suppose we conceded the noble lord this army in time of peace! By what means was it to be maintained; or how were we to raise the taxes necessary for its support? The noble lord had said, that our finances were in a flourishing state; and he had talked of saving seven millions to the public. This saving he (lord Carnarvon) utterly denied, and in the present circumstances of the country it could never exist. An alteration had taken place in the value of the currency, to the amount of 25 per

cent; and if the ministers were to take off 25 per cent. instead of 10, the people would still pay as much as during their most aggravated expenses at the end of the last war. Were the people capable, then, of bearing a greater taxation than during the last years of the war? If ministers would see or hear, every thing that came to their knowledge must confirm them in the opinion that this was impossible. But how were we to ascertain this, if we refused to go into a committee? and could the house feel satisfied that it was performing its duty to the public, if it refused to go into a committee because the inquiry to be instituted might prove laborious? He hoped, therefore, that the house would persevere; that they would inquire into the particulars and nature of the distress prevailing; and find some better remedy for it than a standing army, and an establishment expensive beyond all former precedent.

After a few words from lords Westmoreland and Darnley, a reply from the duke of Bedford, and a short defence of the military club by lord Lynedoch, the house divided:

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In the house of commons, on the same day, during the presentation of petitions against the income tax, the chancellor of the exchequer said, it did not affect the manufacturer, either in his raw material or intermediate profits; and it was in fact the cheapest tax that could be levied, no more being demanded than was actually given to government. It was equally favourable to the agricultural class, as few comparatively of that number paid it. If

If it was to be rejected, therefore, the poor must be the losers, as taxes, a more immediate pressure, must be levied on them in its stead. He could view the present bustle making against the tax, as little else than a conspiracy of the rich against the poor. While he was decidedly of opinion that the tax was necessary for paying the expenses of the war, he would certainly propose in the preamble of the bill, that the sum be limited to 12 millions, or confined to two years. He was not ashamed to say, that as parliamentary pledge had been given last year for the annihilation of the tax, it was a pledge no member of that house, no minister of the crown, nor any body of ministers, could give.

Lord Folkstone observed, that the conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer was somewhat ludicrous, and one part of his speech was an excellent comment on the other. In one part of his speech he denied the possibility that any minister could give a pledge to the country; and yet with a singular inconsistency, he proceeded to tell the house, that he proposed giving a pledge in his new act.

Lord Castlereagh moved for leave to bring in two bills, the one more effectually to regulate the safe custody of Napoleon Buonaparte, and the other to regulate the intercourse of neutral ships with St. Helena, while Buonaparte should be detained there. After a few observations from Mr. Brougham, leave was given.

House of commons, March 13.—In the committee of supply, the remaining sums composing the army estimates were voted, after a prolonged but uninteresting discussion.

House of lords, March 14.—The

earl of Liverpool presented a message from the prince regent respecting the intended marriage of the princess Charlotte of Wales to the prince of Cobourg. After it was read, his lordship moved an address to the prince regent, which was agreed to unanimously.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Lockhart, after dwelling at some length upon the frauds committed by many persons who took the benefit of the insolvent debtors act, moved for leave to bring in a bill to suspend its operation.

After some conversation, sir Samuel Romilly moved an amendment, "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the effects of the insolvent debtors act," which was carried by 82 to 71.

Lord Castlereagh presented a message respecting the marriage of the princess Charlotte to the prince of Coburg, similar to that presented to the lords.

House of lords, March 15.—The marquis of Lansdowne prefaced his motion for an address to the prince regent, to cause the army estimates to be revised, and the forces reduced, by a long speech respecting the proposed military establishment and expenditure. In advertising more particularly to the subject of the estimates, he should consider, 1st, the amount of force necessary for the security of the possessions of Great Britain abroad; 2dly, the army required to ensure tranquillity at home; and, 3dly, the nature and composition of the force, with regard to selection and œconomy, which was to be maintained for both purposes. In viewing the colonial possessions of Great Britain, in which troops were to be stationed, that which first claimed attention was the enormous empire of India, upon which he was the
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more inclined to make a few remarks, as it had been hitherto passed over in silence. It was asserted by ministers, that we were bound by contract with the East India company to maintain a force of 20,000 in their dominions: but in the first place his lordship thought we were under no such obligation, and in the next, that such a proceeding would be impolitic; for all who referred to the act renewing the charter of the company would find, not that the government was bound to keep in India a body of not less than 20,000 men, but that that number was the full extent, under any circumstances, the company could demand. The board of control was not permitted to issue pay for more than 20,000 men; and yet it was now argued on the other side, that we were to go to the extreme limit of assistance, at a time when it was least of all required by the state of the colony. This force was also exclusive of 3,600 infantry and 4,200 artillery, supported by the company. A reference to history showed that the number of troops now thought necessary in India, in times of tranquillity, was greater than had been required during the time of intestine revolution and external war. In the year 1793, the marquis Cornwallis triumphantly concluded three successive years of determined hostility with an army of only 15,000 men. Shortly prior to that date, the coast of Malabar was occupied by enemies; the Mahrattas were in arms; the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the French, occupied important settlements, threatening our possessions, and no such army as was at this time to be maintained was then required, not merely for defensive, but for offensive operations. The conquest of the

Mysore in 1799, one of the most brilliant achievements in the history of arms, was effected by less than fourteen thousand men, and the Mahratta war was conducted and concluded by an army equally inconsiderable. Was there not then, he asked, a strong presumptive case against the estimate upon the table, when the extensive empire of India was in tranquillity, and when the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, and Ceylon, which might geographically be considered the dependencies of India, were each to receive a garrison of 3,000 men capable of being drawn to the aid of the larger colony, not only before any attack could be made from Europe, but before even the hostile native powers could accomplish any important design? It was not unworthy of remark, that the forces to be stationed in those dependencies of India exceeded the number the original possessors of them had ever thought it right to place there. Dismissing the subject of India, the point next in importance was the Mediterranean, and particularly the highly honourable possession of Gibraltar; the garrison there was to be composed of 4,000 men out of the 99,000 or 111,000 (for there was an apparent difference in some of the estimates) stated in the papers upon the table.

The earl of Liverpool observed across the table, that the discordance arose from making the calculation inclusive or exclusive of the officers; the difference was about one-eighth, the 99,000 being merely rank and file, and the 111,000 rank and file with their officers. The 99,000 were not to be considered an effective force, but as an establishment. The marquis of Lansdowne referred to the years 1764 and 1766, when the establishment had been only

only 26,000 and 27,000 men. He then proceeded to censure the increased amount of force destined for Malta: he admitted the importance of the island, but contended, that as it was in the neighbourhood of other possessions of this country, the maintenance of so large a garrison would be an unjustifiable expenditure. It was not a little singular, that wherever our possessions were so near as to be able to assist each other, the amount of force was considerable in proportion as it was uncalled for. If a place might be deemed secure in consequence of its proximity to some other garrison, it appeared by the estimates that there the number of troops was most unreasonably augmented. This remark applied to Malta and Gibraltar; but the increase in the latter case was the more useless, inasmuch as the Spanish lines, before considered formidable, had been destroyed on the demand of Great Britain. Why had the lines been destroyed, but to render Gibraltar more secure? And if that fortress were rendered more secure, why was the garrison increased? Was it that the present weak and distracted state of the government of Spain threatened danger in that quarter? or was it that this country meant to hold a terror over the Spanish monarchy, to compel it to some good, to which it seemed at present so little inclined? With regard to the Ionian islands, it would not be denied that they were placed in the hands of this country with the free consent of all parties; not because Great Britain was a great military, but a great naval power, although the object did not appear very distinctly from the wording of the treaty.

The colonies of the West Indies next presented themselves, where 14,000 men were to be maintained, while in 1766 only 2,092 men had

been engaged on the same duty, with the exception of Tobago, Demerara, Trinidad, and Berbice, not then in our hands. At that time all our colonies of North America, including the whole United States, did not require the force now to be stationed in Canada and Nova Scotia. What sufficient reason could be shown for now supporting a body of men seven times the number paid for that service in 1766? He was curious to know how ingenuity could prove that the acquisition of Demerara, Berbice, or Essequibo, was in any view desirable: what benefit had or could result from the occupation of those settlements, excepting to the individuals appointed to official situations there, who had been maintained at an extravagant charge, he could not conjecture. The history of their acquisition was not a little extraordinary: for first an expedition at a great expense was sent to take them; at a peace soon afterwards they were restored to Holland, and, before three years had expired, three millions were paid to that country as the purchase money for them. It would have been far wiser for England to have paid the same sum as a premium to keep them out of her hands, since they only produced sugar we could not consume, and withdrew capital we could not afford. As to any argument derived from the abolition of the slave trade, he fondly trusted that it would add to the security, instead of increasing the dangers, of our islands. In the estimates 5,000 men were devoted to Canada, and 4,000 to Nova Scotia; but if government thought that we could ever cope with the United States in point of numbers, their expectations would at some future time be miserably disappointed. The true defence of these colonies was to be derived

derived from the nature of the country, the sentiments of the inhabitants, and the barrier and frontier of the lakes. Upon that frontier much had already been expended in establishments, and one of the greatest authorities, both civil and military, had for years devoted his attention to additions to its strength: it was to be hoped also that ministers had at length become acquainted with the importance of a power upon the Lakes; for this country had unfortunately been beaten into a knowledge of its value. The only colonial arrangement that remained to be noticed was that which regarded St. Helena; and his lordship begged not to be understood as offering any objection to the measures adopted, as measures of general European policy.—For whose advantage was Buonaparte confined there? For the advantage of all the states of Europe; and their commissioners, with our own, were allowed to reside upon the island. But who was to defray all the heavy charges of detention? England only! In pursuance of the system now established, that whatever was burdensome and unprofitable was to fall to her share, all Europe was to reap the benefit, and England alone was to pay for it.

His lordship then proceeded to his second division—the means provided for the security of Great Britain and Ireland. He had already expressed his painful conviction, that less than 25,000 would not be adequate to insure tranquillity in Ireland, and the melancholy rumours of the few last days had confirmed his opinion. Giving all due weight to the personal assurances of ministers, it could not but be held as a singular circumstance, that when the sister kingdom was thus distracted—when there was an

of all dissatisfaction—when morality was abandoned, and the ties of society almost dissolved, no allusion had been made to this distressing subject in the speech from the throne, nor had any information been, either officially or unofficially, communicated. Parliament was thus left to deliberate and to decide at its peril; it was compelled to vote the number of men demanded in the absence of knowledge; and it could not fail to strike all thinking men, that the very application of this large force would not restore peace and harmony; it was calculated to inflict new, not to heal old wounds; and the fresh animosity thus excited would render an additional force necessary, and would prove a perpetual drawback on the finances and prosperity of Great Britain. Instead of removing the evils, a force was provided to subdue the spirit of the people. Which of the promises with regard to that unfortunate island had been fulfilled?—The eminent statesman who effected the union, and who considered it one of the noblest measures of his life, so esteemed it, because he conceived it would give to Ireland the benefit of British legislation; because it would remove all the evils arising from religious distinctions, from the lapse of time, and from the undue mode of collecting the revenue. But the Statute Book would be in vain searched for a fulfilment of these hopes: the burdens had been augmented, the grievances aggravated, and those taxes most inconsistent with the morality of the natives had been rigorously pursued: the malt duty had been increased four-fold since the Union, and the impost upon spirits augmented in an equal proportion: by these impolitic measures illicit distillation was encouraged, and daily inroads made upon

upon the morals and habits of the people, for the sake of obtaining a pitiful addition to the revenue. A philosophical writer had remarked, that the savages of Louisiana, when they wanted the fruit, cut down the tree; and such had been the conduct of Great Britain towards Ireland: to obtain an insignificant and temporary advantage, the axe had been laid to the root of the virtue and happiness of the natives of Ireland.—The remedy was apparent; delay would but increase the evil, and the postponement would bring down eternal disgrace upon every succeeding administration that refused to apply that remedy.—As to the force destined to be stationed in Great Britain, the house must be aware that it was a large increase upon the establishments of 1784 and 1792. The addition beyond the force at the latter period was 8,000 men, for which only two reasons had been assigned—first, that 25,000 men were required to recruit and succeed regiments abroad; but of course this argument failed, if it could be shown that such large foreign establishments were not necessary: next, that a certain force was required to assist in the suppression of smuggling; but such an employment of them was unconstitutional, and gave habits of wanton oppression to the soldiery, which they could not afterwards easily abandon. It was remarkable also, that the species of force to which the largest additions had been made, was precisely that which could not be applied to such a purpose—the heavy horse-guards, which, since 1792, had been raised from 784 to 1744 men; they were, besides, the most expensive troops, bearing the proportion, as contrasted with dragoons, of 65*l.* compared with 43*l.*

each man; they were the least economical, and the least useful body of men in the whole army. The force proposed for guards and garrisons was likewise far too numerous, and his lordship thought that out of the 26,000 men receiving pensions, a force of 8 or 10,000 might have been procured perfectly equal to duty at dock-yards and other public works. The marines too might have been so employed, instead of incurring the charge of 15 guineas bounty to each man to induce them to enlist in the line, as had been the case with two regiments recently returned from America. One of the most striking articles in the estimates was the amount of the staff, which now bore so large a proportion to the whole army. A most extraordinary increase would be obvious, by making a comparison between the present and former periods. In 1764 the expense of the staff was as 1-56th of the whole military force; in 1784 it was less than 1-100th; in 1786 it was the same; in 1792, 1-90th; and in 1816, without any cause assigned, it had risen with rapidity to the enormous proportion of 1-17th of the pay of the whole army.—There was an unprecedented increase in the expenses of the staff, which, in time of peace, should be immediately reduced. In the course of thirty years it had increased in the proportion of 100 to 17. The noble marquis was willing to allow that this increase in the staff might have been of great importance in time of war; but as every opportunity of being useful had been cut off by the peace, there was no reason why the country should be burdened with such an increase of expenditure in one particular branch of from 17 to 100. If any noble lord doubted the accuracy of this statement,

statement, he was prepared to show that a rise to such an extent had taken place, by references and calculations, the accuracy of which could not be doubted. He had detained their lordships so long with the examination of the estimates that embraced the amount and distribution of the forces to be employed abroad and at home, that he did not feel himself warranted to make a further claim upon their attention by going into the other estimates which he had not yet touched upon. He would not enter upon the consideration of the expenditure proposed for the ordnance, barrack, and commissariat departments; though it was to such an amount as called for investigation and reduction.

Having thus gone over the chief heads of the estimates, he would make the proposition to which the previous examination necessarily led him. There was nothing in the history of the country at all similar to the policy now pursued, or the establishments to be supported. No peace establishment, as he had already shown, was at all comparable, in amount and expense, to that with which the nation was now to be burdened. Every former one sunk into insignificance before it; they became trifling and ridiculous in comparison with it. Yet these peace establishments were discussed by the people of the time in which they were proposed, with the most scrupulous jealousy. Alarm was expressed by the friends of liberty at their magnitude, and propositions were heard and examined, to reduce them to the lowest possible amount, to strike off every man not absolutely necessary for the security of the country. What pretence of reason could now be offered for the unparalleled increase of an army from 40 to 150,000 men?

When not liable to attack from any quarter—when no danger menaced us from without—any force, beyond the mere purpose of internal security, must be mischievous. Our greatness was not dependent upon the greatness of our army—our strength was not built upon the number or discipline of our troops. What gave strength and dignity to a nation was expressed by a poet, who united, to great genius and high poetical talent, just notions of liberty, and an extensive acquaintance with affairs—

What constitutes a state?

Not high-raised battlements nor labour'd
Thick wall, or moated gate; [mound,
But man, high-minded man.

If this was applicable at the time it was written, what should prevent its application now? The causes of the real security of a state, and the necessity of low military establishments, were topics in which all parties had agreed, in which Whigs and Tories united. Let the house not be told, that because, in the reign of king William, the ambition of Louis XIV. rendered a large force necessary to protect this country against foreign danger by their services abroad, therefore we should now keep up an enormous army at home. No party in former times defended the measure of a great peace establishment. Let the house look at what was said in defence of a standing army by sir R. Walpole, the great Whig minister, when opposed by the Tories of that day. He stood upon the ground of its smallness, and showed that it would neither render necessary the imposition of great additional taxation, nor possibly endanger constitutional liberty. The defence of his measure was then easy, as his proposed establishment amounted only to 17,000 men, whereas now 150,000 were

were to be supported. He did not accuse ministers of entertaining a design against the liberties and the constitution of the country; but they were, in his opinion, introducing measures which might ultimately endanger both. The extent of revenue requisite for defraying the establishments that appeared in the estimates, was, in the present circumstances of the country, excessive and alarming.

The noble marquis called upon the house to redeem the pledge of economy which they had carried up to the throne, in answer to a recommendation of economy which they had heard from it. He was sensible that this pledge could not be fulfilled to such an extent as to satisfy the wishes of the people, or to relieve them in any considerable degree from the burdens under which they laboured; but parliament had it in its power to reduce the expenditure in some departments, and to effect a proportionate diminution of pressure on the resources of the nation. Entertaining those views, and actuated by these sentiments, the noble marquis begged leave to move, that an humble address be presented to the prince regent, expressive of the thanks of the house, for commanding the estimates containing the amount of the intended peace establishments to be laid before it; but stating, that their lordships observe with concern, that these establishments exceed in amount those of any former period, and that too at a time when no danger could be apprehended from without, and no attempt could arise to threaten public security, but from that discontent which unnecessary burdens to support excessive establishments might create; and praying him that he would direct such a reduction to be

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made in the estimates as would render them consistent with the interest of the country, and conformable with the spirit of its ancient policy.

Earl Bathurst, taking into view all the circumstances of the present times—the extent and wants of our empire, and comparing the proposed establishment in a deliberate manner with those of former periods, did not think that they would appear unreasonable or excessive. The noble marquis had entered upon the comparison, but he had not conducted it with impartiality, and with a fair balancing of all the circumstances. He did not expect to find him, taking one article from one period, another from another, sometimes going to 1763, sometimes to 1784, and sometimes to 1791—not as best answered the purpose of a fair comparison, but as suited most the advantage of his argument. He would not follow his example in this respect: he would take the estimates of 1791, which, as was known, were adopted, after an attentive examination of the state and necessities of the country, by a committee of the other house of parliament. He would abstain from speaking of the force to be employed in France, as the number and distribution of that force had been already under the consideration of, and had been sanctioned by the house, in its address to the prince regent on the treaties. The second estimate was that for India. Here the noble marquis assumed, that ministers entertained an opinion that it was necessary, in conformity with the terms of the company's charter, to keep always a force of 20,000 men in that quarter, whatever were the circumstances which characterized the state of their possessions. So far was government

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from acting on this opinion, that they sent out orders to reduce the government army in that quarter from 20,000 to 16,000 men in the year after the passing of the charter, which would have been fulfilled by the sending home of several regiments, had the Nepal war not occurred in the mean time. The necessities of that war not only demanded the services of the detachment which was intended to be recalled, but an additional force from Ceylon and the Cape. In these circumstances, and when the danger of a contest, which was not yet known to be concluded, called for assistance, would it have been prudent to have reduced our establishment in India? With regard to the amount of force necessary to be permanently maintained in that quarter, there was a great difference of opinion. He knew that a noble marquis who had distinguished himself so much during his administration of India, and had consolidated and extended the dominions of the company, had given it as his opinion, that not less than a force of 19 regiments, three of them belonging to the company, and including each 1,000 men, would be sufficient to secure our Indian empire. So far as the estimates of that part of the army serving in France and India were concerned, the noble earl thought satisfactory explanations had been given, and the question had been disposed of. He would now proceed to the comparison of our establishments in the year 1791 with those now proposed. In 1791, the number of troops voted for our colonies amounted to 17,000, the number for the home establishment to 16,000. In that period, the whole force abroad was 17,000, as he had mentioned; the estimate on the table for our colonies

at present was 48,000; a great difference, it must be acknowledged, but not greater than the difference of circumstances would have led the country to expect, and enabled government to justify. The number of our principal colonies at present was forty-three: seventeen of these were conquests since 1791. Besides those accessions by conquest, several separate colonial establishments were formed out of those that were then in our possession. The first of these was Upper Canada, Newfoundland was another. In that district the number of inhabitants in 1791 did not exceed 4,000, as it was our policy to discourage colonization; at present they amounted to 70,000, having been increased to that extent by emigrations from Ireland. The force for it was included in the estimates for North American possessions. The next statement to which he would refer was the Bermudas, which had increased in population very considerably since 1791. The fourth was Sierra Leone, in which it was proposed to station 1,000 men. This was entirely a new possession, and intended for a moral and political experiment. The next settlement that he would refer to as requiring an addition of force was Botany Bay, which in 1791 had only 400 men to protect it, but which now demanded double that number. The sixth was St. Helena, in which there was to be stationed a garrison of 1,200 men. The noble marquis laboured under a mistake in one or two of the opinions he had stated with respect to the custody of Buonaparte in that island. It was not the fact that the commissioners of the allied powers had any influence in the direction of the measures to be pursued regarding his custody or support. They were sent

sent to his place of destination, merely that they might remain as accredited correspondents of their several courts. With regard to the allegation that the allies were always willing to allow us to stand forward when expenses were to be incurred, and that they were desirous of consulting their own interests and repose, without contributing any pecuniary consideration for those objects, it was equally unfounded. Each of the three great allied powers, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had offered to receive Buonaparte into their dominions, and to maintain him at their own charge. What were their motives for making this proposal, or how they were affected, he could not say; but ministers thought they would have forfeited the duty they owed to the country, had they acceded to such a measure. These six new establishments had arisen since 1791, which being added to the 17 principal conquests, would increase the number of our separate establishments since that time by 23.

He would go over the rest. He would begin with North America, where there was an increase of force, since 1791, of from 5,600 to 9,000: consequently an excess of more than three thousand. A noble friend of his stated, as a reason for this augmentation, the superior cultivation of Canada, and the increase in the number of inhabitants; and this argument was made the ground of a charge against him, as if he meant to assert that those circumstances generally required an increase of force, and that the people must be crushed by military means, in proportion as they grow comfortable and numerous. Considering the state of Canada, and its neighbourhood to the United States, this argu-

ment was not liable to such a construction, and was perfectly conclusive for the purpose for which it was brought forward. The progress of cultivation, by cutting down forests, draining marshes, and performing other operations, created greater facilities of invasion, while the improvements on the side of the United States afforded additional military stations, and approximated the two states to each other. If a war should arise, the difficulty of sending troops to meet the first unexpected attack was so great, that unless we had a force in that quarter to some amount, our colony might be lost without the possibility of assisting it. This force of 9,000 men was to be distributed over the Canadas, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, &c. The noble earl next proceeded to the distribution of force allotted for the West Indies. The establishment for Jamaica was 4,000. In 1794 it amounted only to 1,841. The increase had been great, but not unnecessary, as was testified by the offer of the inhabitants of the island to maintain any force above three thousand, while they refused to contribute to the support of a garrison that fell below that amount. In the other West India islands there were to be stationed 9,000; whereas in 1791 they were protected by 3,800. These latter were all, however, protected by troops of the line. Now the estimate of 9,000 included only about 3,000 troops of the line, the rest being made up of deserters and natives. The stations then were 6, now they were 12. He would now proceed to the three establishments of the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, and Ceylon. With regard to these the noble marquis had justly stated, that they should be contributory to the general defence of our Indian empire;

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and in this view it must be granted, that they ought to be larger as a whole, than was requisite for their separate security. He would not say, that there should always be at each of these stations a disposable force, but that in some one or other of them there should be a greater number of troops than was requisite for defensive purposes. Keeping these considerations, the establishment at Ceylon was fixed at 3,000 men; that number of troops had been diminished, in consequence of a portion of them being called to the continent of India; but they would return to the island when their services were no longer required. Of this force, however, we could hardly reckon that, considering the climate, more than 2,500 would be effectives—an observation which he had omitted to make with regard to our West India colonies. In Ceylon we had two separate establishments, one at Trincomalee and the other at Colombo, which formerly could only communicate by sea, and at certain seasons of the year. This difficulty in affording mutual assistance, made it requisite that these establishments should be respectively larger than was otherwise necessary. By the fall of Candy, however, the difficulty of internal communication was now in the course of being removed; and when the communication was rendered complete, he saw no reason why a reduction of 1,000 men might not be effected. The establishment at the Mauritius was at a similar amount. Their lordships would not deem it too great, as it was very well known that this island had a large population, in no way well inclined towards the British government. Indeed, at the time when lord Moira applied for a reinforcement from that colony, there was a conspiracy on foot, of

which the registry bill was made the pretence, and which, had it not been timely discovered, might have been attended with fatal effects. At the same time he saw no reason why a reduction might not take place in the course of a few years. With respect to the Cape, it was proposed that it should have 3,000 men. Of these between 7 and 800 men were constantly detached up the country, in order to watch any incursions of the Caffres. Besides, it was to the Cape that the government of India must look in the event of any sudden alarm. In that part of our dominions it was obvious that a war might start up, having no reference to any European policy, and which could neither be foreseen nor provided against from Europe. Under these circumstances, it was evidently important that there should be some disposable force to apply to at the Cape in any case of urgency. He came next to our Mediterranean possessions; and with regard to Gibraltar he stated, from documents on the table of the house, that between the years 1786 and 1791 the average force kept up in that fortress amounted to 4,000 men, the same as was now proposed to be maintained there. If, on the one hand, as the noble marquis had stated, the Spanish lines were destroyed, it was to be considered, on the other, that the works of the fortress had been greatly increased. With respect to Malta, it served us as a secure and impregnable harbour in the Mediterranean. The works were of great extent, and demanded a proportionate number of men to occupy them. A lazaretto had also been recently established there, the regulations of which, it was well known, could not be enforced without military means. It was not too high, therefore, to fix the

the garrison of Malta at 4,000 men. The noble lord next proceeded to defend the expedience of the military establishments in the Ionian islands. There had been a garrison of 400 men at Santa Maura, opposite the coast of Greece, during the war, as this had been a point threatened by the enemy. This might now admit of reduction: neither did he think it of much importance that there should be any force of magnitude in Zante and Cephalonia; but as it was expressly stipulated in the treaty, that all the fortresses of these islands should be in our possession, they must, of course, be occupied by some troops. There remained Corfu, with respect to which it should not be forgotten, that it was a fortress of that impregnable nature, that if once taken by surprise, it was hardly possible to recover it. During the late war, it bade defiance to all the efforts of our navy, and though placed under a strict blockade, there was hardly a possibility of preventing it from receiving supplies both from Italy and Greece. On its evacuation by the French garrison, it was found that they had suffered little or nothing from the effects of the siege. Out of the 3,000 men destined to occupy the different points of these islands, there would not be above 1,800 to occupy Corfu, which, considering its importance, would hardly be deemed too much. He should be unwilling to make a demand on the Ionian islands, in the first instance, for the expenses of defence, but in the course of a few years it might be a fair matter of consideration what assistance they should afford.

The noble marquis had contended, that in a pecuniary point of view, the maintenance of these establishments would create a pressure that

would break down our resources. But he would ask, whether our colonies and foreign possessions did not contribute in a most effectual and satisfactory manner to the resources of the country, by the extension which they gave to our trade, by their demand for our manufactures, by the industry which they put in motion, and by their increase of our naval resources? Looking at the mere debtor and creditor side of the account, he maintained that we were gainers by their occupation. The additional force which they required us to maintain, was estimated at 48,000 men; or, taking the reductions which might be made, it might be stated at 45,000, which created an additional charge to the country of 800,000*l*. He might fairly estimate the annual profits resulting from their trade at 1,500,000*l*., and, including the Mauritius and Ceylon, at 1,600,000*l*. Taking this latter sum as the amount, it was evident that, even by a dry calculation of profit and loss, we were gainers by their possession to the amount of 800,000*l*. and that they increased instead of diminishing our resources. He now came to the establishment for Ireland. And here he was astonished that the noble marquis seemed to treat it rather as an increased than, what it in fact was, a reduced establishment. The noble marquis asked, should we go on from year to year adding to this part of our military establishment, instead of reducing it from year to year? He had also expressed his surprise, that though Ireland was in such a state as to require this establishment, no notice had been taken of the circumstance in the speech from the throne. But he would remind the noble marquis of what he had already stated on a former night, namely, that in

1807, though 40,000 troops were then stationed in Ireland, not for purposes of external defence, yet this was not noticed in the speech of that year. The noble lord then proceeded to urge the necessity of the home establishment, partly on the ground of relieving the troops abroad. It was evident that during the war this had been very inadequately done; so much was this the case, that there were now regiments in our foreign possessions that had remained there these 20 years without any relief. The system of reliefs necessarily created a considerable demand for troops, which was increased by the new arrangement which prevented men from being drafted from their particular regiments. He defended the increased establishment of the horse-guards, on the general ground that though their expense was greater, yet if the proposed number of troops was necessary, it would create

much greater expense, were a part of them disbanded, and their place supplied by the raising of other troops to a like amount. There would be 7 regiments of dragoons employed for the suppression of smuggling. They would cost us 400,000*l.* and this was not too much for the country to pay, considering the importance of protecting the revenue. The most eligible mode of putting down smuggling was undoubtedly the lowering of our import duties, but it was impossible to do this without prodigiously lowering our revenue. The only resource left was increased vigilance in the prevention of illicit practices; and it was on the representation of those best acquainted with the subject that this plan was adopted. The expense of these regiments would be nothing compared to the protection which the revenue would derive from them,

and he saw nothing objectionable in their employment, in a constitutional point of view. Upon the whole, he flattered himself that he had adduced arguments sufficient to convince their lordships of the expediency of the proposed establishments both abroad and at home.

The marquis Wellesley began by observing, that his noble friend who had just sat down, had employed a considerable time and extent of argument in stating generally the value of our colonial possessions. He (lord W.) would not enter into any discussions on this head, nor into any discrimination of the relative value of the acquisitions we had obtained by the late treaty, though it had been pronounced the most glorious peace that had ever been negotiated by any statesman—nay, he understood that the noble lord by whom it was negotiated had himself delivered this eulogium upon it. But, passing over this, he was far from disputing that our colonial possessions formed a large portion of our national resources, and, he would add, of our national energy. Far was it from him to dispute this proposition. But the real question, which his noble friend had contrived to obscure amidst details, and by avoiding general principles—the real question by which the merits of the proposed establishments must be tried and decided, was this—not the value of our foreign possessions, but the danger to which they might be exposed. There could be no situation of things in which it would not be necessary to consider this danger; but the statements of the noble lord seemed to have for object to show that it was necessary even in peace to have all points exactly defended as if attack were expected.

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The question then turned entirely on the degree of danger to be guarded against, not on the value of our foreign possessions. He was perfectly ready to admit, that there was a document in existence, which proceeded from him, and to which the noble lord had appealed. He was not certain whether it was addressed to lord Castlereagh or to lord Hobart, neither did he recollect the precise time when it was written. (Lord Bathurst said across the table in 1805.) In this paper he had delivered it as his opinion, that it would be necessary there should be in India sixteen thousand infantry of the line, four regiments of cavalry, and two regiments of one thousand men each for Ceylon. Therefore, argued his noble friend, he (lord W.), considering that in 1805, when the war still continued with France—when it was a matter of doubt whether, on the return of peace, France would not re-enter India as a military power—whether Holland, under her influence, would not also re-enter it as a military power—he stated his opinion that 20,000 troops were then necessary for the defence of India, was bound to admit that an equal amount of force was necessary now. On the contrary, he had no hesitation in saying—viewing the state of things as they now exist, and the fact that France was no longer admitted into India as a military power—that he should now be the weakest and the most insane of human beings, were he to assert that 20,000 British troops were necessary for the defence of India. Let their lordships only look a little at the details. The India company had, at the time the document was written, only three European regiments, in the most lamentable state

of insufficiency; now they were respectable and effective corps: here was a material difference. There was now also an European artillery of 4,000 men. Considering, then, that there was no probability of any European power disturbing the peace of India, would not the establishment be infinitely too large, and the more, as he had proposed only 2,000 men for Ceylon, while ministers proposed 3,000? He would beg leave also to call to the recollection of the noble lord the solidity since given to our possessions in India by the peace with the Mahrattas, the Nizam, Poonah, and other native powers, the principle of which was the total extirpation of all hostile European influence. With regard to the Mahratta powers, it was quite ludicrous to dread from them any danger to the solid strength of our Indian empire. Last of all came the destruction of the Mysore state. Still, however, in spite of the altered state of things, the noble lord wished to hold him to his bond. In his conscience he believed, that in the present state of India, we should be perfectly safe there with 15,000 British troops. He pledged his existence, and whatever he had of character as a statesman, that a deduction of at least 5,000 king's troops might be safely made from the proposed establishment for India. He had always thought that with regard to the Cape and the Mauritius, the troops there should be liable to be rendered disposable for Indian purposes. As a proof of the advantage of this, the house had only to look to the circumstance that general sir David Baird stormed Seringapatam at the head of troops which came from the Cape. What greater proof could be afforded than that

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you were to look to the Cape, the Mauritius, and Ceylon, as points from which troops might be obtained in any emergency? What then could be more monstrous than that when he, including Ceylon, proposed only 20,000 British troops for the whole of India, ministers should, in totally altered circumstances, propose 3,000 men for Ceylon, and quote his authority to prove that they must have 20,000 men for India besides? The charge for Ceylon was most exorbitant. He did think that general Brownrigg had most ably performed a great service to the country by the successful war he had carried on there; and yet, after the island had been gained, ministers called for an additional force. He was happy to hear that ministers meant to make a reduction of it in future. This was one of the strongest arguments in favour of the present motion; for it showed, that on reconsideration, much might be done for the reduction of establishments. The noble marquis ridiculed the idea of a rebellion at the Mauritius. He was pretty certain that governor Farquhar was not much alarmed at it. He found that some gentlemen there were rather fond of Bonaparte, and he acquainted them that they might embark, when they pleased to join him, as vessels should be placed at their disposal for that purpose. He should state the amount of the force he thought sufficient for India: 15,000 king's troops, two European regiments in the company's service, together with 4,000 artillerymen, making a total of 21,000 men for the continent of India; 2,000 men at the Cape, the Mauritius, and Ceylon, respectively, making a total of 6,000; instead of which ministers proposed 9,000. If the force he had

stated was not competent to a complete defence of India, he was totally ignorant of all past transactions in that country.

He had dwelt the longer on this branch of the subject, both because it was one with which he must be supposed to be well acquainted, and because the noble lord's allusions had rendered it necessary for him to do so. What he wished to deduce from it was a general principle, applicable to every military establishment in time of peace. The noble lord had declared, from his experience in office, that unreasonable expectations were often entertained in the colonies, and that unfounded apprehensions were frequently intimated as to the dangers which threatened them. He submitted, that as the noble lord was accustomed to sit officially in judgement upon these applications, so those who were out of office were entitled to try that judgement, and determine how far it was agreeable to the principles of sound policy. If the noble lord had investigated the demands of individuals closely, as an indispensable part of his duty, it was equally the duty of parliament to watch over and attend to the grants and concessions of his majesty's ministers. An argument urged in favour of an additional force was, that it had been rendered necessary by the increased number of our colonial possessions. This argument he could not admit; it was at variance with the policy on which he had acted—it was irreconcilable to the purposes for which those acquisitions were made. The argument assumed, that the new colonies were of no use in adding to the security of the old. It rested on a totally erroneous basis; for the induction ought to be directly the

rather

other way. But, he would ask, where was the danger of their being attacked? Was it from the naval force of France, or of Holland, or was it from Spain? He apprehended no great alarm could have yet been excited by the growing navy of America; but it had been said, with regard to Jamaica in particular, that the neighbourhood of a negro state in St. Domingo was a source of just apprehension. It had not been considered in this light when St. Domingo was in a state of insurrection, and fit for every sanguinary effort; not even when, in 1802, that island was invaded by a French army of 40,000 men. No establishment equal to the present was then considered necessary for the complete security of Jamaica. If it was against the contagion of principles they wished to provide, was it supposed that a larger amount of garrison could achieve this object? The noble lord had stated, that the assembly of Jamaica had undertaken to pay for 3,000 men. This, then, he felt himself justified in taking as the maximum, in their estimation, which the safety of the colony required. If then an additional force was asked for, it must depend on some special case, which it was for parliament to consider; but no statement that he had yet heard afforded the shadow of a pretence for it. It was for the house, so long as the question was before them in detail, to estimate the particular danger to which each of the different settlements was exposed; because it was that danger alone by which the amount of its military force ought to be measured, and then to compare this danger with the danger to ourselves at home, from a lavish and improvident expenditure. With respect to the amount, it should be recollect-

ed, that it was not limited to the numbers abroad, but that a large force must be maintained at home for the purpose of reliefs. In this view the question extended itself, and was brought home immediately to ourselves.

He wished not to enter into any general discussion upon the subject of our present system of colonial policy, or the real advantages derived from our numerous foreign possessions. His opinions on those questions would not, perhaps, correspond with the popular feeling, nor with the interests of a large class of his majesty's subjects. That discussion, therefore, he should not approach on the present occasion, but rather follow the noble lord to the Mediterranean. There he found, on touching at Gibraltar, that we had raised considerable works, in consequence of a former extension of the Spanish lines. These lines had now been destroyed, and yet it was deemed necessary still to keep a force in our own works, for no other reason except that these works were in existence. He confessed he saw no limit to such a principle of military establishment.—Malta, also, must be fully garrisoned—and why? Not on account of any apprehended attack, for there was not a breath of wind to waft a hostile fleet towards her shores, but for a different and singular reason, viz. that her fortifications were very strong.—So, with respect to the Ionian islands, the argument was this—they were acquired in time of peace and by treaty. Corfu is extremely strong, and therefore they must have a large garrison, and Corfu must have a force in proportion to the strength of her position. In fact, let the place be strong, or let it be weak, let it be old or new, populous or the contrary—from all arts

parts came converging arguments in favour of an increased establishment. Let the wind blow from what quarter it might, the vessel was sure to arrive at the same port. He was far from undervaluing the danger to which Canada was exposed by the mismanagement of the negotiations previous to the late peace with America. He was disposed to think some jealousy must have been excited by the imprudence with which we then unsuccessfully urged one or two pretensions. If the noble lord denied this, he took away the only ground on which he conceived the insecurity of Canada to rest. Its best security must be found in the solidity and good faith of our engagements with America. A proper understanding between the two countries was of more importance to the Canadian provinces than any amount of military force on their frontier. But if a rupture should take place, had we not still the sovereignty of the seas; and could any one doubt our military means, if exclusively applied to such a contest? Canada had already been defended by a very small portion of our regular force aided by the colonial militia. It was sufficient, he conceived, to advert to these circumstances in the contemplation of a case which he trusted would not happen, or that the American government would be induced to violate its honour and engagements with the British nation. He contended, therefore, that there was no one item in the details of these estimates upon which a necessity for the proposed force had been made out, but that, on the contrary, each admitted and demanded revision. It appeared to him that an opinion prevailed on the other side, that public security must be co-extensive with military force.

He had differed with ministers, when he had the honour of a seat in his majesty's councils, on the policy of maintaining the war in the Peninsula upon the scale which could alone secure success to our operations. He was happy that they had subsequently thought better of the means and fortitude of this country, and the consequences had redounded to their own and to the national glory. But he now began to fear that they had become too fond of that liberal allowance he had given them; and, because he advised them not to starve the war, that they were determined not to starve the peace. Now, nothing could be more different, according to his view, than the policy to be observed in these different situations. He conceived that war ought to be maintained by energy of exertion, and fortitude in submitting to burthens; but œconomy was the armour, parsimony was the panoply, of peace. Those who controverted this doctrine appeared to him to be equally unacquainted with the principles of the constitution, and the maxims of public policy. He was aware that there were some who limited their jealousy of standing armies to those maintained in peace, and without the consent of parliament. Now, to maintain a force of this description without that consent, was a design of which he freely acquitted his majesty's ministers. But it was among the elementary principles and primary sources of our constitution, that the idea of a standing army, even in time of war, was not strictly consonant or agreeable to it. He used the words of a great constitutional lawyer, (Mr. justice Blackstone,) when he said, that a perpetual soldier was a thing unknown to the constitution. He might refer to the annual mutiny bill as another instance

stance of that constant parliamentary jealousy with which its bulwarks were looked to in this quarter. But the same objection to standing armies was deeply rooted in our insular policy. He did not mean, that because we inhabited an island, we were never to look abroad upon the rest of the world; but that, possessing within ourselves the means of commercial wealth, of naval power, and above all, a free constitution, we were enabled to become the seat of great concentrated resources, which we might employ as our own honour or advantage should direct. It was by this fundamental and honourable policy that we had succeeded in carrying our influence to every extremity of the globe. The doctrine of all our statesmen, till the present day, had been, that peace was the period for cultivating our domestic resources. They held their duty to consist in sparing the people. This was the season for enriching that spring from which our means must be drawn when future exigencies should arrive. It was by acting on those principles that former statesmen were always sure, in the event of continental war, to carry the British spirit into the heart of their alliances, and to display a commanding energy that could be traced to no causes but those which he had described. He knew it had been said, with reference to the establishment of 1792, that Mr. Pitt had afterwards regretted that it had been confined within such narrow limits. He had great doubts of the accuracy of this representation. Mr. Pitt was at that time effectually arming England for those efforts which he had been since called upon to make. Our victories were not to be attributed solely to our armies, they could not have been

won without our resources; the sword and the purse had gone together. It was by these means that our successes at the close of the tremendous struggle we had maintained, were as splendid as at its commencement, and that it was at length brought to a conclusion with alliances supported by our still unexhausted resources. We had seen Holland delivered from France without the assistance of any military force, but by the mere influence of our name and situation. Having examined the details of the proposed establishment upon these principles, it became important to consider them in their relation to the burthens they must impose upon the country. The noble earl had stated, that the additional expense upon our foreign possessions was 800,000*l*. But was not this a fit subject of consideration at a time when the country was suffering under so dreadful a pressure of taxation? Under the present circumstances, it was impossible to separate the two questions.

To come then at once to the subject of the property tax, he not only thought it was not a fit tax in time of peace, but that nothing could justify it except the utmost extremity of war. It was contrary to the fundamental principles of economy; for it intercepted production itself, by oppressing the productive powers of capital. It was inconsistent with the first principle of peace, which was, to embrace the opportunity of strengthening ourselves for future exigencies. He would say nothing now upon its arbitrary and inquisitorial operation; but he would never submit to it on the ground of winding up the arrears of the war. It had been said, we were now in an "intermediate state;" one of those new phrases which

which he did not understand. The noble lord had attributed the general distress to the withdrawing, within the last 18 months, of a public demand for produce to the value of 4,000,000*l*. Undoubtedly, the cessation of such a demand must produce a great change, and made every possible relief the more necessary. The war had been attended with the effect of producing an artificial state of things, upon which peace must powerfully operate; and he apprehended, that when a demand to the amount of four millions was withdrawn by government, the foundation of taxes to that amount was removed at the same time. The army in England had been said to be necessary for two purposes, as a relief to foreign garrisons, and to put down the evil of illicit traffic. For this last object no less than seven regiments of cavalry were required. He considered that a due execution of the laws would be a more efficacious mode of defeating the smuggler; and he was informed, that a great laxity had taken place in this respect, even after judgement, under a recent act, vesting a discretionary power in the treasury to revise the judgements of a court of law. He was bound to ask, therefore, whether the civil power had failed in the accomplishment of its object? He made this inquiry, because he was satisfied that the proposed system of employing the army in aid of the revenue would be as inefficacious as it was unconstitutional. The smuggler would foil and elude the soldier: it was a vain contest between force and cunning. The noble earl (Liverpool) would gain very few laurels by victories over contraband traders on the heights of Walmer, for the traders will take good care never to encounter him there. It

appeared to him that there was some impropriety, and that it was likely to create a sense of degradation, to send knights of the bath and knights commanders into houses and corners, in search of ribands and silk handkerchiefs. There was, however, one other point connected with these estimates, of the deepest interest and importance—he alluded to the state of Ireland. He could not give his consent to the military establishment for that country, till he had heard a much fuller explanation of its necessity. With all his knowledge of the merits of the present Irish government, he would no longer sanction the employment of force unaccompanied by some soothing measures, which might at least have a tendency to heal the unnumbered wounds of that unhappy and desolated country. To relieve those miseries the noble lords suggested the “oblivious antidote” of 25,000 men in arms. If he should be told that it was not the first time that such an army had been in Ireland, which was all the answer he expected, he should say, he knew there had been double the number; but it was at periods either of intestine war or of threatened invasion. But for what purpose was an army of such an amount now wanted, except to restrain the people, and, as it were, execute the ordinary business of government?

It seemed to be a settled maxim of state policy to shrink from inquiry, because it was difficult; and to defend a bad system, because it had had a long continuance, although the sharpness of the sword and the sharpness of dreadful laws were committing their joint ravages on the liberties and happiness of that country. Upon the whole, he considered that the establishment was altogether unsupported by any statements

statements or arguments he had heard adduced in that house, although he had heard objects stated elsewhere, and recollected that, in the speech from the throne in particular, mention was made of the station which we occupy in Europe: that station, proud as it might be, surely could not be urged as a justification of such an establishment. Did not the noble lords, overladen as they were with laurels, recollect any period when our situation was as high in Europe as it now is, though our domestic policy was far different? Did they not recollect, or would they deny, that in the reigns of king William and queen Anne the country stood as high as now? But to completely disprove this plea of justification, he would revert to the history of the last war. What had been the cause of the great success of the French arms? The decline of the military monarchies of Europe. It had been the policy of this country to revive these military powers in all their energies; this revival had at last been accomplished, and he had no hesitation in saying, that it had been chiefly effected by the diffusion of the free spirit of the English constitutional character into the councils of foreign states. But now, what is the strange inference which ministers draw from the completion of this most desirable and most important scheme? The ministers turn round and tell us, that because we have created this military power, so useful to the safety of Europe, we must now raise among ourselves a military power to keep pace with it. The noble lord (Bathurst, we believe) might shake his head, but that was the amount of his argument. Oh! but we were told of the great and dreadful danger to be apprehended from the prevalence

of the military spirit in Europe. It seemed that the sounds of drums and trumpets, and "spirit-stirring fifes," were rousing and nourishing such a military ardour, that some remedy became necessary. And what is the remedy proposed?—An enormous military establishment. In order to check the growth of the military spirit abroad, it is proposed to have an immense standing army at home! In order to ensure the triumph of civil habits and civil liberty over military feelings and military despotism, it is gravely counselled to establish a permanent force of 150,000 armed men. Could any thing be more inconsistent and absurd? The old policy of the country—that policy, by adhering to which it has maintained its glory through ages, and has been enabled to achieve its present lofty character—that policy is now to be abandoned, and we were to encumber ourselves with an army in peace larger than we ever kept on foot even in war, for the strange purpose and view (as it appeared) of preaching a general moral lecture to Europe, that military establishments are extremely dangerous. What would our allies say to a doctrine of peace enforced with such warlike arguments? Would they not say that the very arrangements lately made at congress formed of themselves a decided refutation of such maxims? What indeed was the inference from that speech which had been uttered by a noble lord on a former occasion—a speech more like that of a quarter-master-general than a statesman, in which there had been so much said about frontiers and lines, and positions, and centres of attack and defence? Did not this mean (if it meant any thing) that the situation of the continental powers, with respect to each other,

other, must necessarily be military? What then would the emperor of Austria say to our standing military lecture against military establishments? In answer to our mild, temperate remonstrance, presented in the shape of 150,000 men, would he not say, "If you have need of so large an army to check the military spirit, how can I do without an army, who have so large a territory, which can only be kept by military occupation? You have given me a Bavarian frontier and Italian states, but how am I to maintain them, except by powerful armies?" Would not the language of Russia and of Prussia be to the same effect? Would they not say to us, "Before we reduce our establishments, do you reduce yours." And most justly would they make such reply; for nothing could be more ridiculous than our appeal to them to reduce their armies, when it had hitherto ever been considered as an axiom, that the circumstance of the three great powers of the continent being military monarchies was absolutely essential to the safety of Europe. How could we apprehend any danger from them, either to each other or to ourselves, leagued together as they were by holy treaties, and sworn not even to lead their armies to battle, except in the pure spirit of Christian charity? But even if there were any danger, could we avert it by our armies? Was any military force that we could raise able to strike them with terror? The only way in which we could inspire them with terror would be, by recurring to our old policy — by maintaining and cherishing those constitutional principles, and that free spirit, which were the true strength of the country, and had enabled us to effect such astonishing results on the continent.

In whatever way, then, he considered this question of the establishment, he could not but pronounce it as dangerous to the constitution. A noble lord, indeed, had said in that house that *Justice* was armed; and another person (a man of genius probably) had said, in another house, that *Wisdom* was armed. Why, then, he supposed it would be said, should not *Peace* be heavily armed too? It was a pity that gentlemen who made such pretty classical allusions should not understand the force of the metaphors which they had adopted. He apprehended that when these fabulous ladies were said metaphorically to be armed, it was meant that they were armed intrinsically, not externally. It was not intended that *Wisdom* should go in uniform, or *Justice* be accoutred *cap-a-pie*, with a spear in her hand, and ride on horseback! The less, indeed, that wisdom and justice had to do with armour, the better for the nation; for seldom would it be found that these qualities had much influence in armed states. But it seems there was no danger, all our fears were visionary: the noble lord had told us, that though our troops should be so increased in number as to overspread the whole country, yet that no harm could arise which would not be checked by the power of the free press and of public opinion. Would it not, however, be better to attend in the first instance to the suggestions of this free press, to the remonstrance of this public opinion, and thus prevent the evil, instead of afterwards having recourse to these powers to check an evil already existing? For his own part, he would prefer this course to any reliance on the noble lord, notwithstanding his two boasted forces, and even notwithstanding his two

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new allies, Justice and Wisdom, though both should be in armour. He could not conclude this protest against military establishments, without bestowing just praise on the army and its conductors. He had no hesitation in saying, and he did not see why the presence of the illustrious person (the duke of York) should prevent him from expressing his sincere opinion, that the successes of the late war were mainly attributable to the exertions of the illustrious individual at the head of the army, whose impartiality, and ardour for the improvement of the condition both of officers and soldiers, were, he believed, universally allowed: nor would he withhold his opinion, that to the illustrious person at the head of the government were also attributable, in a very eminent degree, not only the result of our operations, but the operations themselves. To him also might be ascribed many of our essential military improvements, concerning which, however, he would say no more, than that he firmly believed, that even as to dress, most of the alterations introduced had contributed to the comfort and convenience of the soldier; nor did he think that even the ridiculous fopperies of a part of the army could have excited so much disgust and contempt, but for the alarm entertained on account of an enormous standing army in time of peace.

Lord Sidmouth and the earl of Liverpool opposed the motion; and

lord Grenville, the duke of Newcastle, and the duke of Bedford, supported it. After a reply from the marquis of Lansdowne, the house divided:

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Majority 70

In the house of commons, the same day, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed an allowance of 60,000*l.* to the prince of Saxe-Cobourg and his intended wife the princess Charlotte, of which sum 10,000*l.* would form the privy purse of her royal highness. In the event of the princess's demise 50,000*l.* a year would be continued to the prince. The present allowance of the princess Charlotte being no longer requisite, there would be a saving of 30,000*l.* a year on the civil list. To prevent the royal pair being encumbered, he should propose an outfit of 50,000*l.*: it was computed that 40,000*l.* of this sum would be necessary for plate, wine, carriages, &c. and 10,000*l.* for the princess's dress and jewels. A further application for money would be made, when a suitable residence should be found for their royal highnesses. A clause was introduced into the marriage settlement, to prevent the princess being taken out of the country, without the consent of her father and herself. The grants of money above specified were then agreed to.

CHAPTER VII.

Income Tax rejected—Insolvent Act—War Mail Tax—War Duties on Customs continued—Navy Estimates—Agricultural Distress—State of Ireland—Motion to abolish the Third Secretaryship of State—Interference of the Military in the Streets—Silver Currency—Abuses in the King's Bench—Bank Restrictions—Weights and Measures—Economy—Liberty of the Press—Saving Banks—Cubolics—Tithes—Second Budget—Poor Laws—Coinage—Slave Registry Bill—Education—Police—Parliament prorogued.

THE most important topics which engaged the attention of parliament during the session of 1816, were those which related to the treaty, to the peace establishment, and to the internal state and resources of the country. The debates on these topics we have given at considerable length; so that from them may be gathered, not only the most full and authentic information respecting them, but also a clear insight into the views entertained regarding them by ministers and their opponents.

On few of the debates which occurred after this period will it be necessary to dwell at such length: we shall therefore in general confine ourselves to a brief abstract of them.

The petitions against the continuance of the income tax, under any modification, continued to pour in from all quarters; and these petitions were supported even by many members who almost uniformly voted with ministers. On the 18th of March sir Wm. Curtis, sir James Shaw and alderman Atkins (on the occasion of presenting a petition from the bankers, merchants, &c. of London) strongly deprecated the continuance of this tax. After some strong but desultory conversation on this subject; and some remarks from Mr. Bennet, lord Milton, and Mr. Wynne, on the number of prisoners under sentence of death in Newgate on whom the recorder's

report had not been received,—which lord Castlereagh attributed to the indisposition of the prince regent;—the house resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, preparatory to the discussion on the income tax. The debate was expected to be protracted at least beyond one night; but the subject having been already discussed in all its bearings, and the house being impatient for its being set at rest, the debate terminated after a very few speeches.

The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer rose and observed, that he was glad the time was arrived at which the house should give its serious consideration to the measure, of the introduction of which he had given notice at a very early period of the session. The house had already, after the most mature deliberation, sanctioned the large establishments which present circumstances had obliged his majesty's ministers to propose, not as permanent establishments, but for a very limited period. It should now be their duty to consider in what way those establishments were to be met; and under all circumstances he did not know any way in which they could be better met than by the tax which he should have the honour of proposing. The time had now arrived when the property tax could get a fair and impartial discussion, for
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hitherto the discussions on it had been carried on in a different manner, and he had abstained as much as possible from taking any part in them, until the tax should come regularly before the house. Impressions had gone abroad unfavourable to this tax, which arose from the manner in which it had hitherto been discussed, and he had been repeatedly called upon to abandon the tax, on the ground that it was decidedly against the will of the people; but he had withstood those calls, from a determination to submit it to the decision of parliament, and to abide by that decision. The persons by whom the petitions to the house against this tax had been signed, were but a comparatively small portion of the community. But if they were much more numerous, he should still have conceived it his duty to proceed with the measure, and to submit it for the consideration of the house and the country. When he looked at the great body of the petitions which had been presented to the house against this tax, he was far from thinking that the sentiments expressed in them were the result of mature and deliberate consideration; and he was the more inclined to this, from the circumstance that most of those petitions were founded on the erroneous allegation that a pledge had been given to discontinue the tax in time of peace.—The worthy alderman (sir J. Shaw) had said, that the meeting which had agreed to this petition (the petition from London) was the same which, in the time of Mr. Pitt, had agreed to the property tax, and that they did so with an understanding that it should only continue during the war. He (the chancellor of the exchequer) did not agree with the worthy alderman in thinking that

any such pledge had been held out, or could be understood. The meeting in 1798 had ended in a resolution to raise a voluntary contribution to assist the measures of government. This had been accepted, and a measure had been founded on it, by Mr. Pitt, called the aid and contribution measure, the object of which was to raise the necessary supplies without pressing on the fund-holders, who were already considerably distressed by loans. However, the next year Mr. Pitt proposed the tax on income, which was agreed to; and so far was he from giving a pledge that it should be abolished in time of peace, that he charged it with so much of the interest of the loan as would have embraced its continuance during one year of peace for every year of war, supposing the war to have lasted three years.

The right honourable gentleman then went through the history of the property tax during the administration of Mr. Pitt, and that of Mr. Fox, contending that the friends of the latter, particularly lord Henry Petty, then chancellor of the exchequer, contemplated its continuance during a period of peace. He should next advert to the introduction of the tax last year, at which time, he contended that no pledge had been given for its discontinuance at the end of the war. In answer to some propositions at that time for various modifications, he had said that the measure was proposed only for a year, but that, if circumstances should render its continuance longer than that period necessary, the next year, meaning the present, would be the proper time to attend to them. He was well aware how feelingly alive the country was to any breach of public faith. It was from a misconception in this respect that great part of the oppo-

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sition to the tax had originated. He could not conceive how any contract could be entered into between the people and their representatives, which should prevent the latter from discussing the expediency of any particular question. He could not conceive how such pledge could be given by any minister, as should preclude him from submitting a measure to the house, the necessity of which might be obvious. No minister, from Mr. Pitt down to the present, had viewed the tax in any other way than as a measure dependent on necessity, and always open for the consideration of parliament. He would next come to the great point of discussion—the necessity of the tax at the present moment. The right honourable member then went into a variety of details, to show that it was the interest of the country at the present moment to support the credit of the funds, drained as they had been by various loans; and objected to the proposed plans of raising money by new loans, which would rather sink than raise the public credit. He also observed, that the proposal for loans did not come altogether from disinterested quarters; but in some instances from persons, who wished thereby rather to increase their property 20 per cent. than diminish it five. The right honourable gentleman then contended, that the property tax was a more equitable and impartial tax than any other, as it fell chiefly on those who were best able to bear it. In the other taxes which could be substituted for it, this equality could not exist. He thought that the property tax, with respect to a great proportion of what came under its operation, was the most perfect machine which could be imagined—it deducted neither more nor less than the fair proportion of the an-

nual produce of property. But he was willing to allow that that part of the tax which was levied on the income of industry was liable to considerable objections. The two great branches of this were, the tax on the tenantry, and the tax on persons engaged in trade and manufactures. With regard to the tax on the tenantry—from the pressure under which agriculture at present laboured, he thought the tenantry entitled to a very great relief. The tax on that body was now taken on three-fourths of the rent in England. He had already intimated that it was his intention to reduce the proportion of rent assumed as the tenant's income from three-fourths to one-third, which reduction would bring a very large proportion of the tenantry within the operation of the scale of abatement. In addition to this relief, he had to propose an abatement of the tax on agricultural horses of 7s. 6d. for each horse, and that farmers occupying land under 100% rent should be entirely freed from the operation of that tax. This would be a very great relief in the western counties, and in Wales. With respect to the part of the tax which came under the schedule D. the tax on trade, &c. he had never been able to discover any remedy to the objections to which it was liable, without rendering the tax ineffectual. The income of the occupiers of land was fixed from assuming a proportion of the rent as a profit, and any diminution of the price of produce being attended with a reduction of the profits of the farmer, it was but equitable, therefore, to reduce also the proportion on which the tax was charged. For the same reason, it might be proper to extend the power of the commissioners to enable them to give relief to the tenantry.

try, in the case of unexampled and extraordinary losses, beyond the relief afforded them by the reduction of the assumed proportion of the rent.—But a person engaged in trade was in a very different situation from a tenant. He was charged on his own return of income. No doubt he might at present be afterwards surcharged; and for that there was remedy. With respect to schedule D. he would propose first, that every person should be charged on the estimated profits in their last return; that every person should be assessed at the sum in the former return; and if he submitted to pay the reduced rate of five per cent. on his last return, that no inquiry whatever should take place into his affairs. It was therefore in the power of any trader to exempt himself from any inquisition into his affairs by paying on his last year's return. It was possible that, in a number of cases, the return of last year might be too high. He would propose it should be enacted that every person, not appealing within a certain time, should be charged on the last assessment: if he appealed, then he should be allowed to give in a fresh return; and if this fresh return should not be found satisfactory, undoubtedly some inquiry into his affairs could not be dispensed with. But to do away as far as possible the hardships of such inquiry, what appeared to him most advisable was to revive the clauses in the act of 1803, giving a person engaged in trade a power to be charged by referees of his own nomination. If objections were made to the return, he should not be obliged, as at present, to disclose his affairs to the whole of the commissioners, but to one of the commissioners, chosen by ballot, with one of the clerks,

both sworn to secrecy; so that this investigation would be carried on before a private tribunal, sworn to secrecy, and who should, besides, be bound immediately to destroy all memorials of the examination. The report of the commissioners should be taken without any further inquiry. This appeared to him the best and most advisable modification of the inquisitorial part of the tax, and as such he should propose it to the committee; it might also be proper to mention what he had stated formerly, that the object of the tax should be entered into the preamble of the bill.

He had stated, that he had no objection to declare the tax to be contingent, on the defraying a certain sum of extraordinary charges resulting from the expenditure of the war. These extraordinary charges in the present year would amount to 8 or 9 millions, and in the ensuing year to 4½ millions, making up together the sum of about 13 millions. Having stated the general principle on which he recommended this tax as a measure of the most urgent necessity, and the modifications which he thought advisable, to which he was willing to add any other that parliament in their wisdom might recommend, providing the efficacy of the tax should not be thereby diminished, he would entreat the house to consider, that on their decision on this question the whole of the financial system of the country must fall or rise. By relieving the money-market for two years, they would afford the greatest relief to the finances of the country. Without such a temporary relief, he could foresee nothing but a long series of difficulties and embarrassments. Gentlemen on the opposite side had stated the difficulties of the country in the most gloomy colours, and

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had insisted on the necessity of affording breathing time to the country. This breathing-time was precisely what he asked—he asked a breathing-time for public credit. He had stated the immense burdens thrown on the money-market during the last two years. That immense burden, it ought to be borne in mind, had not been accompanied with an increase of taxation. He called on the house to continue for two years more what they had been exempted from during the last two years. In the last two years, by the operation of the plan of finance of 1813, there had been saved between eight and nine millions of permanent taxes; he now called on them for the same amount of property tax for two years. The sinking fund would not immediately bear any further operation. A sum borrowed in the money-market would nearly have the same effect on credit as so much taken from the sinking fund. The financial system of the country was exposed to a degree of pressure which required the aid of measures of a most vigorous character. We must not be in too great haste to enjoy the advantages which we had gained by the peace. The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving a resolution declaratory of the amount of the tax to be levied on the different branches of property and income.

Sir Wm. Curtis (speaking from the opposition side of the house) declared, amidst much laughter, that he would remain there while that oppressive and inquisitorial tax was continued.

Mr. Wm. Smith asked the Irish members, if they thought that the people of England would long bear the continuance of this tax, without soon coming to a determination that Ireland should also be subject-

ed to it? He considered Mr. Pitt had, as a financial minister, been much over-rated. He had been as much over-rated as a minister as Buonaparte in his military character. As the one in his conscriptions thought only of the numbers whom he could raise for his armies in the speediest manner, the other was nearly equally indifferent as to the means by which he could raise his supplies. The property tax was a political conscription, being just as oppressive in its operation on income as the conscription of France was on life and limb. If a man were allowed to do what he pleased, he might of course accomplish great ends; and it was by a disregard of the feelings and comforts of the community that Mr. Pitt had accomplished his ends.

Mr. Rose, amidst loud cries of Question, vindicated the character of Mr. Pitt, as a financier, from the attack of the member for Norwich; and contended that with small means Mr. Pitt had accomplished the salvation of the country.

Mr. W. Keene thought the property tax was a good tax, as the expense of collecting was small, and as it did not partake the bad quality of taxes on consumable articles, which raised the prices in a greater proportion than they were productive to the exchequer. He thought if the tax was taken off leather, malt, and other articles of that nature, and laid on property, the subject would be a gainer to the amount of forty per cent.

Mr. Hart Davis said he had always considered this not as a peace measure of finance, but merely to wind up the expenses of the war. It was a tax, he would maintain, that did not immediately affect the poor, except only as diminishing the means of the opulent to employ them.

them. He thought his majesty's *minions*—he meant ministers—had acted wisely in proposing this tax, which would give them time to investigate the financial state of the country; and by preventing the necessity of a loan, would allow the sinking fund to operate without counter-action.

Mr. Baring rose amidst calls for the Question, and remarked that Mr. Rose was the general panegyrist of all taxes and tax-gatherers. To answer him was unnecessary. When the honourable member for Bristol (Mr. H. Davis) rose, he had anticipated that he would find reasons for supporting the ministers and deserting his constituents. The honourable member had supposed that the tax was to last for only two years. The chancellor of the exchequer had said no such thing. Sometimes, indeed, the ministers held forth the promise of the tax being put an end to in two years; but, when they felt a little stronger, no such promise was made. This promise was like the French constitution, which had been compared to an umbrella, which was held up by the king in bad weather only. He despised the personality which was intended to apply to him and the other members in the city. But no one had proposed an immediate loan. The best measure would be to raise the sum required by exchequer bills, which might be funded at some other time.

Lord Castlereagh said that no one could affirm that all the petitions were against the property tax. The petitions which had been presented to that house were, he admitted, numerous, but he would venture to say that they did not express anything like the sense of the people of Great Britain. The noble lord then entered into a variety of

arguments to prove the absolute necessity of the tax, which he contended was not a mere measure of expediency, but indispensable for the safety and prosperity of the empire. He trusted, therefore, the house would on that, as on all former occasions, support the government on an occasion so important to the welfare of the country.

Mr. Wilberforce contended, that looking to the feelings of the country at the present moment, they should have relief. He was convinced that, at the end of two years, ministers would find arguments equally strong as now in support of the tax. It was only by a thorough view of the whole expenditure of the country that any good could be effected. The question was, whether we should ease the money-market, or ease the people of England; and considering the expression of their feelings which the house had witnessed, he thought there could be no difficulty in answering that question.

As soon as Mr. Wilberforce had sat down, the cry of Question became general, and the house divided about half-past one on Tuesday morning. For Mr. Vansittart's resolution, 201; against it, 238; majority against the resolution for renewing the property tax, 37.—The declaration of members was received with long and reiterated shouts of congratulation, which pierced all the avenues of the house, and were audible at a great distance. Strangers were excluded for some time by this expression of the tumultuous feelings of the majority.

March 20.—Mr. Lockhart presented a petition from the parish of St. Mary-le-bone, against the insolvent act. The honourable member stated, that from the returns laid before the house, it appeared during

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the three years this act had operated, the debts under its discussion had amounted to a sum not less than 5,597,852*l.* and he had no doubt the house would be astonished to hear that out of that sum only 1,459*l.* had been recovered.

Mr. Brougham presented a petition against the insolvent act, signed by 5,000 inhabitants of Westminster. By the act in question debts had been cut off, claims had been annihilated, and obligations even of the most simple nature had been dissolved. It had been generally considered a very small dividend to pay a shilling in the pound: but when he had calculated the sums on both sides, he found that so far from having any currency in the pound, the creditor only got between one-fourth and one-fifth of a farthing.

Mr. Abercromby suspected that his honourable friend had been misinformed respecting the amount of the sum of which the creditors were bereaved, and the manner in which they had lost it. Might they not have lost it by their own inattention and negligence? He implored the house not to listen to exaggerated statements.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated that it was his intention on Monday next, in the committee of ways and means, to move that the war tax on malt be allowed to expire. He should also redeem his pledge to modify the duties on horses used in agriculture. The duties on customs and excise would be continued; but in the committee he would state his views, and trust to the wisdom of parliament for the future exigencies of the country. He considered the property tax as the most efficient means which could have been adopted for the maintenance of the necessary establishments; but, as a

majority of parliament had taken a different view of it, he bowed with pleasure to their decision. At the same time he trusted that the house and the public would believe that he was actuated by the purest motives for the general good.

Mr. Coke said, that the repeal of the war malt tax would be a great relief to the agriculturist: he doubted whether it produced two millions per annum: at all events he was glad that the people would now have a wholesome beverage to animate their spirits.

Mr. Ponsonby said, that the victory over the income tax had compelled ministers to give up another tax equally detestable. This was a victory solely achieved by the people, and reluctantly owned by them. He trusted they would follow it up by measures of vigilant attention, and would compel ministers to abandon their military establishment, and put an end to every unnecessary expense.

Mr. Gooch was proud to hear that the tax on malt was to be abolished. He had uniformly supported the measures of administration from a conviction of their propriety, but had conscientiously resisted their efforts to renew the tax on property, aware that it was hostile to the feelings of the people. He declared his intention to oppose them in every thing, till he saw them attend to the most rigid economy.

Mr. Brougham and sir Francis Burdett also congratulated the house on the good effects resulting from the property tax having been lost by ministers.

Mr. Methuen, after noticing the rise of Mr. Croker's salary from 3,000*l.* to 4,000*l.*; of Mr. Barrow's from 1,500*l.* to 2,000*l.*; and the increased salaries to the officers of the customs

customs and excise; concluded by moving that the house approved of the order in council dated Jan. 15, 1800, which provided that the salaries of the secretaries and clerks of the admiralty should be lower in time of peace than during war, and that it considered the departure from such a wholesome regulation as an unnecessary expenditure of the public money.

Lord Castlereagh gave a sketch of the savings effected in several public offices connected with the military establishment, and stated that, in a few days, he hoped to be able to lay before parliament documents which would satisfactorily show the nature and extent, not only of what had been done, but of what was in progress, and what was in contemplation.

Mr. Brougham, in an unguarded declamatory speech on the subject, made use of the following remarkable apostrophe: "If the house did but assent to the motion of the honourable gentleman, then it would establish its claims for ever to the gratitude of the public: then it would be too late for profligate expenditure to be tolerated or continued. It was not the squandering of one sum only, but the deliberate and systematic disregard of the cry for economy, that incited indignation; and it was full time now not to turn a deaf ear to the awful voice of the people. He would recommend to those concerned, that the practice of a decent economy would be much better than to raise monuments to sycophancy, and to the victims of an exploded legitimacy. Better would it have profited by the example which the Stuarts exhibited, who, by too early landing on the feelings of the people, were ousted from the throne of these realms. The Stuarts had at least the motives of a mis-

guided conscience, and a mistaken religious zeal, to plead."

Mr. Wellesley Pole, after declaring that the increase of salary was forced on Mr. Croker, said that the honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. B.) had that night thrown off the mask. No man who was a friend to the house of Brunswick would have used such language as Mr. Brougham.

Mr. Brougham having called upon the honourable gentleman to give some explanation,

Mr. W. Pole replied, that what he said was, that he should be very sorry if the principles of the honourable gentleman accorded with those of his majesty's ministers.

Mr. Brougham professed himself satisfied with the explanation: he was a sincere friend to the Brunswick family, and sensible of the inestimable benefits derived from it. He wished them at present better advisers, who would be more capable of preserving them safely on the throne.

Mr. Bankes said, he had heard, with displeasure, the observations upon the house of Brunswick, by Mr. Brougham, who, he thought, would not have used them, if he had been sensible of their import. With respect to the question, the proper time for the discussion was when the navy estimates were considered. He should then vote against the increase of salaries. Several members expressed the same intention. The house then divided, for the motion 130, against it 150; majority in favour of ministers 29.

March 22.—Lord Palmerston said he should also postpone the remaining army estimates to Friday next, in order to lay before the house an account of the nature and extent of the reduction, which he had formerly stated. In reply to Mr. Tierney,

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his lordship said there were several new reductions—particularly in the staff.

A conversation afterwards took place, originating in a question put by Mr. Bennet, relative to the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate.

Lord Castlereagh took occasion to state, that the fault lay not at all with the regent, who never heard of the afflicting circumstances until it was mentioned in the newspapers in Monday's proceedings.

Mr. Taylor added, that no part of his royal functions gave the regent so much anxiety and uneasiness as deciding upon the recorder's report.

After some observations from Mr. Abercromby upon these matters,

Mr. Brougham expressed his satisfaction at finding that the unquestionable principle of the constitution, which threw the whole responsibility on ministers, was here consistent with the fact; and, in allusion to what had fallen from him in the debate of Wednesday, he said he was glad to find that we were now to use the strict constitutional language, and hold the ministers alone answerable for the proceedings of the executive government, adding, that any deviation from this sound practice on the side of opposition was entirely owing to the example set in the novel practice introduced by the ministers, of pushing forward the name of the regent, in order to flatter him personally, and even announcing a motion for a vote of thanks to him, as if he were a person bearing office under the crown.

To this remark lord Castlereagh thought fit to retort, that all praise might constitutionally be given to the prince individually, but that all

blame must belong to his servants; and he spoke of Mr. Brougham as having made a partial recantation of the sentiments expressed by him on Wednesday.

Mr. Brougham explicitly denied this; and added, that so far from having recanted any part, he had expressly justified all he had said, upon the authority of the practice adopted by the other side.

Mr. Tierney was proceeding to press sorely upon lord C. for his new constitutional doctrine, and his slowness in coming forward in his master's defence, when a dispute upon the point of order arose. Mr. attorney-general, interrupting Mr. Tierney, was in his turn stopped by Mr. Methuen, upon whose suggestion the Speaker put an end to the conversation.

March 25.—The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer said he should not occupy much of their time in explaining the system of finance about to be proposed for the present year, but he would shortly observe, that he considered it of infinite importance that those war taxes which were to remain should be assigned to the consolidated fund. The war taxes on the customs he should certainly consider as proper to be given wholly to that fund. It was not his intention, as we understood, to propose any renewal of the export duties; but he was of opinion that those on imports, belonging to the customs and excise, should remain to the period of five years, as he saw no certain prospect of their being sooner terminated. The house already knew his intentions respecting the malt tax; and at a proper period he would submit to their consideration certain regulations respecting the stock which might be on

on hand at the expiration of the tax, which regulations he judged were requisite to prevent every mistake. With the exception of the malt tax, the duties of the excise amounted to three millions eight hundred thousand pounds, and those on the customs were about two millions eight hundred thousand. In proposing the continuance of these for five years, he did so, not from predilection for that or any similar period, but because he thought the smuggling system might thus be better defeated. In the original plan of finance he had formed for the present year, he had included the property tax, from a conviction that no tax could be devised which was better adapted to the various classes of society. It was a tax the most likely, in his opinion, to revive the drooping spirit of public credit; but, since parliament had taken a different view, he would propose no new taxes for this year. The deficiency arising from that tax being refused, and from the malt tax being abandoned, would be very well made up by borrowing in either of the ways suggested on a former evening by an honourable baronet (sir J. Shaw). The property tax having been denied, and no other tax being proposed in its room, he considered his majesty's ministers were under the necessity of borrowing, to meet the necessary expense of the supplies already voted. The right honourable gentleman then moved his first resolution: viz. That the expiring war duties of customs should be continued for a time to be limited.

Mr. Tierney said, he must congratulate the country that the right honourable gentleman had not had recourse to that terrible arrangement he had formerly so loudly threatened, in consequence of the loss of his favourite property tax. He must object to the chancellor of the ex-

chequer, that he did not state the real situation of the country. Instead of continuing the taxes proposed, it would be much better for the right honourable gentleman to come at once to a committee of the house, lay a fair statement before them, and then ask what could be done for the revenue of the country, than to come next session with a long string of disappointments, and then ask the house to make up the deficiencies. It would be better to do this, than, by establishing a new system of smuggling, to create a phalanx against himself, which would abridge even the ordinary results of the customs in time of peace.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought it necessary to make some reply to what the right honourable gentleman had stated with respect to the terrible arrangement which he imagined to have been in contemplation. He (the chancellor of the exchequer) had stated, that something must be done by a system of taxes: but so much objection existed against the assessed taxes, that he thought it not advisable to resort to them, and had therefore pressed the property tax, because there was no available substitute; and it was on the same ground that he now proposed a continuance of the war duties on excise and customs, because there was no available substitute. He was very far from denying the critical situation in which the finances of the country were placed; but with respect to the evils that it was supposed would result from smuggling, they might be greatly obviated by vigilance and activity. The duties of the customs had not yet decreased, and with the aid of some further powers which he should propose for some of the departments concerned in the collection of them, he hoped that no material decrease would take place.

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He felt himself bound to state his opinion with that reserve as to the amount of his calculations which such a subject seemed to demand, but still without the slightest feeling of despondency as to the ultimate result.

Mr. Ponsonby asked if he understood the right honourable gentleman rightly, that we were now to proceed on the same amount of expense that was to have been incurred before the house rejected the proposal of the property tax: that this expense was to be met, not by retrenchment, but by alteration or modification of old taxes, or by a loan to the same amount as the tax which had been abandoned.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he did not see in what way the proposed alteration in the taxes had any bearing on the subject of the expenditure of the country: the question of expenditure must rest on its own ground. Thinking that the amount of the various services was absolutely necessary, he did not see any opening for further reduction. It was the duty of the house to watch, and of government to correct, any unnecessary expenditure; but in this case he hoped that the supply to be granted would not have the effect of making the government extravagant.

Mr. Ponsonby was happy he had understood the right honourable gentleman correctly, because it showed the situation in which the minister of finance considered the country to stand—that after the rejection of the property tax, from which six millions had been expected, and of the malt tax, from which two millions or two and a half were to be derived, he thought the same scale of expenses as had before been submitted to the house should still be persevered in. The right honourable gentleman did not see any difference:

we were only to have a loan instead of a tax, or one tax instead of another; and our situation was, in reality, this—that the country was to stand under the same estimate of expenditure, and no reduction was to be made.

Lord Castlereagh maintained, that the mode followed by honourable gentlemen opposite did not present the view in which parliament ought to see this question: because, whether the property tax or a loan were resorted to as the means of producing the requisite supply, the duty of retrenchment remained the same. The house must take the exertions of the country with reference to its means; and the true question was, whether the establishment of the country was consistent with its ways and means; and he could not see that the question of economy was at all altered by the change of a tax into a loan.

After some observations from Messrs. Tierney, Smith, Thompson, and Grenfell, the chancellor of the exchequer said, he should not touch the sinking fund; and that he meant to bring in a bill, the effect of which would be to relieve, after the 5th of July, from the additional malt duty, those sums which might have already been paid in the view of its continuance.

The question was then put and carried, that the custom duties voted to the 5th of July 1816 he continued and made permanent.

March 25.—Sir G. Warrender moved that the navy estimates be referred to the committee of supply. This gave rise to a long discussion.

Mr. Tierney observed, that the estimates were divided into the admiralty, the navy-office, the navy pay-office, the victualling-office, the home dock-yards, the out-ports, and the foreign dock-yards. With respect

respect to the first branch—the admiralty, the estimate for the present year, including the marine-office, was 61,223*l*. There certainly had been a reduction of 1,500*l*. resulting from a late debate in that house, being the salaries proposed by government to be given to two gentlemen (Messrs. Croker and Barrow). The honourable gentleman went through most of the items, further pointing out where the saving was real or merely nominal, showing where further reductions might be made, and comparing the estimates of former years with those of the present, inferring that ministers were not disposed to practise the least œconomy in reducing the public expenditure, unless compelled by that house. The right honourable gentleman showed clearly that the proposed peace establishment for 1816, under the head of admiralty, navy-office, dock-yards, &c. when only 33,000 seamen are retained, exceeds the war establishment of 1814 by 3,580*l*. when 140,000 men were maintained, and is more than double the war establishment of 1804, when the navy contained 100,000 seamen. Mr. Tierney concluded by remarking that there was a class in the house determined upon œconomy, draughted from all parties, and belonging to none. The support of this respectable body he was sure he should gain, as he was convinced that his figures, if not his arguments, would with them have weight. He begged them, therefore, to consider the course proper to be pursued on the present occasion: he begged them to consider, that if they agreed to the present estimates, they would declare that the country should support in time of peace a greater burthen than they were called on to

bear in time of war. He concluded by moving that the question be adjourned,

Sir G. Warrender and sir J. Yorke (both lords of the admiralty) and Mr. Croker replied.

Mr. Baring contended that neither the two lords of the admiralty, nor their secretary, had given any answer to the speech of Mr. Tierney; for they had said nothing to justify the enormous augmentation of the civil establishments of the navy. His idea was, that the estimates should be sent back to ministers for reconsideration; and the rather, as they were made so far back as in January last.

After a few words from admiral Markham, on the necessity of building ships of war in the royal dock-yards, instead of the merchants', for enforcing which lord St Vincent had been so much abused, the question of adjournment was negatived without a division. The committee on the navy estimates was then postponed.

March 26th.—Lord Castlereagh said, that it was intended shortly to introduce a bill respecting the civil list, the object of which was to ascertain what permanent reductions could be made effectual on the principle of not leaving the crown liable to arrears. The arrear of 277,000*l*. would be covered by funds, disposable by the crown, arising from the proceeds of droits.

Mr. Tierney wished to have an account of the droits of the admiralty, and also for a committee with powers to examine persons as well as papers, when he had no doubt of establishing his case.

Mr. Croker obtained leave to bring in a bill to transfer the duties of the transport board to the navy and victualling boards.

March 27th.—The house went into

to a committee of supply, when the resolutions founded on the navy estimates were proposed.

Mr. Banks said, that he disapproved of an increase of salary to the clerks, as the necessities of life had fallen from 20 to 30 per cent. and the income-tax, which made a difference of 10 per cent. to them, had been repealed. He therefore moved an amendment, that "the salaries of the clerks should not be increased beyond what they were in May last;" to which Mr. Tierney agreed, and withdrew his motion. — This amendment was rejected upon a division, by 168 to 85.

Mr. Baring then moved, that the two offices, of paymaster of marines and of widows' pensions, should be abolished, and the amount deducted from the sum specified in the resolution. This amendment was finally negatived, by 124 to 38.

March 28th. — The house having gone into a committee, to consider the state of the agriculture of the united kingdom, Mr. Western remarked that a noble lord (Castlereagh) had deprecated a gloomy view being taken of the state of the country; but, as the land paid no rent to the proprietor, the wages of labourers were not adequate to their maintenance, and the profits of stock were turned into losses, it was impossible not to feel despondency. This must be increased when the national debt, and so large an amount of taxation, was considered. The honourable gentleman then stated, that he considered the original causes of the distress to be, first, the depressed value of the produce of the land, occasioned by an increase of the produce beyond the demand; secondly, the withdrawing the extensive circulating medium, or credit currency, which

has still further depreciated the value of land. His remedy was, either the export of corn, or prevention of the importation of foreign corn, and the removal of the duties on spirits. Passing over the introductory resolutions, he concluded by reading the fourth: — That the consumption of barley, and consequently the demand for it, were very materially reduced by the excessive duties to which it was subjected, and that those duties ought to be repealed.

Mr. Brand viewed the tithe system as a great cause of distress, and suggested a commutation. For the encouragement of clover, linseed, and rape, he thought that 20s. a quarter ought to be imposed upon foreign clover, linseed, and rapeseed imported. He suggested also a duty upon foreign wool imported, or a duty upon all foreign cloth. Only 8d. a day, he had been informed, is given in Cambridgeshire to strong, healthy, single men, who are capable of the greatest labour. Dreadful as this situation was, he feared a much worse state of things. The poor's rates were a heavy burthen to the landholder, and threatened to destroy the agricultural interests of the country. Personal property ought to be made to contribute equally as land. The best mode would be, to limit the claim for relief by the age of the poor — to extend assistance to the old who were past labour, and to orphans who were without protection — but to leave the intermediate period of life to the benevolent.

Lord Lascelles, on the contrary, thought that a duty upon foreign wool would be in the highest degree detrimental to our woollen manufactures.

Colonel Wood, so far from thinking that the duties on spirits ought

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to be removed, thought they ought to be augmented; this would encourage the use of malt liquors. Being more particularly acquainted with Wales, he suggested a diminution of the tax on salt, which pressed heavily on the Welsh.

Mr. Curwen considered the distress of the agricultural interest to have arisen not from surplus produce, but from the withdrawing the accommodation which the farmers received from the country banks. At the same time he did not think there was such deep and universal suffering as the gloomy disposition of some taught them to believe. His remedy was the advance of money to the agricultural interest, as was done to the merchants some years ago. The sum to be advanced 12 millions, and the security to be landlord and tenant jointly, not to exceed half the rent paid by the latter. He objected to a duty on foreign wool imported; and recommended public granaries, at least the storing of three months' provisions for the metropolis. Finally, some arrangement with respect to the tithe system, and a revision of the poor laws.

Mr. Leslie Forster and Sir J. Newport were chiefly for excluding the foreign grower.

Mr. Peel, adverting to the great distress of Ireland, said, that the only adequate relief would be to give a preference to her agricultural produce. The Irish butter trade ought particularly to be encouraged; whereas, at present, the quantity of butter imported from Ireland was less than the butter imported from foreign ports.

The honourable Mr. Robinson could neither agree to the proposal for giving a bounty on exportation, nor for imposing a prohibition against importation.

Mr. Barham was for a prohibition against the importation of foreign agricultural produce.

Mr. Frankland Lewis objected to prohibitory duties as a general principle; and suggested, that a duty of 6*d.* or 1*s.* on every pack of fine wool imported, might be a great relief to the farmer; also, an additional duty on rape and other seeds, excluding clover. He was against a bounty on exportation of corn, and also the commutation of tithes.

The debate was then adjourned.

March 29th.—In a committee on the butter trade, Mr. Robinson said, that in order to protect this branch of the trade of Ireland from an injurious competition with Holland, he should propose to increase the duty on all foreign butter imported in British ships to 20*s.*, and 25*s.* on all imported in foreign vessels.

Sir J. Newport and sir F. Flood urged, as reasons to increase the duties to 25*s.* and 30*s.*, that the people of Holland were comparatively exempt from taxation; that their ports were in the vicinity of the English coast, and small vessels at small freights could be used; whereas from Ireland there was a longer navigation, and large vessels at high freights were requisite. Mr. Robinson's duties were then agreed to.

Mr. Gordon said, if cheese was not protected, the farmers in Holland would send more cheese than ever, after the protection for home butter. He had been informed by a Cheshire factor, that the London dealers would make no contracts for the inferior country cheeses, but only for the best Cheshire and Gloucestershire, as the Dutch cheeses were preferred to our own inferior ones. He would quadruple the

the protecting duty on cheese, on the same principle as the right honourable gentleman had acted respecting butter. He moved that a duty of 16s. per cwt. be laid on foreign cheeses imported in British ships, and a duty of 20s. on those imported in foreign vessels.—The resolution was agreed to.

April 1st.—At the request of Mr. Lyttelton, the chancellor of the exchequer stated on the subject of the malt tax as follows: "A bill was now preparing to be brought down to parliament, which would effectually accommodate all parties. The country knew that the tax expired on the 5th July, when, in order to prevent any stagnation of trade, he had resolved to grant some drawback to the maltster. At the same time knowing that, unless the brewer got also some relief, he would be rather inclined to sell off than to buy any more malt, he had determined also to give him some relief, that the present distressed state of agriculture might be alleviated. Accordingly, for whatever proportion of beer might be on hand, the brewer would have allowance made him."

The house having resolved itself into a committee of supply, sir G. Warrender moved that a sum not exceeding 43,864*l.* be granted for the expenses of the navy pay-office.

Mr. Bennet observed, that the present treasurer of the navy, whose salary was 4,000*l.* and whose duties he understood could be performed by the appropriation of a single hour in the day, ought not to receive so large a remuneration, in the existing distresses of the country. He proposed that the salary should be reduced to 2,000*l.*; and therefore moved, as an amendment, that, instead of the 43,864*l.* the sum of 41,864*l.* be granted to his

majesty for the expenses of the navy pay office for the year.

Mr. Rose peremptorily denied that the office of treasurer of the navy was one of so little labour as it had been described to be. Those duties engrossed a large portion of his time, even when he was absent from London; they employed him many hours in the day, and often two hours before day-light. This might be no reason for the salary being 4,000*l.* a year; but he wished to show that the duties of the office were not so easy. It was not one of those offices the salary of which had been lately augmented. At the Revolution the salary was fixed at 2,000*l.* a year, but then great advantages were derived by the holder of the office, from having large sums of the public money in his hands. When those sums were taken out of the hands of the treasurer of the navy, 2,000*l.* was added to his salary as a compensation. He had no disposition to cling to the office, or to the salary attached to it; and to the determination of the committee, whatever it might be, he would submit without a murmur; but he confessed that, under all the circumstances of the case, he could see no reason for the selection of this particular office as an object of exclusive reduction.

Mr. Bennet replied, it was not this office alone that he wished to reduce; he intended to go through all. He should endeavour to reduce even offices of great public labour.

After some conversation, during which Messrs. Baring, Barclay, Babington, and others, supported the amendment for reduction, which was opposed by Messrs. Marryatt, Bankes, Finlay, Croker, Vansittart, &c.; Mr. Thompson observed, he would not say that the right honourable

nourable gentleman (Mr. Rose) was overpaid for his services, but he thought that no reason why he (Mr. R.) should not, in consideration of the distress of the country, come forward himself and propose a reduction of at least 1000*l*. He thought, if the right honourable gentleman did this, it would do him great honour in the decline of his life, by setting so good an example to the occupants of other affluent places.

Mr. Rose said, that experience did not lead him to rely much on the effect of his conduct in inducing others to reduce their salaries. He had once before given up a thousand pounds, with the hope of being extensively useful; but he did not find that his friends were willing to take the benefit of his example.

The committee then divided: for the amendment, 21; against it 66: majority, 45. The original resolution was then put, and carried.

The committee subsequently divided on another amendment, moved by Mr. J. Martin, that the sum of 7,000*l*. placed under the head of contingencies, be deducted from the vote, because the details of the items promised to be brought down were not yet before the house. This was also negatived, by 153 to 57.

The other resolutions were agreed to.

House of lords, April 2d.—The marquis of Buckingham, in making his promised motion on the state of Ireland, traced the impolitic system which had been adopted and acted upon. The present state of that country he attributed to the system of tithes—the non-concession to the catholics—and the imposition of injudicious duties, which had occasioned illicit distillation to a great extent. Among minor grievances were, the mode of assessment by

grand juries, the appointment of sheriffs, and the admission of improper persons into the magistracy. Remedies for these evils would be found in a cool and dispassionate inquiry. The noble marquis concluded, an eloquent and impressive peroration, by moving for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the state of Ireland.

The archbishop of Cashel defended the conduct of the clergy on the subject of tithes.

The marquis of Buckingham replied, that the evil was to be attributed, not to the clergy, but to the system of government.

A discussion of great length ensued, in which lords Liverpool, Rosslyn, Stanhope, Darnley, Sidmouth, Blessington, Redesdale, Holland, Grenville, St. Germain's, and Carnarvon, participated. It was alleged by the opponents of the motion, that the appointment of a committee would be attended with no good result. On a division the motion was negatived, by 197, including 69 proxies, to 67, 26, proxies: majority 70.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Tierney said, that on examining a paper before the house, he found there was an increase in the treasury department of 10,000*l*. and that the assistant-secretary, Mr. Harrison, had had his salary increased from 3,000*l*. to 3,500*l*. besides being presented with a gross sum of 5,000*l*. for services performed by him; it also appeared that the two other clerks had each 200*l*. and a Mr. Herbert 400*l*. as remunerations. Mr. Tierney taxed ministers with endeavouring to bury these transactions in everlasting silence.

Lord Castlereagh said, the grant might excite surprise, but there was no intention to conceal the transaction.

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In the conversation which followed, it came out that 10,000*l.* had been paid out of the treasury contingencies to Mr. Campbell, who is intrusted with the collection of the legacy duty at the stamp office. Papers ordered to be printed.

Mr. Brougham said, that the powers vested in the treasury by the 54th of the king, for suspending prosecutions for violation of the revenue laws, and remitting penalties, had been grossly abused. He then stated four cases: 1st, that of John Gibbs, of Emsworth, near Chichester, who had a cargo of salt entered as containing 800 bushels; when measured it was found to contain 15 bushels more. He was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to pay a mitigated penalty of 600*l.* He paid 200*l.* and applied for a remission of the remaining four. In support of his application he produced a testimonial signed by the earl of Westmoreland and others, bearing that "he was a man of known loyalty, and zealous attachment to government, and had upon all public occasions spared neither expense nor toil in supporting the friends and measures of government." The treasury remitted the penalty, in opposition to the representations of the board of excise.—The second was that of Mr. Solomon Lennard, brewer, of Bristol, whose penalties were remitted at the solicitations of Mr. Hart Davis.—The third case was that of Wolf Benjamin, of Leigh, soap-maker, whose penalties of 12,000*l.* were reduced at the representation of Mr. Western, member for Essex.—The fourth case was that of Mr. Abbott, brewer, of Canterbury, whose fine, on the application of the dean of Canterbury, sir Wm. Curtis, and others, was reduced to 500*l.* for mixing poisonous substances with his beer.

Mr. Brougham's motion of censure was negatived, by 124 to 76.

Sir R. Peel moved the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the situation of children employed in manufactories. It was not uncommon, he stated, for children employed in manufactories, of only six years of age, to be taken from their beds at five o'clock in the morning, put to work, and kept at it for fifteen or sixteen hours. To counteract such abuses, and to limit the extent of such cruelty, could not, in his opinion, be a subject unfit for the consideration of a British parliament.—Motion agreed to.

Mr. Tierney concluded an elaborate speech, recommending the abolition of the third secretaryship of state, held by earl Bathurst, at a salary of 6,000*l.* per annum, and which was first created during the war, by moving the following: "That an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, representing to his royal highness that his majesty's faithful commons, relying on his gracious disposition, which had been expressed by his royal highness, to concur in any measures of œconomy consistent with the interest and security of the country, pray that his royal highness will be graciously pleased to give directions that that division of the state office which was made in 1794, and by which an additional secretaryship was created for the transaction of the business of the war, should, now that the war has been concluded, be abolished, and that the office should be restored to the same footing on which it stood in 1793."

Mr. Goulbourn urged at some length the continuance of the department to which he belonged, separate from any other, both on account

count of the heavy duty, and the salutary influence it exercised over the colonies. He deprecated giving to the board of control the management of the colonies.

Mr. Banks said, that he always felt a disposition to agree to every proposition, the object of which was public œconomy; and it was not without doubt and difficulty that he had come to the determination that it was not consistent with the convenience of public business to abolish the office under debate. It would be more agreeable to him to support a measure, the object of which was œconomy; but he did not think the office under consideration was one of the first which should be reduced.

Mr. Rose observed, that the gentlemen on the other side dealt on this occasion altogether in confident assertions, which were quite unfounded. For instance, it was erroneous to assert that our colonial business was now much less than when America was subject to our dominion; and it was equally false to assert that the office of treasurer of the navy was a sinecure. The right honourable mover might have found it so, for he (Mr. R.) could not discover any trace or minute of that right honourable gentleman's having done anything while he held the office, but sign quarterly receipts for his salary during the year he retained it. But for himself he could say, that he found the office of treasurer of the navy of a very different description; and he could appeal on this subject to the records of the office itself, as well as to the paymaster of the navy, and to other officers, who were aware of his exertions to improve the administration of the office. Even when in the country, the official correspondence obliged him to be up several hours

before day-light; and when in town it occupied the greater portion of his time. He hoped, therefore, that the house would not form its estimate of the duties of an office from the manner in which the right honourable gentleman attended to that to which he had alluded.

Mr. Tierney, in replying, said, that he wished in the first place to address a few words to a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Rose) who had been moved to great warmth by what he (Mr. T.) had said regarding the insignificant duties of the treasurer of the navy. That it was in truth a sinecure he was warranted in asserting, by the often-mentioned report of sir F. Baring; though it was equally true that other duties, not connected with that place, did devolve upon the person filling it, for which extraneous business the salary was not nominally, but actually paid. The right honourable gentleman (continued Mr. T.) asserts, with his usual vehemence, that the only trace I left behind me, when I filled that place, of the execution of any business, was the signature of my name four times a-year for my salary. Now the fact, unluckily for me, is, that I only received the salary for three quarters. At that time I was a poor man, and a poor man I continue to be; and I might have some excuse for receiving the money, even were it true that I did nothing to earn it. But what is the situation of the right honourable gentleman? What excuse has he to offer?—he that is burthened with emoluments taken out of the public purse—the calculation of the amount of whose sinecures is the most difficult duty he has to discharge—who makes a boast that they are so numerous, that even his retirement in the country is broken in upon by correspondence regard-

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ing them. Surely it is a little too much that the right honourable gentleman should not only hold all these places, but should boast of them in the face of the commons of England, who annually vote the money for his payment! Let me ask him if he is not clerk to the other house of parliament?—a place that his children hold in reversion; and let him state the emoluments he derives from that. Let me ask him if he does not hold another sinecure in the court of common pleas? and let him state the emoluments of that. Let me ask him if he is not possessed of a third sinecure in the record office? and, after he has estimated the value of these, and all the others he has obtained, let him twit me with having signed my name for three quarters' salary while I happened to be treasurer of the navy. He asserts that I did no good in the office; let him ask the clerks how I conducted myself.

When the house divided, there appeared, for the motion 100, against it 182.

April 4.—Lord Milton said, though our soldiers might acquire improper notions in the air of France, he was not one of those who thought that the spirit of liberty was extinct in this country. He was that day going through Pall Mall, in an open carriage, with a friend, when he was prevented from proceeding on his way by a soldier stationed in the street. He asked the soldier his name, and by what right or under what authority he was thus stopped in the highway? The soldier refused to tell his name; and on his (lord Milton's) attempting to proceed, struck his horse, adding that if he attempted to pass he would strike him too. The soldier struck the horse with a sword, and that when, so far from there being

any crowd, there were not ten carriages in the whole length of the street. The peace was to be preserved by striking the horses and even the persons of people who were quietly proceeding in the discharge of their usual occupations. He would not say that liberty was yet extinct; but he thought these facts worthy the attention of the house, because a system was growing up, of accustoming the people to see soldiers employed when the civil power would be quite sufficient.

Lord Castlereagh said, that the soldiers were placed when a court was held, to keep the avenues clear, and to preserve the peace. He was sorry that any individual soldier should have exceeded the bounds of his duty; but he was confident the whole town would bear witness to the temper with which the guards have acted on all occasions. (*No, No*, from lord Milton.) The present order had been given only for the purpose of preserving the peace, and not with any view to oppress individuals.

Lord Milton believed that the soldiers were placed only to preserve order, but his objection was to the use of the military for such a purpose. Every one knew how these things crept on.

The chancellor of the exchequer defended the practice of stationing the guards in the streets, which had been practised ever since the days of queen Anne. They were stationed for public convenience. He was quite sure the noble lord could have no intention of interfering with the established customs of the court-days.

Mr. Wynne said, that house ought to resist in the beginning this assumption of a right in the crown to stop persons on the highway, in the peaceful pursuit of their lawful occupations.

cupations. He himself had that day seen soldiers waving their swords, galloping this way and that, stopping or endangering passengers, without any shadow of constitutional authority for such alarming conduct. He wished to know whether, after the soldier made his threat, sword in hand, he would be justified in putting lord Milton to death, if he had persisted in proceeding?

Lord Folkstone had always put himself out of the way of the annoyance, but of late he had been surprised to find soldiers stationed even at Hyde Park Corner.

Lord Nugent was desirous to know at what periods, and under what circumstances, the people of England were to be stopped on the king's highway? He moved for a copy of the instructions to the life-guards on duty that day in Westminster.

Lord Castlereagh opposed the motion.

Mr. Bragge Bathurst said, that if any annoyance or hindrance happened to a person going to his own residence, that was a subject for a court of law : it would be just the same if a murder had been committed.

The motion was then negatived by 48 to 31.

House of lords, April 5.—The earl of Essex brought the subject of the interruption experienced by his lordship and lord Milton from the military on Thursday, before the house. He stated, that the soldier had threatened to cut down both himself and the horse.

Lord Sidmouth promised inquiry.

House of commons, April 8.—

Mr. Harvey presented a petition from the private brewers and consumers of malt in Norfolk, praying for the immediate abolition of the

war malt duty, instead of its continuance to the 5th of July.

This produced a conversation between Messrs. Calvert, Barclay, Curwen, and sir S. M. Ridley.

The chancellor of the exchequer heard nothing to induce him to alter his resolution.

Mr. Bankes, having noticed the repairs which were going on in the front of the secretary of state's office, Whitehall, moved for estimates of the probable expense.

The chancellor of the exchequer said the repairs had been undertaken by the board of works, without any specific authority from the treasury, as an exercise of the powers with which they were vested. One of the surveyors of the board, having remarked the dangerous state of the building to passengers, reported it to the board; and Mr. Soane was consulted by them on the subject. The repairing the whole with stone would cost 3,000*l.*: from the ruinous state of the front, it was impossible to use cement. The repairing the front in any manner than with stone, would appear extremely unsightly, and the difference of expense would not exceed 1,000*l.*

Mr. Tierney hoped that some care would also be taken in improving the inside of the treasury.

The house having gone into a committee of supply, Mr. R. Ward moved the ordnance estimates. A long discussion ensued, which was concluded by sir John Newport. The house then resumed, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

The chancellor of the exchequer stated, that it would be necessary that the act for preventing the bank from resuming payment in gold should be prolonged for two years. A bill was ordered to be brought in for that purpose.

The house went into a committee on the horse tax.

The chancellor of the exchequer proposed the suspension of that tax in the case of farmers occupying land under a rent of 150*l.* a year, and that in lieu of it there should be charged,—when the farm was under 70*l.* 3*s.*; above 70*l.* and under 100*l.* 5*s.*; above 100*l.* and under 150*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

April 9.—The bill for settling the revenue of the princess Charlotte and her intended consort, at 60,000*l.* a year, passed the house. In the conversation which took place upon it, Mr. Tierney inquired whether her royal highness would hold drawing-rooms, but no answer was given to that point. It was stated that their royal highnesses had obtained from lord Grenville a lease of Camelford-house, for seven years, at a rent of 2500*l.* a year.

On Mr. Western moving that the house should go into a committee on agricultural distresses, but declaring that, as there was so thin an attendance, he should not press the motion; lord Castlereagh and several members expressed themselves in favour of the discussion being postponed, which was ultimately overruled, and the house went into a committee.

Mr. Brougham rose to offer his sentiments on the important subject now before the committee. There was one part of the question to which he did not think it necessary to advert—namely, the great extent and amount of the existing distress. The committee had already heard that the state of distress was such, that whole districts had been thrown out of cultivation; and that in several adjoining parishes there was scarcely one person left who was rateable to the poor-rates. Under such circumstances, it must be uni-

versally acknowledged that the distress was great, and almost overwhelming. The question then came to be, with regard to the causes of this distress; for, unless these were properly searched into, it would be in vain to seek a remedy. The question was—Why was the agriculture of the country worse off than it was at the close of the war of 1793? Why was it in so deplorable a situation, although the prices of all kinds of produce were considerably higher now than they were in 1792? the average price of wheat being at the last-mentioned period 49*s.*, and it being now 57*s.* per quarter. Whence did it happen that, the prices of all kinds of produce being higher than before the war, such an extraordinary pressure should exist on the agriculture of the country, and all connected with it? Now, in endeavouring to answer this question, the first thing he should advert to was the history of the cultivation of this country during the last twenty years. It was beyond a doubt that with the war, and accompanying the war, a great increase took place in our agricultural improvements. This was greatly owing to the commercial monopoly which the events of the war threw into the hands of this country, and still more to the two scarcities by which we were visited; the one in 1796, and the other in 1799—in the latter of which years especially, the price of wheat, and of all other grain, was enhanced beyond all former example. The effect produced on the agriculture of the country by this increased demand was similar to that produced by the destruction of St. Domingo, and the troubles of Guadaloupe, on the sugar market of Europe. So vast a proportion of land was thrown into cultivation in the other West India

India islands in consequence of the circumstances he had mentioned, and by the unlimited powers of the slave trade in furnishing labourers, that in the course of a few years sugars fell even below their old standard price, to the great and well-known distress of the planters, and all those connected with the West Indies. In the same manner two dearths of 1796 and 1799 had had a tendency to produce similar effects. In connexion with this remark, he was disposed to place the flourishing period of our agriculture between the years 1797 and 1807; but there were several other causes also to be taken into account besides those he had already mentioned. About the year 1797 great commercial distress and alarm prevailed, which occasioned a total change in the system of the bank. From the restriction of bank payments in specie which then took place, we had to date a most important change in the circulating medium of the country. At present he put aside the depreciation of our currency which was thereby occasioned, and looked only to the total removal which was produced of all the usual restraints, both on the bank of England and on country banks, as to the extent of their accommodations. Accordingly he believed that the number of country banks was more than doubled in the short period of two years and a half. Instead of one bank serving for several counties, as had formerly been the case, you had a bank starting up in every town. The persons also engaged in these concerns became much more rash in their accommodations, and thus encouraged a degree of speculation among the farmers almost incalculable. They were not under the necessity of paying in cash; and though they were obliged to answer

any demands upon them in bank of England notes, yet the country people generally preferred notes which had the name upon them of some person whom they knew—of some lord or gentleman in their vicinity—to those of the bank of England, though garnished with the name of Mr. Abraham Newland. The result of this was, that the country bankers became extremely rash in discounting bills, and granting every species of accommodation. Had this course gone on more gradually than it did, and had things been restored gradually to their former state, perhaps good rather than mischief might have been caused by the extraordinary stimulus thus given to agriculture: but prices had also been enhanced, partly by the commercial monopoly which this country enjoyed, and partly from the obstructions which existed to importation; and hence, from the whole united, an extent of cultivation had taken place that was altogether unprecedented. If a farmer could get accommodation from a banker, which he found little difficulty in doing, he either brought new land into cultivation, or greatly improved the old. Here there were at once great temptation and facility united to extend the cultivation of the earth. Another cause of no small moment remained to be stated. Our colonies certainly were of great importance in extending the home manufactures and commerce of the mother country. It was difficult to find any engine more effectual for that purpose. It had so happened that the events of the war had thrown almost all the colonies of Europe into our possession. The consequence of this was a pouring in of wealth into this country, much of which was employed in fertilizing the soil. There

were, in fact, districts of the country where the effects of this pouring in of wealth from the Dutch and other islands were distinctly visible, not only in the money expended, but in the very names of the spots brought into cultivation or improved. The great commercial distresses of 1811-12 had produced the most important effects upon agriculture, and had lowered the price of produce, more especially cattle, to a great distance beyond the towns or districts where the commercial distresses prevailed. Another point to which he should advert was the impulse which the contracts of government would give the market; and, in speaking of them, he meant to say nothing that could be understood as casting blame upon any department. Though the war did not, it was true, create new mouths to consume, yet it occasioned a much more improvident consumption of produce, notwithstanding all precautions; and it could scarcely be doubted that the large sums of money laid out for the public service were more extravagantly spent than if they had been disbursed by individuals in small amounts. Of course the price of the necessaries of life was augmented by these contracts, which to a certain extent occasioned an artificial scarcity.

It was extremely difficult to estimate with any tolerable precision the quantity of new land brought into cultivation by all the co-operating causes of encouragement: at first he had thought that the number of inclosure bills passed within the last 10 years would afford some criterion: by these it would seem that about 1,200 commons had been brought into tillage in that period: but many circumstances concurred to render it an unfair mode of forming an estimate, and among them the im-

portant fact, that many of these acts were not obtained to bring waste land into cultivation, but to settle private privileges, or the contested rights of commonable tenants. A calculation made upon this datum, however, would show that about two millions of acres had been for the first time subjected to the plough between 1797 and 1807; but even that could not be sufficient to account for the great increase of produce, because it was occasioned, not only by the tillage of new, but by the improved cultivation of old land, by the employment of large capital in the hope of large profits. It was the practice of foreigners to term Great Britain a trading, shop-keeping country; but when its extent was considered, it could not be denied by all who were acquainted with the subject, that it was the greatest agricultural country in the world: it had become so within the last 20 years; and not only two blades of grass now grew where only one grew before, but it would be much more correct to assert that three or even four blades now were produced upon the spot that formerly only yielded one. Supposing that two million acres of new land were at present in tillage, at the rate of three quarters per acre they would give six million quarters of grain. Now, the population of England and Scotland, according to the last returns, from 1800 to 1811, had increased to the extent of two millions of souls; and taking the average annual consumption of each person to be, what was usually admitted, one quarter, that would only account for two millions of quarters of grain out of the six millions grown upon the new land, independently of the great addition arising from improved husbandry. Of course the honourable member did not

notrely with much confidence on this calculation, but, supposing it to be at all correct, it threw some light upon the causes of the present distresses of agriculturists. All the facts he had been able to collect showed a very large increase in the produce of every farm in the kingdom; it was increased beyond the demand, as now appeared; and it must be admitted that the growers of corn to a certain degree had over-traded themselves. It was true, that during this period the prices kept up, but the effect of the tillage of the wastes had then been fully felt; nor indeed did he think it could be said that the new land yielded full crops until the year 1812, though even the worst soils had been compelled to grow something by weight of metal, by sinking money on the land in manure procured at a heavy expense.

After 1812 a great glut of grain was thrown upon the market, and this circumstance combined with two extraordinary fine harvests (after two others equally unproductive) to depress the value of agricultural produce of all kinds: for these large crops, the house would observe, were exactly contemporaneous with the attainment by the land of the maximum of cultivation. The concurrent circumstances tending to reduce the price of grain became now as marvellous as those that had previously led to its advance. The honourable member for Essex (Mr. Western) on a former night, in alluding to the events that occurred about the year 1813, had, in his (Mr. Brougham's) opinion, understated the effect of the peace; and as a ground for his opinion, he had referred to the returns from the corn-market, by which it appeared that in January the price of grain was 124s. per. quarter, and in No-

vember only 68s. per quarter: as both these periods were anterior to the peace, and the price having fallen so considerably, the inference drawn was, that the distresses were not produced by the peace, or at least that they were aggravated only in a slight degree by that event. He (Mr. Brougham) felt himself bound to dissent from this conclusion; and in making up his mind that the agricultural distresses were mainly to be attributed to the peace, he had the consolation of reflecting that they were of a transitory nature, and would at least be mitigated by the lapse of time. The argument of the honourable member for Essex would be most decisive, if nothing extraordinary had occurred between January and November to account for the great diminution of price. In January 1813, although the French had penetrated to Moscow, no immediate hope of peace was held out, and no man could have ventured to calculate upon that event; but in the month of November, when the price was so much lower, that prospect of public affairs was greatly changed: at that time the most auspicious calamities had happened to the arms of the enemy, and they were crowned by the death-blow to the power of Buonaparte—the battle of Leipsic. Of course peace was then scarcely a matter of conjecture; it was an event which all men contemplated in their engagements, and ministers, in effecting their contracts at 68s. per quarter, were aided not only by this probability, but were backed by the noble harvest that had burdened the land in the two preceding years. But the effect of peace was felt by the agricultural interest in another way; for the consequence of it was, the withdrawing of government from the corn and cattle markets;

the change in the value of beasts in Ireland was sudden and extraordinary; and about six months since, when the agents of ministers ceased to make any purchases, the Welsh coast, and that of the west of England, were crowded with oxen for sale at very low rates. Another circumstance leading to the same result deserved notice. He was far from thinking that the commercial distresses of 1810, 1811, and 1812, were at an end even now. The storm was still depending over our heads, and he feared its greatest fury was not yet exhausted. Many persons, for the last two or three years, had been lingering on in an insecure trade, who would now soon fail, and who ought perhaps, in justice to their creditors, to have given up their concerns to them much earlier. The majority of the recent bankruptcies arose, not from new, but from old losses; some of them connected even with the ruinous Baltic risks of 1811. But while these individuals were still keeping up appearances, and struggling against former difficulties, peace was obtained, which, while it caused the stoppage of many commercial houses, was not less severely felt by the farmers, though its consequences to them, perhaps, had been a little less immediate. As soon, however, as the ports of Europe were thrown open, all classes were eager to enter into new speculations, calculating upon returns certain, speedy, and abundant: the spirit of adventure at no period had been exceeded, and could scarcely be exaggerated by any statement. He would not enter into details, though many facts had come to his knowledge which proved that this rage, this madness for speculation, he might call it, had only been equalled by the South-sea bubble,

and he feared it would prove at least as ruinous. The house would scarcely believe that labourers and menial servants in manufacturing districts, who taking advantage of high wages had laid by small sums against old age,* had in many instances clubbed together their little savings, and risked their all in an expedition to Holland or the north of Germany. Among persons better informed, all who could collect a few hundred pounds had launched as merchants, and in this way millions and millions had been sent abroad, for which returns only to a very inconsiderable amount had yet, and would probably hereafter, be made. This imprudence had already occasioned great distress among the manufacturers, who, of course, could not employ the same number of men; and the demand for agricultural produce was proportionally diminished. The recent speculations to America had led to the same result: no less than eighteen millions had been exported within a year, principally from Liverpool and the north of England, for which returns only to the extent of about nine millions had been received.

Another cause of depression was the recent change in the policy of the bank of England, which had diminished its paper currency, and had occasioned the country bankers to adopt the same course, though to a greater extent. The great facility to agricultural dealings was thus taken away; and all discounts and accommodations were refused to those who had long received them, and had calculated upon their continuance. It had been said that the price of wheat was now 10s. per quarter higher than in 1792; and it was argued from thence that the farmer was, of course, in a better situation now than in 1792. The truth

truth however was, that the tillers of the soil were not benefited, like others, by the fall in the price of provisions; and they expected to have been enabled to pay the interest of their loans by means of the high price of their grain and cattle; but instead of this, the agriculturist was compelled not only to discharge the interest, but the principal, at a time when all circumstances conspired to diminish his means. To satisfy these demands, he was obliged to sell the land brought into cultivation within a few years, and that would probably lead to the sale of other property; for although he (Mr. Brougham) felt assured that time would mitigate or relieve the distresses now felt, he verily believed they would be greater before they were diminished, and that in the mean time much land would be put up to sale at a great loss.

The great change which had taken place in the financial concerns of the country within the last 20 years had also much contributed to the sufferings of the tenants of the land; indeed, he doubted whether this cause ought not to have been stated as the great primary source of complaint. At present the annual taxes amounted to nearly 75 millions, and in one year during the war the expenditure of the country had not been less than 120 millions. The pressure upon agriculture was of course heavy; and as the price of produce fell, the expense of cultivation did not by any means fall in proportion. Many of these charges were not at all affected by the cheapness of provisions, and among them might be reckoned the taxes the farmer was compelled to pay. On a farm of 400 acres, 200 of which would be employed in growing corn, while 100 would lie fallow, and 100 be employed for

grazing, the assessed taxes would amount to 22*l.* 8*s.*, supposing nine servants and 14 pair of horses to be kept upon it. The annual wages of each servant at present were not less than 50*l.* while in 1792, 35*l.* were amply sufficient. The extraordinary and occasional labour would probably require 50*l.* more, and 75*l.* must be allowed for the fallow land. Women servants were also now more expensive; and on the whole, the increased charge of the farm above what it would have been in 1792 was not less than 242*l.* 8*s.*, including taxes. Besides, the bills of the blacksmith, the saddler, the carpenter, and other tradesmen, would be in proportion to the other advances, in addition to the heavy price now paid for all kinds of manure. These additional expenses would not be avoided now, even if grain should descend to the price of 1792: and in these respects the farmers justly and loudly called for relief and remedy. The taxes upon leather, salt, and soap, but particularly the two former, were most burdensome; they were articles of excise, and mere necessities; but some customable commodities, such as sugar and others, though in themselves luxuries, had become almost necessities, and the duty paid upon them was very exorbitant. The tax on beer had been increased since 1801, from 5*s.* 7½*d.* per barrel, to 9*s.* 7*d.*; and malt, which in 1800 paid 10*s.* 7*d.* per quarter, in 1814 was loaded with a tax of 34*s.* 8*d.* 16*s.* of which, however, being a war duty, were to be taken off. Of the proper remedy in this respect the committee would be best able to judge; but he trusted that it would be found practicable to grant some relief with as little delay as possible. There was another circumstance which claimed the greatest

est consideration—he alluded to the poor. Now the fact really was, that the manufacturer made the poor, and the agriculturist kept the poor. The one was rated only according to his occupancy, but the farmer was rated according to his profits. It was well known, that in proportion as the poor rate was fixed, little wages were paid. Who paid the parish rate? The farmer. The farmer subscribed to a fund which went to lower the rate at which the manufacturer worked up his capital.

Having entered thus far into detail, he had nothing further to state; but he must then beg leave to call the attention of the house to the remedies. There was one class of men who could not expect any degree of relief—he meant those who dealt on borrowed capitals—because their speculations had been entered into with a view to particular purposes. This was a temporary and passive measure, and did not affect those which were permanent. He should hope that these interests would be considerably relieved in a few years; and that they would soon be brought back to their original conditions, excepting as to the excess of taxes. He was willing to admit that wages were now lower than they ought to be, owing to the distress of the times: he trusted, however, that this was only temporary, and was principally occasioned by the great burthen of taxation. The principle of the corn bill was sought to be extended to all other points. When the honourable member, however, proposed a bounty, he did not agree with him. We complained of the high prices of wool and taxation: but what was the remedy? We were advised to export, and to compel exportation: but what was the whole amount of the bounties for

1814? It was only 286,000*l.* As to the principle of the warehouse, he would merely ask, had the agriculturist no farm-house? Could he not keep the produce of the land in his own farm-yard? Was he more afraid of rats there than in the government warehouses? Did the farmer wait till he saw the *Gazette*? No such thing. He would take the liberty of stating, that he had had a great deal of experience on these points, and he knew that persons were employed to go into different parts of the country, in order to ascertain the probable amount of the crop. The honourable member might have considered this subject a great deal in his study, but the whole merits were in his fields, where those persons speculated upon the profits for the next year.

With respect to the other remedies, the poor rates, if any thing could be done to equalize them, and to remove the necessity of one parish providing for another, which had given rise to the case of one man maintaining the whole of one parish, he should have no objection to the plans of the honourable member. The poor rates were the cause of the declension of the character of our peasantry. It had been proposed by Mr. Malthus, one of the greatest authorities on this subject, that whatever issue should be born within a certain period, should not be entitled to relief, except in cases of disease and impotency. He was very much disposed to agree with this distinction.

As to wool, the free exportation would be of the greatest benefit. It would materially relieve the agricultural classes; for though it might not be of so fine a species as would be produced on the continent, it must certainly be in very great demand. Our coarse wools which were long,
and

and our coarse wools which were not long, were in great demand for certain purposes. With respect to tithes, he did not see that they very materially affected the present question. Last of all, he would venture to suggest, that a considerable relief might be afforded from the sinking fund. In 1815 it amounted to 15 millions and a half, including Ireland; and, after certain deductions, it would be for this year 13 millions. He threw this out in the spirit of the conciliatory discussions which had taken place upon this subject, and he hoped it would be received in the same manner from the honourable members who were opposite to him. The government would naturally be anxious to afford the utmost relief to the distressed condition of the agriculture of the united kingdom, and parliament would assist them in granting such benefits as the circumstances of the cases would admit of. The honourable member concluded his speech with an apology to the house for having detained them so long, which was received with cheers from every part.

Lord Castlereagh complimented the last speaker on the long, able, and luminous speech he had delivered. There was a candid and liberal tone throughout that speech, which was the best pledge that this question would absorb the minor considerations of party. He (lord Castlereagh) was persuaded, that shut out as foreign corn was, the home growth would soon rise to a competition with the other domestic articles of produce and manufacture with which it came in competition. The simple circumstance of land going out of cultivation would accelerate this operation. His conviction was, that the great mass of the agriculture of the country was

founded on a solid basis; although he did not deny that it experienced at present great distress and difficulty. To allege, however, that this distress was an actual decay of the national wealth, was, in his opinion, not to seize its true character. Of the reverse, the state of the revenue afforded an indubitable indication. In all its branches it had been maintained, and down to the very last week, was more productive than in the same periods of any former year. He did not state this to dissuade the house from affording any possible mitigation of the existing evil, but to induce them to look at the situation of the country with a steady eye, in the expectation which he himself cherished, that a termination would ere long be put to the sufferings that had been occasioned by the great change of prices. The operation had already commenced. Wheat, he understood, had risen at Edinburgh to 72s. a quarter. It was not likely, therefore, that it should long remain at 56s. in the other parts of the kingdom. If it should rise to 80s. or 90s. he should be glad to know where would be the distress? He allowed that the alteration in the circulating medium had co-operated in producing the existing circumstances. But this was by no means a permanent state of things. In a short space of time, the banks over the whole country, although they would not advance so incautiously as they had formerly done, would advance sufficiently to diminish the existing pressure. The continuation of the restriction on cash payments would also go a great way to remedy the inconveniences which would result from the rejection of the property tax, by affording facilities for raising money for the public service in other ways. The sinking fund was a topic

topic too extensive to be incidentally treated. He would protest against any considerable applications to that fund, however, until its operation had so raised the country that application might be made to it without danger. It had been the means of carrying us through all our difficulties, and ought not to be too rashly invaded. Adverting to the state of our commerce with South America, he declared that at present it was very considerable, and that the means of improving it occupied the earnest and constant attention of his majesty's ministers.

Sir J. Newport attributed the distress in a great measure to the pouring in of produce from Ireland, in consequence of the demand for that produce being lessened by the removal of the British army from the Peninsula, and also in a great measure to the delay which had taken place in the passing of the corn bill, and which had enabled the foreign grower to send a large quantity into the country. He believed that much of the distress would prove temporary, if such measures were adopted as would prevent it from becoming permanent.

Mr. W. Smith, in answer to what had fallen from the noble lord, denied that the rejection of the income tax rendered a loan necessary.

Mr. Western argued that nothing was so injurious as rapid fluctuations in the price of corn, and explained the mode in which the measures which he proposed would remedy this evil.

The house then resumed, and the chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again.

A select committee was appointed to examine the policy of imposing an increased duty on the importation of foreign seeds, and to report

their opinion thereupon to the house; and it was ordered to be an instruction to the same committee, that they have power to consider the laws relative to wool and the woollen trade.

April 10.—Mr. Hammersley rose to move for an account of the sum due from the French to the English government for the maintenance of prisoners of war, which had been remitted by the treaties of peace in 1814 and 1815, to favour the claims of those who had suffered from the confiscation of property placed in the French funds. He could not approve the arrangement which had been made in this instance, as he thought it went to give up that which belonged to the community at large, in favour of individuals who were not entitled to such an especial favour for placing their money, if not in the funds of our natural enemy, in those of our natural rival, which came to much the same thing.

After some discussion, the motion was agreed to.

Mr. Grenfell said, he had before called the attention of the house to the disgraceful state of the silver currency. It was well known, that in change for a pound-note, persons usually received one half in French coin, and the other half, perhaps, in counterfeit made at home. From a conversation with an eminent French merchant, he had reason to believe that within the last twelve months, not less than 200,000*l.* worth of 12 and 24 sous pieces had been imported into this country. It was not surprising that this great importation should have taken place, when it was known that there was a profit of 20 per cent. on these transactions. There was now no reason whatever that the silver currency should continue in this debased state,

state, because that very day silver was at the mint price. He believed there was an act of parliament existing, which stood in the way of coining shillings and sixpences any where but at the mint, which it would be necessary to repeal, as a preliminary step to the remedy which it was proposed to apply. He concluded by moving for an account of all foreign gold and silver coin and bullion imported since the 1st of Feb. 1810, to the latest period at which the same could be made up, distinguishing each year and also the coin from the bullion.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the return would be necessarily imperfect, as there was no duty paid on the importations of those articles.

Mr. Baring expected that the country would have had some assurance of relief from the chancellor of the exchequer. The matter ought to be proceeded in by a committee; and no time ought to be lost. As he understood that government had a great sum in silver by them, he supposed this would be employed in a new coinage. When that took place, he hoped the officers of the mint would pay some attention to their work, and take some pains to understand what coinage was. We had a building that cost 2 or 300,000*l.* and a large establishment; yet such was the disgraceful state of it, that when they had a few tokens to make, the officers knew nothing of the matter, and after many attempts all the dies were broken up. In coining gold for France, they had not improved their reputation, and had concluded by blowing up the mint itself. He hoped the master of the mint would think it worth his while to know a little of his business.

The motion was agreed to.

In the commons, on the 11th of April, Mr. Brougham presented a petition signed by about 500 respectable merchants and tradesmen of the city and liberties of Westminster, which, he believed, spoke the sense of a great and important body of men in trade. The petition complained of the abuses arising from the extent of the rules of the King's Bench, to go into which, a man had only to cross the river, and take a comfortable lodging for three months, in order to avail himself of the insolvent act; or stop there till he expended 3 or 4,000*l.* which his creditors ought to have. It was known that an individual actually went on a visit to the continent, while supposed to be in the rules. Another man coming out of the rules to apply for the benefit of the act, went into a shop on his way, and obtained a gold watch and seals. The petition stated, that the extent of the rules called for serious consideration. These abuses had (Mr. B. believed) increased greatly the objections to the insolvent act. He moved that the petition be referred to the committee on the insolvent act.

Mr. Abercromby said, if those who had authority over the King's Bench prison would not exert themselves, it was indispensable that the house should take up the matter.

Mr. Bennett observed, that it appeared in the committee of last year, that 3,500*l.* a year of profit were made out of the rules. It also appeared, that some debtors had a practice of taking lodgings for the winter in the rules of the Fleet, and for the summer, in the rules of the King's Bench.

The petition was referred to the committee on the insolvent debtors acts.

On the question of the first reading

ing of the Surgeons' college bill, Mr. Brougham observed, that the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were justly celebrated: and it was absurd that a member of these should not be allowed to practise in England, because he was not a member of the college of surgeons in London. What injury might not have been sustained, had such a principle of prohibition operated against Dr. Baillie, Dr. W. Hunter, John Hunter, and, he believed, Mr. Abernethy, all of whom practised here before they belonged to the college of surgeons in London!—The bill was thrown out without a division.

House of commons, April 24.—Mr. K. Douglas presented a petition, from the inhabitants of Dumfries stating that above sixty British subjects immediately connected with that town had been made prisoners by gen. Morillo at Carthagená, on the ground of assisting the Spanish insurgents; and that they had since been sent to Spain. The petitioners prayed for the interference of parliament on their behalf.—Ordered to lie on the table.

General Thornton moved for “a return of the total nominal value of all notes presented at the Bank of England, and refused payment as being forged, in the last four years, and up to the latest period to which it could be made out, specifying the amount of each year.” He observed, that the practice of forging notes had risen to a great height lately, and particularly since the restoration of peace. Many of these notes were so well executed, that they were with difficulty distinguished from good ones. His object in making the motion was, that some remedy might be devised, by which such forgery might be rendered more difficult. This he conceived

might be done by a different method of making them. Several plans for this purpose had already been presented to the Bank of England, and, among others, one by earl Stanhope, which had been rejected by the Bank as too expensive.—Motion agreed to.

April 25.—Mr. Finlay made a variety of remarks on the trade in foreign linens. He was satisfied that the present laws operated against the interests of the linen trade. When no duty was imposed on foreign linen, more British and Irish linens were exported. We might carry the foreign linens to foreign countries ourselves. The most intelligent persons in Scotland and Ireland were of his opinion. He desired inquiry into the question, that he might show how far the linen interests were concerned; and therefore moved for a committee to consider the laws relative to foreign linen, and to report thereon.

Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald thought the motion pregnant with mischief, and calculated to excite great alarm in Ireland. The importance of the Irish linen trade was evident, since he could state its increase during three years of the transit duty. The exports of Irish linen from Great Britain in 1812, 1813, and 1814, were at the rate of 5,800,000*l.* 5,700,000*l.* and 9,500,000*l.* He strongly objected to any interference.

Mr. Marryatt said, the right honourable gentleman took an erroneous view of the subject. It was Mr. Pitt's idea to make this country the emporium of general commerce—an idea now departed from. The two great articles of our foreign commerce were foreign linens and French wines. During peace, fair competition was restored; and if we did not supply cheaply, trade ran into other channels. The ex-
ports

ports were lately 17 millions per annum, the greater part paid by British manufactures. By these means the shipping interest and the British navy were supported. Now in peace, by war duties, we were losing almost all our foreign trade, of which he had mentioned the two chief branches. He had observed the proportion of British and foreign ships employed in foreign trade, from opportunities afforded him as an underwriter, and found the British vessels reduced from 410 to 351 and 251; thence to par, and afterwards falling lower. He also learned that, in two months, recently at the Havannah, where almost all the vessels entering had been British, there came in 168 vessels, and not one of them a British vessel laden from a British port, but from the Baltic, the Mediterranean, &c. They could not have carried out Irish linens, which they would had they gone from our own ports. A correspondent of his had come to this country last year from the Havannah with 20,000*l.* for the purchase of goods—a fourth of which was to be laid out in foreign linens and French wines. Finding, however, that such heavy duties were imposed on the latter articles in Great Britain, and that he could consequently obtain them at a much cheaper rate in any port of the continent, he went to the continent for that purpose, and there finding that (owing to the wise system adopted by our late enemies, and present rivals, of establishing free ports for the reception and re-exportation of foreign manufactures without duty,) he could ship other articles as well as foreign linens and French wines, on more advantageous terms than in Great Britain, instead of reserving 16,000*l.* for the purchase of goods in Great

Britain (most of which would have been Irish linens), he laid out the whole 20,000*l.* in a foreign country.

Lord Castlereagh opposed the motion.

Mr. Robinson declared his opinion was in favour of the measure; but, unless all the commercial parties interested in it concurred, he should without changing his private opinion vote against the motion.—The motion was then negatived, by 108 to 75.

A motion by lord George Cavendish, for an address to the regent, pledging his royal highness and his ministers to adopt measures of economy, was lost on a division of 158 to 102. In the course of the debate, the chancellor of the exchequer stated, that it was not his intention to propose any further loan for the service of the year, beyond the 4,500,000*l.* which the Bank have already agreed to advance; but he declined stating the mode by which the deficit in the ways and means is to be supplied.

Lord Castlereagh obtained leave to bring in an alien bill, to supersede the present act; to be in principle the same as that adopted by parliament after the peace of Paris.

On the 26th of April, the state of Ireland was brought before the house of commons. As the debate in this house was, in every respect, much more important and interesting than the debate on the same topic in the house of lords, in consequence of the marquis of Buckingham's motion (already shortly noticed), we shall give it at length.

Sir J. Newport said, the magnitude and importance of the task it might appear presumptuous in him to attempt, when so many other members from Ireland were so much more competent to it. Their research and eloquence might have illuminated

illuminated the dark and dreary path he was obliged to pursue. His zeal had outrun his ability; but all his defects could be amply supplied by others, particularly by the members for the city and university of Dublin, who could make the house entire masters of this important subject. It seemed impossible to examine the evils of Ireland without inquiring into their causes. He feared he must trespass some time on the attention of the house. It might naturally be asked how, after so many hundred years connexion with this country, Ireland now remained in the same state which was complained of centuries ago? There must have been misgovernment: for there was no historical instance of two countries so long connected without an assimilation of manners and habits. Why was it different with respect to Ireland? The first inquiry into the state of Ireland was on the accession of James the First, by sir John Davis, who took great pains to show that mutual interests were completely misunderstood. In his quaint language he said, that if you could not govern the Irish, nor conquer them by the sword, they would always have pricks in their ears, and thorns in their sides. In those days, if an Irishman was murdered by an Englishman, the punishment was five marks: if an Englishman was murdered by an Irishman, the punishment was death. The Irish, therefore, naturally considered the law only as the authority of an oppressive master. Sir J. Davis had stated that the English would not give the Irish the benefit of their laws; and he says he knew no nation who loved the dispensation of justice more than the Irish, if they were sure of protection. That was the principle on which Britons obeyed the laws.

After that time, considerable confiscations took place in consequence of the rebellions of O'Neil and Desmond. When James I. undertook colonization in Ireland, though the measure was good in some respects, yet it proceeded too much on the principle of garrisoning the country, rather than of forming a connexion. This was a bad policy, though the confiscations might be just and merited. Hence a natural animosity was created between the inhabitants and those who garrisoned the country. This was chiefly in Ulster; but shortly afterwards, the other parts of the island were harassed by inquisitions into titles and other matters by the ministers of James, in order to seize the property. Subsequently to this, the unhappy disputes broke out in England, and Ireland fell unfortunately a victim to political intrigues. The royal agents persuaded the Irish into the forming of a royal army against the parliament. The arts of the papists, and the intrigues of the nuncio, were particularly detrimental, and produced the most lamentable results, and even the ruin of the country. At last Cromwell's conquering sword put down all opposition. A temporary tranquillity ensued in England through the misconduct of the restored Stuarts; but it was far different in Ireland. Every thing was attempted by Shaftesbury and others against the duke of Ormond, who was, however, one of the greatest men Ireland ever produced. After this, James II. took refuge in Ireland, and the misguided people sacrificed their English connexions to their mistaken loyalty, and were doomed to another struggle.

With the Revolution Great Britain commenced an age of freedom and glory; but was that the case

with Ireland? Then commenced the penal code, so strongly condemned in a speech of lord Camden, in the lords, in 1774. The honourable baronet then noticed the unlucky circumstances connected with the affair of Wood's halfpence. He quoted the opinions of the first lord Charlemont, why a country so large should produce so little, and make so slow a progress. He also quoted various passages from bishop Boulter to lord Carteret, and from dean Swift, to show the wretched state of Ireland at that period. It was a protestant parliament which took all these unjust and violent measures with regard to the adjustment of tithes, by which the prosperity of the nation was sacrificed to the interests and prejudices of the few. The temper with which it legislated was indeed made abundantly manifest, even in the less important of their proceedings. Among the variety of petitions which were received at that time with indulgence and respect, was one from a number of porters, who complained that a catholic coal-merchant employed porters of his own persuasion, and praying that he should be compelled to employ protestant porters. The house of commons not only ordered that this petition should lie on the table, but referred it to the committee of grievances. Was it surprising, that the consequence of this system should be an alienation of the people from their government, which had not even at this period ceased to exist? The English minister of that day did not fail to perceive, that a parliament thus severed and disunited from their country could not be a very strong parliament; and such was his opinion of it, that he was encouraged to attempt a measure which, if it had succeeded, would probably have prevented any future parliament from sitting in that

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country. This attempt was, to get the supplies voted for 21 years: and it failed only by one vote. The parliament during the reign of George II. sat for 33 years; and the effect was to paralyse the industry and arrest the progress of Ireland in the career of national prosperity for that period. Amidst all its demerits, however, it had the virtue of economy; for it paid off the whole debt of the country, and left a surplus in the year 1753 of 200,000*l*. With regard to this sum, there was a good deal of altercation among the members as to its disposal; but the English minister relieved them from this embarrassment, and a king's letter transferred the whole to the British treasury.

This state of things continued with little interruption till 1778, when, from the disasters of the American war, Ireland was left without any military force. The duty now devolved on her of protecting herself, and here commenced her era of glory. Ireland did protect herself, assumed her natural consequence, and, having by her gallantry and concord acquired a title to respect, she demanded to be respected, and the English government satisfied the demand. Before this, she had remained a province: she now rose to the rank of a nation, and advanced to this rank under the auspices of a person (Mr. Grattan) of whom, if he were not present, he should feel it his duty to say much; but with regard to whom he must be permitted to observe, that his name was connected with the brightest period of Irish history, and that without his aid that period might never have arrived. But although the Irish parliament had thus achieved a victory over others, it had not learned to conquer itself. The protestant population had not virtue or magnanimity enough to share the advantages

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tages they had obtained with the great body of the people. What followed, he hoped, would be an eternal lesson of the weakness of that policy which would exclude from the benefit of a free constitution any portion of the community, not to speak of the great bulk of the population. During the whole of that period of unanimity and triumph which he had described, the most perfect order and tranquillity prevailed, the laws were universally executed, and the voice of faction was no longer heard. Why should not the country resume that happy situation? Why should not the spirit and policy of the government there be assimilated to that of the government in this country? In England, every man, however humble his condition, or whatever his political tenets, felt an interest in the constitution, and was in some degree an executioner of the laws, because he well knew that they were made, not for the few, but for the many, and that no rank or power could escape the consequences of their violation. He was sorry to say he could draw no such picture of the state of Ireland.

Shortly after the brilliant epoch he had alluded to, many persons, not wishing well to the happiness of that country, began to endeavour at weakening those principles which they could not resist, and the satellites of an old and corrupt government hoped to reintroduce in its former latitude the system of exclusion and dependence. He could assure the house, it was his wish to abstain from all expressions which might have a tendency to inflame; but he could not refer back to the causes of an evil without stating his opinions unreservedly; and, whether speaking of persons since dead, or now living, he should take care to employ the language of

crimination only where his public duty seemed imperatively to require it. With regard to the act of 1793, he was desirous of not mixing with the general discussion the question of catholic emancipation, which certainly stood on its own separate grounds. He should here advert to it, therefore, only as one cause which operated to demoralize the community, by continuing in existence a criminal code which was already abolished in this country. Recurring to the act of 1793, there was good reason to believe that it was the intention of Mr. Pitt and the late lord Melville to have extended the relief much further, if they had not been impeded by the Irish government. Upon what other principle, indeed, was it possible to account for the anomalous nature of that statute, and the apparent capriciousness with which its provisions were framed, and its benefits distributed? Why, when the road to distinction was to a certain extent opened to the army, was it entirely closed against the bar? He knew of no other explanation than the circumstance, that the Irish government was then under the direction of a noble person (lord Clare), who, finding that the policy of concession must be adopted, desired that at least his own profession might be left to himself. Thus was the cup dashed from the lips of the people, and disappointment led to discontent, which, unhappily, combined with other causes, at length terminated in rebellion.

Over this calamitous period it was his wish to draw a veil, and direct the attention of the house at once to the act of union, and to the constitution of the imperial parliament. The pledge necessarily involved in this measure was, that the united parliament would examine and redress the grievances of Ireland, for on no other

other principle could any Irishman have agreed to the surrender of his independent legislature. If the records of her history were searched, it would surprise the house to see how few were the acts of grace or favour which she had received; but he would rather call their recollection to the sacrifices which she had made, since the union, in finance, in exertions, and in blood. She had fought by our side, through all the battles in which we had been engaged, with a gallantry never surpassed. She had expended 67 millions, or at the rate of 4½ millions annually; whereas, before the union, her expenditure did not exceed a million and a half. Her taxation was thus trebled, and her entire exertions had greatly exceeded her strength. The debt was increased from 34 to 150 millions; and the revenue, which, but for these exertions, would have now been 10 millions, was but 5,800,000*l*.

It was under these circumstances that Ireland now claimed the performance of our part of the contract; and that we should inquire how it was, that a country, seated in a temperate climate, with all the benefits of nature showered upon her, should be to us a source of alarm, instead of a pillar of strength. How was it that it should be deemed necessary to treat her like a garrisoned town, and rest the dependence of security on an army of 25,000 men? He must say, that such a necessity could proceed only from a system of misgovernment. He had acquiesced in the temporary necessity of this force for punishing and putting down outrage; but he protested against the idea that this necessity was to be supposed permanent, or that such a system of government ought longer to continue without inquiry. If so, it was not 25,000 men, nor 50, nor 100,000

men, that could finally prevail over six millions of a proud and gallant people. After pouring out their blood so lavishly in the defence of the empire, they had a right to claim from our justice the same tranquillity and the same liberties which we ourselves enjoyed. The noble lord must well know the danger of delay in political questions of this nature, and feel that many desirable concessions might have been accomplished heretofore, with more ease and safety than at present. He was at the same time happy to admit, that since the act of union the commercial jealousy of this country had certainly been relaxed, and that in this respect Ireland had been considered as much a parcel of the empire as York or Devonshire. But why, he would ask, whilst their illegality was acknowledged, were the Orange societies suffered to exist? The attempt to introduce them into this country had been properly reprobated both by the noble lord and the right honourable the member for Liverpool: but why should they still be permitted to agitate the public mind in Ireland by the insulting badges of exclusive loyalty, and the commemoration of party-triumphs? The minister who did not use the strong arm of the law in extinguishing these seeds of disunion was guilty of a dereliction of his duty, which called for the interference of parliament. These professors of loyalty were too often those who protected illicit distillation, and thus threw the burthen of taxation on the other portion of the community, by assisting to defraud the revenue. He looked at this as a great evil, because it tended to disorganize the general system. If, as he had heard, some of these persons were individuals of rank and power, he trusted that parliament would show that no man was so

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high as to be beyond the reach of the law. He was sorry to say that a very recent statute had been enacted for the purpose of remitting heavy penalties, after they had been levied on minor offenders, on the ground that they were so numerous in some counties as to render it impossible to exact them. The house would, he was sure, visit so monstrous a doctrine with the reprobation it deserved. With regard to the office of high sheriff, he should only say, that what was in this country a burthensome office, was in Ireland an object of contest, and was the means of alienating or attaching powerful individuals to the support of government. Here was an instance of a minister of justice entirely dependent on the favour of the government. It had been strongly but truly said, in another house, that this office was so radically vicious as to poison the fountain of justice in its source. To the subject of grand juries he did not wish to advert, as that was likely to be brought under consideration in a distinct form. He must lament that it was too much the practice for many to seek and to find favour, by traducing three-fourths of their country.

If he were asked why he had not brought forward this motion for inquiry at an earlier period, he should observe, that he had proposed, though without success, the same measure in 1804. From that time, almost to the present moment, the arduous nature of the war we were engaged in, and the actual dangers of the country, rendered such a measure dangerous and impracticable: but, in ordinary times, he knew no danger so great as that of discontented subjects. If then, now, during the reign of profound tranquillity, the house should decide that no attempt was to be made to establish a better system,

or to trace to their source those lamentable disorders which distracted the peace of Ireland, he should feel it his duty to bow to that decision, but he should deplore the day which united Ireland to this country. Never, he was firmly convinced, would a more favourable moment present itself, and it would be with unfeigned sorrow he should see it pass unprofitably away. One remedy had been much talked of—he meant the power of education. He hoped he carried his ideas of that power as far as any man who heard him; but he must be permitted to say, that in comparison with the mass of this country, the Irish were not an uneducated people. Of this there was the fullest evidence in the reports before the house; by which it appeared, that if by education was meant the ability to read and write, it was already taught to the population of Ireland in a larger proportion than to that of this country. In Mr. Newenham's book—a book containing much valuable information—it was stated as the result of an accurate inquiry, that in a district comprehending about one half of the county of Cork, there were upwards of 300 unendowed schools, educating not less than 22,000 children. On this subject he would mention an anecdote highly honourable to a catholic minister, a Mr. O'Brien of Dumreagh, who had established a catholic school, and endowed it with one-half of his private fortune, whilst he at the same time encouraged the establishment of a protestant school in the same neighbourhood, by offering to subscribe a sum equal to any which the most liberal promoter of the object could contribute. Here was a real liberal policy; and he would say to the clergy of other churches, Go

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and do likewise. His opinion then was, that the remedy of education, as applicable to the existing state of Ireland, could not be a radical or effectual cure for the evils under which she laboured. He contended that education would be no cure for the political evils of Ireland, unless accompanied with a radical reform; and as the system under which Ireland was governed had been vicious for ages, it was the duty of parliament to look into the causes of all defects in that system, without any view of sacrificing the good of the public to the interest of a few individuals. He should move, therefore, That an humble address be presented to the prince regent, representing that the necessity of keeping up an army of 25,000 men in time of peace obliged the house to consider the state of that country, which formed so considerable a portion of the empire, as afflicting and distressing in the highest degree; that the house was called by a sense of public duty to turn its attention to this subject, and prayed for such documents as might put it in possession of the extent and nature of the evils that existed, and lead to a thorough investigation into the causes that have produced them; that the house had furnished the executive with the necessary powers for the preservation of peace, and would now apply all its attention to the examination of evils, the causes that produced them, and the remedies that might be afforded, and for adopting such measures as might rescue that unhappy country from its present state of disorganization.

Mr. Peel found it absolutely impossible to approach the present discussion, and all the important topics it embraced, without great anxiety and apprehension. His acknowledgements were due to the right honourable baronet for the general

tone which he had adopted; for, with the exception of one or two points, he had avoided all party questions, and had attributed the disorders of Ireland to a general system, and not to this or that administration. He had, in fact, conferred a substantial benefit on Ireland, if it were only in setting the example of calling the attention of the legislature to that country without any mixture of party feeling. If Ireland were to be the theatre of political contention, it might indeed afford a victory to one party, or be the source of disappointment to another; but the consequence would only be desolation to the country. He should therefore follow the example of the right honourable baronet, and in attempting to defend the government of Ireland he should cautiously avoid any angry discussion. He certainly thought that the right honourable baronet had abandoned the intention of calling on the throne for information; for, before he condemned the conduct of government, he should have told the house the nature of his motion, and have stated whether he wished for a select committee, or a committee of the whole house, and what precise object such committee should have in view. As to one part of the address, he concurred with the right hon. bart., that, after voting 25,000 men, the situation of the country should be looked into; he should not avail himself of any technical objections, for he had no object in concealment. With the first part of the address, which went to express regret at that state of irritation which required such an army in time of peace, he entirely concurred, and did not think it possible the house could refuse to accede to such a sentiment.

In regard to that part of the address which called for information as to the extent and nature of the disturbances that existed,

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he was ready to afford every information in his power; but the best information would be found in the acts that had been passed on the subject, and the records of the various courts. He could not but think, however, as the right honourable baronet had called for this information, it would be precipitate in him (Mr. Peel) to pledge the house to any inquiry, without knowing the extent of the right honourable baronet's object. Did he wish for a select committee? Would he take into consideration the catholic question? The right honourable baronet thought that question of such importance as to deserve separate consideration. He (Mr. Peel) should think it impossible to give any immediate or effective remedy to the distresses of Ireland, if he believed, with the right honourable baronet, that the country had been in a state of disorder for 600 years; if, by quotations from dean Swift, he should exhibit the people as poor, degraded, and discontented; if he could show that from the time of James the second this state of disorder had always prevailed, he should be unwilling to encourage the idea of any immediate relief; the state of things presented a Gordian knot which could not be cut, but which it would take years to unravel.

He would now proceed to state, as nearly as he could, the present situation of Ireland. The provinces of the north were all tranquil; disturbed, perhaps, by the proceedings against illicit distillation, but not by any political agitation, or by the adoption of any extraordinary measures of police. The west of Ireland was in a state of tranquillity; so was the south, and so were the eastern provinces; that is, they were generally tranquil, and no extraordinary measures of police were adopted. The counties in which

disturbances existed, and measures of severity were had recourse to, were Tipperary, King's county, Westmeath, and Limerick: but the magistrates of King's county had petitioned for a repeal of the act which authorized measures of severity, alleging that there was no further occasion for them: the state of West Meath and Limerick was improved, though the insurrection act was still in force. It was true that, since he last addressed the house on the subject, the magistrates of Louth had petitioned for the extension of the new police act to them; and the insurrection act was still in force in Cavan. In some counties the greatest violence existed between families and factions, arising from old or hereditary resentments, and not from any cause political or religious: he himself remembered two factions in Kilkenny, the Shaughnessites and the Callaghanites, who, without any object which he could discover, persecuted each other with the utmost rancour. In the counties in which insurrection prevailed, he could never ascertain any precise object of discontent, but a spirit of opposition against all law and order; no attack on protestants, no spirit of dislike against the catholics; but the records of the courts presented such scenes of ferocity, such perjury, as the annals of no age could equal. He did not rise to calumniate the lower orders of the Irish: he had been in counties where obedience was established, and which the venom of political writings had not pervaded, and it was impossible to see without admiration the peaceable and friendly deportment of the people. He believed there were among them great fidelity, great honesty, great chastity, from the prevalence of early marriages, and it was notorious that the Irish language had no name for

for some of the worst of crimes : but in other parts of the country the people were in a state of depravity that baffled all description, particularly in Tipperary : and if any one said he overstated the evil, that person he would immediately refute : he spoke not from the information of individuals, but from the records of courts of justice, from the verdicts of twelve men indifferently chosen.

There was one trial—that of the murderers of an upright and lamented magistrate (Mr. Baker) —of which, if any one would take the trouble to peruse the record, it would show the true character of the country—the fidelity of the people in a bad cause : the eagerness and pertinacity with which they revenge an imaginary offence, and the facility with which they commit the crime of murder. It would appear by the record, that this murder was planned several weeks before it was executed. The magistrate on whom it was committed was a mild benevolent man, a friend to the poor, but a determined enemy of that system which was hostile both to rich and poor. Under this system—that of the Whiteboys—a house had been burnt, and six persons convicted for the offence ; upon which a general resolution was entered into to murder that individual who had undertaken the discovery of the offenders. Many parties were stationed on the road for the purpose of intercepting him ; and the fact, when perpetrated, was conveyed from house to house by signals. The murder was committed by five individuals ; and these facts were disclosed by a person who, resembling Mr. Baker, had at first been taken for him. He states that parties were placed on the roofs of houses, and on ricks, and that a general cheer was given when Mr. Baker fell. Although a reward of 13,000*l.* was

offered by government and the gentlemen of the county, no satisfactory evidence could be procured, though the names of the murderers were well known all over the country—such was the fidelity of these misguided people in a bad cause. One man, who on the promise of a pardon had given evidence after he was condemned, afterwards retracted it at the instigation of his wife, who fell on her knees to procure his recantation. She was not deemed deficient in regard for her husband, but the concern she felt for his character was the reason she implored him to submit to execution, rather than forfeit it in the esteem of his countrymen.

He would now state what he conceived to be the causes of this spirit and these disorders. That invaluable treatise, the work of sir John Davis, traced them from the earliest periods (and to the earliest periods we must recur to learn their origin), and attributed them to the impolicy of the original conquest of the country, which was not achieved at once, and at the head of a large army, but as it were by instalments. The consequences were, as might have been expected, an incessant state of rebellion, excited in the hope of throwing off a yoke so gradually imposed. Other writers had pointed out the same causes, and Spenser attributed the bad habits of the Irish to the impolicy of excluding them from the benefits of English law. One hundred customs are pointed out, the effects of which they deplore ; and sir J. Davis mentions, that, by the laws of the ancient Irish, murder was considered a venial offence, and was compounded by a fine. When a sheriff was formerly sent to the county of Fermanagh, the principal magistrate stated he should be glad to receive him, but begged to know the price of his head, that, in

case of his murder, the sum might be levied on the district. There was more done for Ireland in the first nine years of the reign of James I. than in the 400 years preceding. It was not till the time of James I. that sheriffs or judges of assize were appointed. He had not gone to too remote a date in search of these facts; for the existence of nations was longer than that of individuals, and the events of a long period must be comprised to form the basis of any accurate reasoning. At later periods than those he had mentioned, pernicious customs still prevailed; too great a power was lodged in the hands of individuals, and all tended to the unsettlement of the nation. Many of those causes of evil had now disappeared; but there were others that still existed: the animosity arising from confiscations of former days was an evil the house could not remove, and which time and education alone could remedy.

At a later period injudicious commercial restrictions had been imposed, of which that country felt to this day the baneful effects. It was no paradox to say that they had curtailed the wealth, at the same time that they had had the effect of increasing the population of Ireland. It was impossible not to consider the proportion between the capital and the population of that country. The depriving Ireland of a market for her surplus produce had the effect of making land cheaper, and of causing it to be divided into small farms, because it was thought that the land would be rendered more productive by the care which a small occupier would be forced to bestow. The state of Ireland, therefore, was not at variance with the principles of writers on the subject of population. Its inhabitants were content with a scanty subsistence; and the means of ac-

quiring land were so easy, that there was no check on the most early and improvident marriages. It became necessary to inquire into the mode of subsistence among the lower orders, which he had ascertained to be this—All labourers had a small portion of land, the rent of which they paid partly in money and partly in labour.—If they gave four guineas for four acres, their wages were 10*d.* a day; if three guineas, 8*d.*; and so on: that 10*d.* would provide much more for a labourer in Ireland than in England. He knew that their food was of an inferior quality, and he thought a change in this respect one of the first reforms that ought to be introduced—namely, to give the labourers a taste for comforts enjoyed by persons of the same class in England, that this taste might operate as a check upon a too rapidly increasing population, by causing marriages to be postponed till some of those comforts could be secured. At present it was not in the power of the farmers to ameliorate the condition of their labourers, for the people had quite a distaste for the introduction of any thing like English order and cleanliness.

The principal causes of evil he had already mentioned were deep-rooted, or had altogether ceased: but he should now come to the discussion of causes which still existed, and for which he thought some remedy might be found, and he felt as strong a disposition to adopt those remedies as the right honourable baronet himself could do. First, then, as to the appointment of sheriff, in which a material reform might be introduced, the right honourable baronet did not overstate the evils resulting from the present mode. He held in his hand the evidence that had been given on this subject before a committee up stairs; but though
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the mode of appointment might be improved, yet the practical evils had not been great. Colonel Crosby, lord Jocelyn, lord Rochfort, the chancellor of the Irish exchequer, sir J. Newport, general Archdall, and others, were examined. The practice had been to refer to a county member to recommend a sheriff. The evidence of sir H. Parnell stated, that he was member for Queen's county, and usually voted against government. When asked whether his voice was required in the appointment of sheriff, he replied, Yes, when he was in office. He (Mr. Peel) should be ashamed if he felt averse to any change merely because he had acquiesced in measures: but the mode of appointing sheriffs was not attributable to this administration or that; and as to the effects, sir H. Parnell said that no abuse had taken place in his county, though it had in others. Sir J. Newport, in his evidence, stated, he represented a city where the sheriffs were appointed in another manner; and when asked whether this was a greater grievance, replied, No doubt! General Archdall thought that no great abuse had prevailed. He (Mr. Peel) therefore concluded, that no great practical inconvenience had ever arisen; and, considering the different state of society in different places, inferior agents must sometimes be selected for the administration of justice. The right honourable gentleman here entered into a more detailed explanation of the manner of appointing sheriffs in Ireland. It was the custom for the barons of the exchequer and the judges to consider the qualifications of persons fit for executing the office of sheriff, and to recommend three for each county to the lord chancellor, who laid the list before the lord lieutenant, out of which he selected one. This was, in his opinion,

the best practice that could be adopted. Having said thus much of the sheriffs, he should next advert to another part of the right honourable baronet's speech that referred to the magistracy. A general revision of the magistracy had been recommended; but it was a measure which, in his opinion, was impracticable. He had been led to entertain this conviction, after the maturest consideration, and the most deliberate inquiry. Complaints of the conduct of magistrates, he was willing to allow, were very general: they had reached the ears, and called forth the censures, of those who were strangers to the other peculiarities of Ireland.

In this country there was always a comparison instituted between the practice of Great Britain and that which prevailed in Ireland; and the comparison was found to be to the disadvantage of the latter. He deprecated such a mode of procedure, without an ample allowance for all the circumstances in which the two countries differed. In Ireland the lord chancellor appointed the magistrates, either upon a recommendation from the lord-lieutenant of the county in which they were to exercise their functions, from the member of parliament for the county, the judges, or the sheriff. The lord-chancellor, who could not be supposed to have local information of his own sufficient for the exercise of this authority, was obliged to depend upon the opinions and the local knowledge of others. In England they were appointed differently—in England they could not be removed without the judgement of a court of law passed against them for mal-administration. Here again the case was different in Ireland. If the chancellor did not take the opinions of those who were best qualified to decide on the qualifications of the persons

persons fittest for the magistracy from their local knowledge, upon what criterion would it be proper for him to proceed in reforming or establishing it? Would it be wise to fix upon property as the criterion? There might be reasons against the appointment of some individuals, and in favour of others, not referable to their wealth or circumstances.

Upon a view of the whole subject, he was convinced that a general revision of the magistracy at present might be productive of positive injustice, without leading to any practical good; and he was the more confirmed in his opinion, as he was supported in it by the authority of the head of that department. He came now to that part of the right honourable mover's speech which had a more immediate reference to government, and to evils in which the influence of governments might be supposed capable of being exerted with beneficial effects. The right honourable baronet, he thought, was wrong, in his judgement with regard to the extent of animosities existing in the disturbed districts, with regard to their cause, and the power of government to remove them. He believed the societies, factions, and party animosities, said to harass the county of Tipperary, did not exist; but, continued the right honourable baronet, if they do exist, why not put an end to them by prohibiting the celebration of particular days, or the observation of particular distinctions? In his (Mr. Peel's) opinion this could not be effectually done, however desirous government might be to accomplish it. Government might prevent the administration of an illegal oath, and other dangerous acts; but it could not allay the animosities of hostile sects, or prevent the indulgence of party hatred.

There were a thousand ways in

which irritation might spread, in which the inflamed feelings of the people might operate, over which government had no control. Complaints on this subject he had often heard, and he lamented as much as any man the grounds of them; but he was persuaded that no remedy could be immediately effective, and he would advise the right honourable baronet to dismiss the ill-founded expectation from his mind. In matters like this the government could do little, but that little they had attempted with zeal. They had left no means untried for obtaining so desirable a result. He might mention a remedy which, if it existed in the power of the government, he thought would be more effectual than any other that could be mentioned—he alluded to the residence of landlords on their estates, which it was well known could not be enforced by executive authority, but which, if it could be obtained, would go a great length to promote the happiness and to improve the condition of the Irish. A body of landed proprietors attentive to the state of their peasantry, ready to interfere in the settlement of their disputes, and vigilant in repressing their excesses, would act a thousand ways in promoting the peace and order of their neighbourhood. Whatever government could do in allaying party irritation had been done, as might be shown, besides their attention to other objects, by appealing to the anxiety with which they had endeavoured to prevent the playing of party tunes, which was complained of as a means of keeping alive party inflammation. A general order had been issued to the brigade-majors of the yeomanry in the summer of 1814, commanding them to prohibit in their corps the indulgence of a practice that had a tendency to foster and keep alive animosities.

sities which the peace and well-being of society required to be abolished.

He had only two more points to which he should call the attention of the house. However long he had already claimed the indulgence of the house, he could not pass over them without some observations. The first to which he would advert was the state of the press in Ireland, and the effects it was calculated to produce upon an irritated and turbulent people. Among a population such as that of which Ireland consisted, the force of this engine was incalculable, and its tendency was to produce mischief. He was not disposed to undervalue the general advantages of a free press on the ordinary circumstances of society; he allowed the full extent of its power, when wisely directed, in enlightening mankind, in diffusing science and information, in instructing men in their rights, in exalting their character, and improving their condition; but there were modes of conducting it which rendered its influence pernicious in proportion as it was extensive. In Ireland he regretted to state that its tendency was frequently evil, and that its mischievous effects were so great as to render it doubtful whether its freedom were really a blessing. It was employed in attempts to promote inflammation, to disseminate falsehood, to give currency to slander, calumny, and abuse, against every thing wise in political institutions, or venerable in public character. It vented its abuse of the government as tyrannical and unjust, it reviled the laws of the land, it endeavoured to excite discontent, and to inflame discontent into rebellion, calling upon those over whom its influence extended, to commit offences for which they suffered the penalties of the law. These poor

creatures were told, and believed, the most irritating falsehoods, and were goaded on to the commission of crime by the exasperating stimulants applied to their passions. They were taught to regard government as another name for oppression—directed to view the magistrates as their enemies—led to believe the most infamous reports of the most virtuous characters, and to distrust the kindness of their natural protectors. The right honourable gentleman believed that much of the turbulence, disorder, and atrocity that existed in Tipperary, might be traced to libels upon the government, the magistrates, and the courts of justice. The press had operated such extensive evils in some respects, that they even more than overbalanced its beneficial results in others. Such was the activity with which it was wrought in the cause of disorder—such was the currency that it gave to the slander against every exalted character—such was the malignity of the poison that it diffused, that in Ireland it became a positive evil. It left no motive for virtue, as it exposed it to the greatest obloquy; and public opinion, being so often misled, could no longer be depended on. Being directed against all indiscriminately, it ceased to affect any, and praise and censure lost their power. The house must not form its opinion of the state of the press in Ireland, or the licentiousness in which it indulges, from what they witness in this country. The sophistry of reasoning, the futility of charge, the malignity of slander, which distinguished the Irish press, would be almost incredible, if it were not so generally known, and so much to be deplored. He held in his hand a publication from which he would beg leave to read a passage

age to the house, to establish the character he had here bestowed upon the licentiousness of the press in Ireland. The publication in itself was too contemptible to be mentioned for any other purpose but as a proof of those malignant falsehoods which it attempted to spread, and which it supposed the people ignorant enough to believe. The passage he would read was to be found in the *Hibernian Magazine*, and referred to the late reported persecution of the protestants in the south of France. It ran thus: "If the pious Britons feel such sympathy for the situation of a few people in a foreign country, let them not refuse a portion of it to the people of their own empire—let them extend it to the persecuted Irish; for more Irish catholics have been murdered by protestants since May 1814, than there were protestants destroyed by the catholics in France since the revocation of the edict of Nantz." This was the information that this writer thought it proper to give to his countrymen to enlighten them on the character of their government. A greater and more malignant falsehood, as the house knew, could not be conceived, and had never been uttered. The people in Ireland were not naturally inclined to disorder or turbulence, but they were industriously excited to criminal acts by criminal writings.

The next thing to which he would advert, was the use of the elective franchise. He would not contend that the privilege granted in 1793 should be recalled, or should have been withheld, but he thought it a very equivocal boon. Neither the good nor the evil anticipated from it had been realized; but evil had resulted that were not foreseen, and that called loudly for a remedy. The advantages that the freeholders

would derive from the measure, in giving them an interest in the state, and attaching them to their superiors in fortune, were greatly magnified; but these advantages had not been reaped by the possessor of the freehold, but by the possessor of the freeholder. The elective franchise had added another cause to those already existing in the Irish character to promote perjury and falsehood. The freeholders often claimed to vote without the necessary qualification; they swore to leases they never saw, and to the possession of property they never entered. It might here be asked, Why, then, not commit them for perjury? The answer was plain: If they were committed, they would be bailed, would make their escape, and evade discovery. No one who considered these things could refrain from expressing a wish to see the elective franchise regulated, although none might go the length of proposing to take it away. On the catholic question he would make no remark, although he was free to say that the concession of the catholic claims would not allay the animosities that unhappily prevailed; and that whatever effect in this way concession might produce, he was not of opinion that it would be safe or politic to make it. There was one remedy, to which he had formerly alluded—the residence of landlords on their estates, that would, in his opinion be much more efficacious, if it was in the power of government to apply it. Ireland was in that state when a kind, indulgent, and enlightened body of landed proprietors, residing among the tenants, would produce incalculable benefits. Kindness always went further than coercion. The people could not understand the principles of government, but they would submit to the law.

laws of order when exemplified in conduct, and dictated by a benevolent regard to their welfare. With respect to education in Ireland, the right honourable baronet had mistaken what he had formerly stated. He (Mr. Peel) never contended that education could do all, or that it would of itself either communicate habits of industry or supply their place; but he always thought that it would do much, and that it was necessary to secure any advantages which might be derived from the employment of other means. If government could not effect an immediate change, it should at least sow the seeds of future reform. The Irish had the germ of great moral and intellectual qualities, and their minds merely required cultivation to render them orderly and enlightened. He would conclude by expressing his admiration of the generous character of the Irish, and of the courage, disinterestedness, and fidelity which they always displayed, and by declaring that his attachment to that people would long continue after all official connexion between him and their country had ceased. The amendment he would propose was, that, leaving out all the latter part of the original motion, the motion should run thus:—That an humble address be presented to the prince regent, expressing the regret of the house that the disturbed state of Ireland rendered so great a military force in that part of the united kingdom necessary, and entreating him to lay before the house a full statement of those disturbances, and the plans put in execution by his majesty's government to repress them.

Upon the question being put on the amendment—

Mr. Plunkett rose to deliver his sentiments on the question before the house. His right honourable friend

(sir J. Newport) had brought forward a great question, bearing not only on the interests of this or that part of the empire, but affecting the security and welfare of the whole. He had shown such treasures of historical information, and such an intimate acquaintance with constitutional doctrines, and he had laid the whole of his statements before the house with such accuracy, judgement, and moderation, that he should not find it necessary to trespass long on the patience of the house. He would endeavour to follow, in the observations he had to make, the tone of moderation pursued by his right honourable friend, on which he was so much complimented by the right honourable gentleman opposite; and if any expression fell from him of a different tendency and character, he hoped it would not be attributed to deliberate intention, or the effect of party spirit. Such weighty interests as he had to discuss allowed no room for the indulgence of the vulgar spirit of party. Last year the insurrection act was passed; and though he was not present, he had no hesitation in saying, that if he had been so, he would have supported the measure, although it did go the length of suspending the enjoyment of the constitution during the period in which it remained in force. In 1796, and on other occasions, similar acts had been passed, but they were seldom enforced. It was now two months, however, since the right honourable gentleman who was the author of this measure last session had mentioned to the house the necessity of carrying it into execution. The county of Tipperary and that of West Meath were disturbed, and the country was in such a state as to render a military force of 25,000 men necessary for the suppressing

pressing the spirit of revolt and tumult. Soon afterwards two other counties were added to this mass of confusion and disorder, and now there were no fewer than six declared in a state of disturbance. The military force was increased, but the evils were not diminished; tumult and disorder were rather augmented than suppressed; and he would tell the right honourable gentleman, that if matters did not soon change, 40,000 men would be found insufficient to perform the duty for which 25,000 were now deemed adequate. This was such an alarming state of things, that it could receive no aggravation from fancy—could admit of no additional colouring from fear or apprehension. It pressed upon the house with a weight of interest which no consideration could increase. The natives of Ireland were celebrated for their gratitude for benefits conferred—their fine and ardent feelings were almost proverbial—nor could slight injuries rouse them to revenge: the present deplorable state of that country showed, therefore, indisputably, that some intrinsic vice was in the government, which must be removed before tranquillity was restored. He was not aware that the right honourable gentleman had proposed any remedies for the evils; or, if the topics to which he had adverted were thrown out as intended remedies, he (Mr. Plunkett) was sincerely thankful that they had not yet been carried into effect. One of those topics was the absentees, and the other the forty-shilling freeholders: as to the first, the right honourable gentleman had not hinted at any positive enactment, contenting himself with arguments and persuasion; but, giving all credit to his eloquence (of which he possessed no inconsiderable share), it

might fairly be doubted whether it would be effectual in inducing the Irish gentry to reside on their estates. If it were his design to propose the repeal of the union, to restore to Ireland her parliament, and with it the rank and wealth of which she had been deprived, the discussion regarding absentees might properly forerun such an alteration; but while that union continued, no wise statesman would enter into a debate on that subject. In point of fact, the disturbances most prevailed in those parts of the country where the largest number of resident gentry were to be found; so that even the enforcement of residence would not afford any such remedy as the right honourable gentleman imagined. As to the second topic—freeholders to the value of 40s.—he (Mr. Plunkett) doubted whether he had correctly understood the right honourable gentleman when he spoke of the act of 1793 as creating these franchises.

Mr. Peel observed, that he had referred to the act of 1793, not as creating the franchises, but as extending them, they having been previously confined to protestants.

Mr. Plunkett did not wish to fasten upon the right honourable gentleman any position he had not taken, but he understood him to state that the act of 1793 communicated to Roman catholic freeholders the privileges of the English constitution, as far as related to voting at elections; and that, in consequence of certain abuses, it would be fit to take away that privilege, and to disfranchise them. In the present alarming state of Ireland, if the right honourable gentleman wished to employ a fire-brand to produce an explosion more terrible than any hitherto felt, where would he find one more effectual for his purpose than in the disfranchisement

chisement of the catholic freeholders?

Mr. Peel begged the indulgence of the honourable member, while he repeated shortly what had fallen from him on this point. He had never suggested for a moment that the act of 1793 should be repealed, but had only complained of great abuses to which it had been liable: his wish was, that the catholic freeholder should enjoy all his rights, without the opportunities for perjury and immorality afforded by the act: if it were expedient to protect the individual *bona fide* entitled to the franchise, it was not less fit that fictitious claims to it should be defeated.

Mr. Plunkett expressed his regret at having, in common with many others, misapprehended the right honourable gentleman. Whatever amendment of this law floated in his mind, he could not seriously urge as a measure calculated to pacify the discontents prevailing in all parts of Ireland. Nothing had been said by the right honourable gentleman on the subject of magistrates, and other important points, though with respect to sheriffs, a change was to be introduced from which some advantages would result, which the country would gratefully acknowledge as far as they went. But if the right honourable gentleman imagined that such paltry regulations would have any general operation, he would find himself grievously mistaken: if Ireland, from one end to the other, was in a state of ferment, as was admitted by the other side, of what consequence was it, whether the appointment of the sheriff were made by the judges or by the county member? The great remedy upon which the right hon. gentleman seemed chiefly to rely, was an improvement in the education of the

lower orders; the great benefit of which was the more direct communication between the higher and lower ranks of society. If by education, however, the right hon. gentleman merely meant reading, writing, and arithmetic, he (Mr. Plunkett) protested that he thought the poorer class in Ireland better educated than the poorer class in England; and comparing the soldiers of the two countries, or any other bodies, such would be found the fact. But to speak of reading, writing, and arithmetic as the education of a people, was a gross and childish misapplication of the term; the education of the people flowed from the government—from that paternal care with which a good government watched the administration of the law. What, in England, produced that cheerful submission to the laws which besetted a free nation and an enlightened government, but the confidence with which every Englishman looked up to the law as the protector of his privileges, of the liberties that were his birthright? He felt that he was a sharer in the distribution of justice, and that those more immediately engaged in its administration were but partners with him in the commonweal. It was this that secured happiness and tranquillity to England; and if this system of education were introduced into Ireland, she would hail it as a boon: the mere knowledge of arithmetic and reading would do nothing to allay the angry feelings of the natives; it would rather give them new grounds of discontent: for by arithmetic they would be taught how to calculate the property of which they had been deprived, and by reading to value the liberty they were never to enjoy. The reference made by the honourable baronet (sir J. Newport) to the legislature of Persia was fully borne out by the facts: the

the education of the people of Ireland was to be enforced by the bayonet; and a soldier, returning from the execution of one generation, was to superintend the instruction of another. There seemed no end to this system of military oppression; it must be a growing drain upon England, and an increasing weight upon Ireland; for if 25,000 men were necessary this year, 40,000 would be required for the next; for, as the evil could not remain stationary, the means of quelling it must also be progressive. The house would shrink from its duty if it did not interfere to protect a suffering people from domiciliary visits, from summary transportation, and military domination.

The object of the amendment was to prevent all inquiry into causes or remedies, while ministers were not unwilling that parliament should be informed of the whole extent of the disturbances from authority, when no such intelligence was needed, the whole country being possessed of all the alarming facts. The insurrection act, and the military force, were the only remedies proposed on the other side, without investigation; he was a bold man who suggested remedies to such evils; but he was not only a bold, but a desperately infatuated man, who continued to Ireland the curse of the present measures. He again put the question to the other side, whether any remedy of any description was in contemplation on the other side? From the silence of ministers he was led to conclude that exile and death were the only instruments they intended to employ in promoting tranquillity. The state of Ireland was a sort of Gordian knot which they could not untie, and refused the aid of parliament, whose duty it was to interpose in behalf of a suffering people.

Although he did not mean now to discuss the catholic question, he felt himself bound in candour to say a few words upon it expressive of his feelings. He was persuaded that the concession of that point upon such terms as would give security to the protestants, while it satisfied the catholics, would considerably aid any efforts for the re-establishment of order: he did not mean that it would operate as a charm to hush all disquiet: but, after the most deliberate reflection, he had come to the conclusion, that it was a *sine quâ non* upon this subject, and that no system of measures, however moderate, could be effectual without it.

He would not pretend to take upon himself the task of suggesting remedies, but he would point out a few of the causes that had contributed to the present calamitous situation of Ireland. In speaking of them, he declared that he felt no personal animosities to any member of the Irish government; on the contrary, for the lord-lieutenant, and for his friend at the head of the law department, he entertained the highest respect. It was a fact admitted on all sides, that there were in Ireland a number of discontented agitators, but there was also a large proportion of the catholic population who were only anxious to pursue objects of laudable ambition by legitimate means, and who were not to be confounded with those unprincipled agitators. These catholics it was the duty of a wise government, not acting in the narrow spirit of protestant ascendancy, to conciliate, for the more effectual check of the disturbance; but he put it to the right honourable gentleman whether a single step had been taken for that purpose. The state of the press in Ireland had been referred to, and no man could deny

deny that it was most licentious, having been made the instrument of wild demagogues to advance their own projects of ambition. But was this all? Had it not been also most unjustifiably employed on the other side? Had not those papers, which were paid highly for the insertion of government proclamations, been made the vehicles of the most scandalous, malignant, and indiscriminate libels upon the whole catholic body? Was this dealing fairly by the people of Ireland, distracted by political and religious differences? He did not accuse the government of encouraging these disgraceful practices, but he complained that it had not interfered to control them. The Orange societies were another source of the present evils, in speaking upon which the righthonourable gentleman, without his usual candour, had perverted the argument of the honourable baronet: the objection to them was, not that they celebrated anniversaries, or that they played particular tunes, but that they were societies exclusively protestant, bound by an illegal oath to continue their allegiance only so long as the king supported what they termed a protestant constitution. What steps would not the righthonourable gentleman have thought it right to take, had catholics been so illegally united for the purpose of supporting only a catholic sovereign? It was no answer to state that the Orange societies would be punished when their acts were illegal, for their very constitution was a breach of the law, for which they were amenable. It might be true that the evil was less among the higher classes; but among the lower these associations of protestants degenerated into the most brutal and offensive assertion of superiority over the whole catholic body.

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Another point deserved notice. It would not be denied, that of all people the Irish were most subject to the influence of priesthood, and the first act of a prudent government would have been to establish with that priesthood an amicable connexion; yet no attempt of the kind had been made; on the contrary, in the only instance that had occurred, they had given, as it were, designed offence to that very respectable body. A priest of the county of Limerick had been instrumental in quelling a disturbance, for which a letter of thanks from the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) was sent to him; but before it could reach his hands it was published in the newspapers; and this reverend gentleman was thus held up to the suspicion of all his fraternity and his flock, as a person aiding the tyrannical purposes of government. There were many important differences between the present and former disturbances: from the highest authority it had been stated, that within the last 50 years the commerce of Ireland had doubled, her agricultural produce had increased fourfold, and her population had trebled. Thus it appeared that she was capable of becoming the dangerous rival or the powerful friend of England: a gigantic form was rising at the side of Great Britain, and the question now was, whether it should be converted into a friend or an enemy. Sixteen years had elapsed since the union had professed to give Ireland the benefits of the British constitution; yet now that constitution was to be suspended, and the natives were to be deprived of its benefits. What would be thought of a proposition of the like kind with respect to any portion of Great Britain, however small? And yet upon

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the whole of Ireland this calamity was to be inflicted almost without repugnance. Such a state of things, such gross injustice and inequality, could not be endured with patience; and the longer the system was pursued, the greater would be the evil to be remedied. It was erroneous in point of expenditure: the whole military force must be paid by this country, for Ireland could not produce any revenue, in consequence of the miscalculation at the Union as to the contribution she was to provide. Her debt since 1800 had increased fourfold, no part of which was expended in the country, as was the case in England. On the whole view of the case, the only advice he (Mr. Plunkett) would recommend to ministers was, that they should retrace as exactly as possible the steps they had pursued in the government of Ireland: instead of establishing themselves on the narrow odious principle of protestant exclusion, which kept alive the spirit of dissention, he recommended them to adopt measures calculated to secure the union and happiness of all classes.

Mr. Peel, in explanation, denied that his letter of thanks to the catholic priest had been published with his knowledge or consent.

Mr. Fitzgerald was at a loss to understand how the amendment precluded inquiry into the cause of, and remedies for, the evils of Ireland; on the contrary, he thought that the very request of information might lead to some further proceedings. He denied that the disturbances had originated in the measures of the present government: they were the growth of ages, for which concession to the catholic could not be even a partial remedy. There was one point to which the right honourable baronet had adverted—namely, the grand jury system of presentments.

Now he (Mr. F.) believed that on this subject there was but one common feeling both in the government and in the country; and that was, that the system should be reformed. A committee of the house had sat and collected much information upon it; and it was not, he believed, the wish of his majesty's ministers to oppose any feasible measure that this intelligent committee might suggest. Of the system itself he would say, that though wise in principle, yet unfortunately many impurities had grown up in its administration. An honourable gentleman (Mr. Plunkett) had asked, what were the measures of remedy that government meant to propose, though he himself in the same breath acknowledged that he knew of no specifics that would answer the purpose. He asked, had his right honourable friend only education to recommend as the panacea—an education which would enable the peasant to count that property which he could not enjoy, and read of laws whose benefits he was not to possess? But the honourable gentleman might have known, that 7,000*l.* were granted by parliament last year for the encouragement of a society, not formed on the principles of religious proselytism, but whose object was to diffuse education among all religious persuasions without distinction. One object of this society was to breed up teachers, who might be placed in different parts of the country, and disseminate books and education very different from those pestilential writings that were at present diffused among the lower orders. In one province of Ireland alone 150 schools had been established under this society, the teachers of which being in a great degree in dependent, would not be under the necessity of pandering to the base passions of the people.

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There was one subject, that of tithes, which was peculiarly important in Ireland, because they were paid in great part by persons who did not profess the established religion. He had always voted for a committee to inquire into the practicability of the commutation of tithes whenever that topic had been brought before the house, though he confessed he had never yet seen any practicable plan suggested for that purpose. He felt confident that government would not object to the discussion of such a plan. With respect to the state of that part of the population of Ireland that was connected with its agriculture, it could not be denied that they had no reason to complain of parliament, as was shown in the corn regulations of last year, and more recently in the disposition displayed by the house to give a protecting encouragement to Irish butter. Neither could it be forgotten, that so recently as last night the motion for a committee to inquire into the transit duty on foreign linens was rejected, principally from a regard to the interests of the Irish manufacturer. He conceived, therefore, that parliament were not justly chargeable with any neglect of the interests of the population of Ireland. With respect to the peasantry of Ireland, there were two points which he would shortly advert to. The one was the difficulty under which they laboured of recovering their just debts by legal process. The expenses of the higher law courts were so great as to be quite beyond their reach, and it was for this reason that an act of parliament had been passed enabling the assisting barristers at the different quarter sessions to decide in all causes below 20*l*. They decided no less than 50,000 causes in the course of a year, at an expense of

10*s*. each: and he (Mr. F.) should wish that their powers were extended to all causes below 50*l*. Another point was the house-duty, to which even the meanest cottage was subjected. When the Irish budget came to be discussed, he should have to propose that no house-duty whatever should be paid by the lower classes of the people. He should on that occasion also have to recommend that the hearth-duty should be taken off all houses that had not three hearths. It would afford him satisfaction to relieve the peasantry from these duties, which were more oppressive in their collection than productive in their amount. Sure he was that these were no inconsiderable benefits, and at any rate they afforded an indication of its being the wish of government to try conciliatory measures. After some other observations, the honourable member declared his intention of voting for the amendment, because it did not pledge him to resist inquiry, and because it offered to the house all the information which it was in the power of government to give respecting the nature and extent of the disturbances which prevailed in Ireland.

Mr. Dawson had no idea that the evils under which Ireland laboured were to be healed by the panacea of a single measure. The black catalogue of her calamities was too numerous to admit of one specific remedy. He spoke of the advantages which Ireland possessed in the fertility of its soil, the temperature of its climate, its numerous harbours, and the physical capacities of its people; and yet its history had been an almost continued series of revolutions and misfortunes, with the exception of that brilliant period when her parliament was illustrated by the brilliant eloquence of a right

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honourable gentleman opposite. He regretted, as one great cause of the evils under which Ireland laboured, the assiduity of a band of agitators, who worked upon the bigotry of the people, and on their passions, by a licentious eloquence. As a resident in that country, he had witnessed the baneful effects. In the county which he had the honour to represent, they had been but too successful in disjoining the catholics and the protestants. He had little hesitation in asserting, that little would be gained by what was called catholic emancipation. A few catholics might be conciliated, but the great majority would still remain under the influence of priests and agitators. He concluded with signifying that he should vote for the amendment.

Mr. Grattan said, that the question now before the house was undoubtedly complicated in its nature; but still it appeared capable of being reduced under a few heads, to which he should shortly advert. The first was the disunion of catholics and protestants; the second was the financial distress of Ireland; the third, its commercial and agricultural distress; and the fourth, the existence of insurrection in various parts of the country. And, 1st, with regard to the disunion between catholic and protestant. Here the main object was to obtain the identification of interests. In order to this, you must put an end to religious disunion, for no man could say, that where there was an exclusive religion, there could be an identification of interests. 2dly, With regard to the financial distress of Ireland, it was undeniable that it was almost beyond conception. Her expenditure had outshot her means, for she had a debt of 150 millions, burthened with an interest of 7 millions, while her

revenue did not exceed 6 millions; so that for the maintenance of her establishments she had absolutely nothing. Difficult as this situation was, he did not despair of its being relieved. He had no despondency as to the resources of the British empire: he had rather the highest confidence in them. This country must consider the financial abilities of Ireland as well as the services she had performed, and had the means of remedying her financial difficulties entirely in her own hand. He would suggest, therefore, such a financial arrangement between the two countries as would enable both to contribute to their mutual relief. The exertions of Ireland in the late war demanded this. 3dly, with regard to the commercial distresses of Ireland, neither on that head was he inclined to despond. As the most effectual means of relieving them, she should receive a constant preference over foreigners in the British market; and this was the only reciprocity; for Ireland, even when she had a parliament of her own, had shown a constant preference for British manufactures. It should be the business of a wise administration to apply relief where relief was really applicable. As to the insurrections which had unfortunately broken out in Ireland, they might be speedily put down by a certain degree of mildness—by the means of a free constitution—by the pure and impartial administration of justice. The very criminal who suffered under the law must then acknowledge the necessity of his condemnation. Ireland had contributed very much to the decided superiority which this country had attained over the nations of the world, and, as a great part of a great empire, it was the duty of the legislature to adopt every measure that
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might tend to ameliorate her distresses. She had, in fact, enabled England to carry Europe through chaos, and we owed her a large debt of gratitude. The right honourable gentleman then adverted to former periods of Irish history, contrasting them with the present situation of that country, and concluded with expressing his conviction that the difficulties which stood in the way of our prosperity might be easily overcome.

Lord Castlereagh said, it must be the subject of particular gratification to the house to see the temper and moderation with which this debate had been conducted. The right honourable gentleman had on this, as on former occasions, viewed the question with the eye of a statesman; and when the house remembered what he had predicted of the fate of Ireland, they must acknowledge that he had shown himself a true prophet. He did not despair, however, that remedies might be applied to all the evils with which that part of the empire was afflicted; and, with respect to the motion then before the house, it appeared to the noble lord, that if there were not a substantial preference to the address which had been moved, they would not be pressed to a division. The noble lord trusted that the right honourable gentleman would be more disposed to yield the question to his right honourable friend, as the only true and practical ground; for, if it should be conceded that the force provided for Ireland was absolutely necessary for the safety and welfare of that island, he should be glad to know what real benefit could be derived from the proposed inquiry? The whole object of the address, so far as it related to remedies, was in unison with the sentiments of his right

honourable friend. He was the more desirous of avoiding an express deliberation on the subject of the catholic claims, as in a former parliament there was a declaration that they would take them into consideration. It certainly happened that parliament did not carry that resolution into effect, and therefore he wished to avoid general pledges on that question, which would only commit the house, and hold out promises to the people of Ireland which might not perhaps be performed. It was extremely satisfactory to observe, from all that had fallen in the course of the debate, that there was no imputation on the present government of Ireland. Whatever might be the political feelings or opinions of any particular individual, no charge had been brought against the system of administration which the lord-lieutenant had felt it his duty to adopt. That noble person had been called upon to direct the helm of state at a very critical period, and under the most eventful circumstances; but it had not been stated in any quarter, that he had either delayed the course of justice, or exercised the powers of his office with unbecoming severity. He believed, indeed, that all classes and distinctions of persons would acknowledge the integrity of his lordship's administration. The gentlemen on the other side had manifested an equal spirit of moderation, and taken the same liberal views with respect to the commercial, financial, and agricultural distresses of Ireland. In regard to what he conceived it necessary to say on the subject of catholic emancipation, he thought it would be most important that the British empire should put itself above all religious prejudices. In order to make the British government beloved in Ire-

land, we ought to frown down the littleness of both parties, and consult the general and permanent interests of the community. The subject of catholic emancipation ought not to be a question of government. There was a time when he thought a favourable feeling was rapidly increasing in this country, but it had been unfortunately dashed by the conduct of the catholics themselves. He did not conceive, however, friendly as he ever had been to that question, that the removal of catholic penalties would relieve Ireland from all the distresses under which she laboured: still less did he think that any practical benefits could be derived from the present motion, and he should therefore vote for the amendment of his right honourable friend.

Mr. Ponsonby, in rising to deliver his sentiments on this important subject, wished to call the attention of the house to the real question before it, as it appeared to him that the debate had for some time wandered from the point. The address called on the crown to lay before parliament the nature, extent, and causes of the distressed situation of Ireland: the amendment only proposed that which the house already knew from the papers which had been laid before it, and which every individual might have read in the public journals. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) did not think it would be wise to examine into the state of Ireland; and the house had heard that night the most discordant opinions on that subject which most engaged the attention of the Irish. The sentiments of two members of his majesty's government were in direct opposition to each other: the right honourable gentleman had declared, that it would be extremely impro-

per to grant the catholic claims, while the noble lord, the secretary of state for the foreign department, had expressed the most friendly disposition to that measure. How could Ireland be tranquil under a government of this nature? How could the people place any confidence in an administration composed of such members? One officer of the crown raised the most flattering hopes, while another dashed them to the ground. It was impossible that any country on the face of the earth could be tranquil under such circumstances. It was impossible to speak upon the subject of the grievances suffered by the people of Ireland, without at the same time touching upon the question of catholic emancipation. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Peel) had declared, that these sufferings were only temporary, and that Ireland would be relieved from the many burthens which pressed upon that unhappy country. He (Mr. Ponsonby) would fairly and openly give his opinion upon the subject. He condemned as much as any man some of the proceedings of the catholics of Ireland; but, speaking of the whole mass of the population, in the language of a statesman, he should belie his own judgement if he did not distinctly tell the minister his own decided and unalterable opinion, that, under the present system of government as directed towards Ireland, subjecting its people to the humiliating condition of being obliged to submit to military despotism, never would the object so much desired be accomplished. If the same measures were pursued, neither tranquillity nor obedience would be obtained. The right honourable gentleman had mentioned the subject of the tithes, and it gave him great satisfaction when

when he heard what steps his majesty's ministers intended to take on this most important point. During his own residence in Ireland, he had seen enough of the mischiefs that resulted from the present mode of nominating sheriffs for the different counties; and he conceived that it was not too much to say that, in many instances, in consequence of these illegal proceedings, the ends of justice were completely defeated. The sheriff, he was happy to say, would now become the minister of justice, the representative of a country, exerting his influence, not for the prevalence of the power of any particular person or party, but for the benefit of the community. On the question of the magistrates much had also been said; and it had been remarked by the right honourable gentleman, that, under the existing circumstances, it would be extremely difficult to reform them. He was very ready to allow that a very great difficulty did exist; but he could never agree that it was a matter impossible to be accomplished. On this subject he spoke with more confidence, as having been formerly appointed to an office of that nature in Ireland; and he was persuaded that the honourable gentlemen would be struck with astonishment when they heard the simple fact, that when he received the great seal of Ireland, there were many counties in which several Roman catholic gentry resided, not only eligible, but most fit to be chosen for the office of magistrate, but not one of them was appointed; and in one of those very counties, a magistrate had been chosen who, but a very short time before, had actually served as waiter behind the grand juries at the assize. During the time that he (Mr. P.) was in Ireland, much pains had been taken

by him to inquire into this most important subject: he had written to the members of the privy council, to peers, and to many persons of whom he had a personal knowledge, to gain information, and to have it pointed out what cause of complaint could be urged against these magistrates. By these means much useful information was acquired; and he could assure the house that a reformation was indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of the Irish people; and, however difficult the task might appear, yet it was possible to be accomplished by exertion; and he hoped the utmost abilities and power would be used to obtain this most desirable end. With regard to the non-residence of the gentry, his opinion upon this question would, he believed, have no influence either the one way or the other. It was impossible, however, he conceived, to compel this residence, and it was the more incumbent upon the government to be careful in the future choice they should make of the magistrates. The noble lord opposite had asserted that he was ready to hear any individual plan that might be suggested; but what chance, he would ask, was there, if any plan was proposed, that it would succeed, when the planners themselves were disputing together? On a former occasion, what was his own fate, as well as that of his friends, when a measure was proposed with regard to Ireland? The administration was turned out, and those very gentlemen who were now at the head of affairs declared themselves to be prepared, and anxiously to wish not only for catholic emancipation, but he firmly believed a revolution in the church. For his own part, he had no ambition to propose any more plans, because he knew that

they would be no sooner heard than rejected. The amendment which had been moved by the right honourable gentleman he considered as perfectly absurd. It prayed for the production of documents already before the house: and although, indeed, the first paragraph of the amendment was similar to the original address, yet all the real substantial matter was omitted.

Mr. Bathurst (amid cries of Question) endeavoured to distinguish the difference between the two addresses which had been moved. The arguments of the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, he maintained, were futile, and dissimilar to any line of argument adopted during the whole course of the debate.

Sir Frederic Flood, said, that as an Irishman and an imperial representative, he could not suffer this opportunity to pass without giving his opinion on the question. In the county which he had the honour of representing, peace, order, and tranquillity had reigned for the last sixteen years. As he understood this subject, there were three principal evils by which Ireland was afflicted: first, the absence of the gentry from the country; and on this point he should be heartily glad if those gentlemen could be obliged to pay out of their own purses for their non-residence: secondly, catholic emancipation; and upon this head his firm opinion was, that, until it was granted, Ireland could not be relieved from its burthens: and thirdly, education—a subject, he was ready to admit, of great importance; but it was a fact, that there were now in Ireland 5,000 principal schools, besides hedge-schools; and such was the thirst after knowledge among the lower classes of the Irish, that they actually sent their children to obtain instruction under the hedges.

Sir Nicholas Colthurst was, as we understood, favourable to concession on both sides.

Sir John Newport then shortly replied; contending that it would be impossible to apply a remedy without knowing the nature and extent of the evil. The object of his motion was not to procure information of the disturbances, the existence of which was notorious, but to institute an inquiry which should trace them to their sources.

A division then took place:

For the amendment 187

Against it 103

Majority 84

April 29.—A short conversation took place respecting the new alien bill. Sir S. Romilly and Mr. Horner professed themselves averse to the bill.

Mr. Abercromby moved, as an amendment, that the bill should be read a second time on Friday; which was negatived, by 117 to 62.

Mr. Frankland Lewis, chairman of the committee lately appointed to inquire into the trade in seeds, and into the laws relative to the woollen trade, before bringing up the report of the committee on the subject of wool, wished to observe to the house, that, from the evidence taken, it appeared that the price of wool from 1780 down to the present time, and particularly during the last ten years, had been rising, and therefore a majority of the committee concluded that no part of the agricultural distresses had arisen from the low price of wool, and that no alteration in the laws was at present necessary on that account. But the main question had not been taken into consideration; and whatever might be the expediency of an increased duty on the importation of wool, or taking

ing off the prohibition on exportation, on this subject the report afforded no information.

Lord Lascelles stated, that the apprehensions entertained in the districts where the woollen manufacture was carried on, when they understood this subject had been referred to a committee, were not that the importation of foreign wool would be prohibited; but they thought that any duty which could be of service to the agriculturist must be a duty amounting, in fact, to a prohibition. A brisk domestic trade would be found most to the interest of the wool-grower, when well considered.

Mr. Western regretted that the committee had closed their report while he was absent at the sessions in the county which he represented. He complained that the committee had made no inquiries respecting the monopoly of home wool enjoyed by the manufacturers, and the protection of the grower against foreign importation, which had, in a few years, increased from 5 to 15 millions of pounds.

Mr. Brougham complained that the committee had considered only one part of the subject. Their instruction was to inquire into the policy of any increase of duties on the importation of foreign wool, into the trade in wool generally, and into the laws on wool as they now existed. These topics they had entirely overlooked. No one had asserted that the agricultural distresses proceeded from the low price of wool: on the contrary, it was expressly stated, that, had it not been for the good prices of wool, these distresses would have been much greater than they actually were. But the question was, were these high prices likely to continue, occasioned as they were by the large

Russian orders for clothing 200,000 men, by which many districts were busily employed for the present? Had we not, however, rather reason to apprehend that, when these temporary demands were over, wool would be as low as other articles of agricultural produce? Now what was the fact as to this report? The committee had not called a single wool-grower; the whole amount of their full and impartial inquiry had been, to examine a few woollen manufacturers. He felt a strong disposition to oppose the report.

Mr. Frankland Lewis stated, in explanation, the proceedings which had taken place in the committee. On its first meeting he had suggested the propriety of considering a small duty on wool imported. This question, however, was negatived, and the committee proceeded to examine the wool-staplers with regard to the price of wool. In what he had previously said, he had not given an opinion of his own at all, but merely stated the resolution which the committee had come to.

The report was then brought up and read.

Mr. Peel obtained leave to bring in a bill for securing the fees of the office of the clerk of the pleas, in Ireland, by compounding them till the question who had the right of nomination was decided in a court of law.

Sir J. Newport expressed great satisfaction at this bill: the emoluments had been stated to amount to nearly 35,000*l. per annum*, of which three-fourths were illegal.

Mr. Peel said, it was his intention to give the bill a retrospective effect, and to impound the fees from the day of the earl of Buckinghamshire's death.

Mr. Foster said, that many abuses prevailed in the courts of Ireland,

Ireland, which it was difficult to get at. He would mention one instance, where the fee of 1s. 6d. in the error court, charged for issuing a simple writ of error, had been enlarged, by a variety of ingenious ways, to no less a sum than 459*l.* to the suitor, without the performance of any additional service.

April 30.—Sir Egerton Brydges obtained leave to bring in a bill for reviving the registration of the deaths, burials, and issue, of the nobility and gentry, and others, who may possess property.—Leave was also given to bring in two bills, one for suspending the ballot of the local militia, and another, to reduce the number of days on which the volunteer yeomanry cavalry should attend duty, from twelve to six.

Lord Cochrane, after speaking some time on the subject, accusing lord Ellenborough of misrepresentation, injustice, and oppression, in the course of his late trial in the court of King's Bench, concluded by moving that the charges should be referred to a committee of the house.

Sir Francis Burdett seconded the motion.

Mr. Law said, that the real object of this motion was to vilify the administration of justice in this country, and not to destroy the character of the lord chief justice of the court of King's Bench: if the latter had been the object, it would have been most effectually attained by praise from such a quarter. (The honourable member was here called to order by Mr. Horner.) Mr. Law then went on to observe, Who was the noble lord who brought this accusation? He was a convict who stood forward to accuse his judge, with the guilt on his head of crimes for which that judge had condemned him. He trusted that the house

would fix on the motion the negative of indignation and contempt.

Mr. Ponsonby still believed the noble lord (Cochrane) to be innocent of the crime which had been imputed to him. But while no punishment could be too severe for a transgressing judge, it was injurious to make wanton attacks on persons in this situation. It was not enough to prove a mistake in point of fact, but some gross error, which could only be attributed to improper motives, and which gave reason to suppose that the badness of the heart had contributed to the perversion of the judgement. As he had voted against the expulsion of the noble lord, because there was not then ground on which the house could found that motion, so he should vote against the motion now proposed by him.

The solicitor-general spoke strongly against the motion being entertained. The trial was no matter transacted in a corner: it was in the presence of an upright and enlightened bar, composed of men who would be the last to truckle to the will of a judge—in a crowded court, in which were men of the highest rank and character. And would the learned and noble judge, in the face of his audience, have sacrificed the high character which he had so hardly earned by a laborious life at the bar and on the bench; and all this without any assignable motive?

Sir Francis Burdett hoped that the house would not be influenced by the common-place *tirade* of the honourable gentleman, for his observations would serve equally to defend all judges; to shelter even those judges who had been dragged from the bench for their misconduct—to protect, for instance, from trial or condemnation, the judges
who

who had acted so iniquitously towards Russell and Sydney. The honourable baronet, after blaming the acrimonious expressions used by Mr. Law, adverted to the summing up of lord Ellenborough. The question was, whether these charges did or did not contain the offences of partiality and corruption? He then called the attention of the house to the 13th charge, and was proceeding at length in remarks on the learned judge; when he was called to order by the attorney-general.

Mr. Barham declared, that he was convinced of the innocence of lord Cochrane, but was nevertheless of opinion that the charges could not be entertained.

The house then divided on the question. Sir Francis Burdett and lord Cochrane were tellers, when there appeared for the question only one (sir F. B.); against it, 89;—majority, 88.

Mr. Ponsonby then rose, and said, that though the situation of lord Cochrane called for great indulgence, yet he should move that the charges be expunged from the journals of the house.

Sir F. Burdett remarked, that the motion was such a one as might be expected.

Lord Cochrane said, that with respect to this new question, he was glad to find that none of the facts stated by him were disputed. Those facts would go down to posterity, but the pursuit of inquiry he was determined never to abandon.

The question was then carried without a division.

May 1.—Mr. Horner proposed, during the course of a long speech upon the bank restriction act, the following gradual mode of resuming cash payments at the bank: that for the first six months, beginning

January next, only 1*l*. notes should be payable; for the second six months, those of two pounds; in the next half year, those of five pounds; and in the next to that, all higher notes. If the present bill passed, he was firmly persuaded that the restrictions, by which the bank gained 800,000*l*. per annum, would never be removed but by the bankruptcy of the country. He concluded by moving the appointment of a select committee, to inquire into the expediency of resuming cash payments, and the proper means to be adopted in having recourse to such a measure.

After a long but not interesting discussion, the motion was negatived, by 146 to 73.

House of lords, May 3.—On the motion of earl Stanhope, a select committee was appointed to consider of the best means of arranging the statute books under the different heads.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Brougham having heard that a circular had been sent from the board of taxes to the collectors of the property tax, ordering them to transmit returns of the several assessments made under that act, moved for a copy of that and other papers.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, these returns were necessary to facilitate the collection of arrears of the tax.

Mr. Brougham replied, that that could not be the reason, as it was expressly stated that the returns were to be kept as records in the tax office. He thought they ought to be destroyed.

In this opinion Mr. Baring and other members concurred.

Lord Castlereagh moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulating the civil list, by transferring

ferring the payment of 255,000*l.* to the consolidated fund, by which, excess for the future would be avoided. The charge would then be reduced to 1,083,500*l.*; and as the income was now 1,088,000*l.* there would be a surplus income of 4,500*l.*

The house then went into a committee upon the bill for restricting the bank of England from paying cash for their notes for two years, viz. July 5, 1818.

Mr. Horner moved two amendments, the effect of which was, the more strongly to bind the bank to pay cash at the end of the two years: but they were both opposed by ministers, and consequently negatived.

The chancellor of the exchequer then proposed the following declaration to be inserted in the preamble, viz. that the bill was enacted "in order to afford time to the directors of the bank of England to make such preparations as would enable them to resume cash payments."

Mr. Horner called upon Mr. Manning, the governor of the bank, to state whether these words would be a sufficient direction for that purpose, and whether the bank would take steps to give it immediate effect.—Mr. Manning, to repeated calls, made no answer.—Mr. Horner then asked, "Is not all this perfectly intelligible?"

The motion was agreed to.

House of lords, May 6.—On the motion of the earl of Liverpool, addresses of congratulation were voted to the prince regent and the queen, on the marriage of the princess Charlotte; and also a message of congratulation to the princess Charlotte and prince Leopold, on their union.

On the order of the day being read

for the second reading of the weights and measures bill, earl Stanhope, at some length, entered into the provisions of the bill, which he considered as wholly ineffective with regard to the objects in view. His lordship read extracts of a letter from Dr. Hutton, condemning the bill as unscientific, and as calculated to create confusion and excite commotion, by changing weights and measures without any adequate good being produced. He went on to examine the different clauses of the bill, for the purpose of showing that they were not founded in that scientific knowledge which was essentially necessary to legislation upon the subject, particularly with regard to the pendulum, as to the vibrations of which there was an entire mistake, from not attending to the nature of the moving power. His lordship also instanced several absurdities in the bill, particularly with regard to having weights of gold or silver under five pounds, which would, of course, be continually liable to be stolen, and to establishing fractional parts, where, from the great weight, such fractional parts could not turn the scale. There was also a clause, continuing the authority of a public office in Westminster for stamping weights, although it was proved before the committee that this office stamped weights without ever weighing them; and yet, in another clause of the bill, the very act under which this office derived its authority was repealed. His lordship, after a variety of remarks, maintaining the superior accuracy of the French standard, and pointing out the absurdity and the utter want of science which were manifest in the present bill, moved, that the bill be read a second time this day six months.

Lord

Lord Melville agreed that the subject was of too much importance for their lordships to proceed upon without much better information; but some regulation on the subject was exceedingly wanted, and he knew that in the northern part of the island the most excessive inconvenience arose from the want of a fixed uniform standard. By the act of union they were to have the same standard as England, and when they looked to England for the standard, they found none. Professor Playfair, of Edinburgh, and another eminent mathematician, appeared to approve of the principles of the bill.

The marquis of Lansdowne observed, that the proper mode of proceeding would be, to move an address for a reference of the matter to scientific men, who might consider the subject, and report on their responsibility, and the legislature might then proceed on the foundation of that report. He did not understand that professor Playfair approved of the bill as it stood.

Earl Stanhope said, that professor Playfair had offered three criteria: the barometer, the French method, and the pendulum; but they had not examined him properly. It was not using a man of science fairly, not to go on with him, that he might be enabled to explain his ideas properly. Let them send men of science to him (lord S.), and he would examine them.

The motion was agreed to, and the bill thrown out.

In the commons, the same day, Mr. Manning having proposed the second reading of the Ramsgate harbour bill, sir E. Knatchbull opposed it, on the ground of its being a job. Since 1792, 370,000*l.* had been expended, and yet Mr. Smea-

ton had thought that 17,000*l.* were sufficient to complete the work. The first bill that recognised Ramsgate as a harbour, was when it was a small town, with a small harbour of its own; the estate belonging to which the ship-owners had taken and retained. The income now was 18,000*l.* a year; besides which, for six months, up to December 25th last, the income on foreign ships amounted to 1,500*l.* He might, therefore, assume the profits from foreign vessels at 3,000*l.* a year; making at least 21,000*l.* a year on the whole, which was sufficient for all that was wanted. He moved the second reading of the bill for that day six months.

Sir W. Curtis (one of the trustees, and who brought in the bill,) defended it with much warmth. Mr. Smeaton calculated on building on a rock, which turned out to be a mistake. One night's weather cost 25,000*l.* Great success had attended the new management, and the expenditure did not arise from extravagance. Now they could dock ships of 800 tons. Expense was required for the cross wall, which was tumbling down, and, if it should fall, the harbour would be choked up.

Mr. Baring supported the amendment: but agreed that the harbour ought to be maintained, which could be done at a less expense. Year by year the honourable baronet (sir W. Curtis) would come with proposals for fresh charges and duties, which might soon amount to more than it was worth while to expend on the harbour. The harbour revenues had increased from 10,000*l.* to 22 or 23,000*l.* a year, and there were about 30,000*l.* in the funds. He heard that 15 or 20,000*l.* had been
laid

laid out in building a banqueting-house and an enormous kitchen, just on the principles which the honourable baronet might think necessary in the city of London. Was this necessary to resist the waves? There appeared a dishonesty in the proceedings: a bargain had been made with Sandwich to except its ships from tolls. So it was with Dover, Weymouth, Melcombe Regis, Lynn, Yarmouth, and Arundel, whose vessels were all excepted. Was this on the principle that Weymouth and Melcombe Regis sent four members to parliament? This circumstance would be to him sufficient for his opposition to the bill.

Mr. Lushington, and others, thought there was no necessity whatever for the expense called for by this bill.

On a division, the second reading was negatived by 91 to 88; consequently the bill was thrown out.

Mr. Tierney made a most elaborate speech upon the civil list, and concluded by moving the appointment of a select committee, to inquire into its expenditure, with power to call before it persons, papers, and records. Without the power to call before it persons, &c. it would be as inefficient as the last committee, which, for that very reason, he did not attend. If he succeeded in obtaining his object, he would next move that instructions be given to the said committee.

Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Vansittart opposed the motion: they contended that steps had already been taken, by the nomination of three gentlemen, to obtain the information required for the better regulation of the civil list.

The motion was negatived, by 215 to 122.

May 7.—In consequence of a petition from the licensed victuallers, complaining of the increased sum exacted for licenses,

The chancellor of the exchequer said, he hoped to be able to present some general plan for a more equal distribution, according to the extent of the trade carried on.

Lord Althorpe said, he was aware, that, in the present distressed state of the finances, it was only by looking into great establishments that we could expect great relief; but he believed conscientiously, that by a strict inquiry into all the departments of government, considerable savings might be effected. There were various grounds of inquiry: one was, that ministers had not redeemed the pledge of economy given at the beginning of the sessions: it was true that a committee had been appointed by his majesty's government, to inquire what savings could be effected; but he confessed he did not augur very favourably of the benefits to be derived from their labours. The house would please to observe, that the treasury minute appointing that committee was dated two days after he gave notice of his motion. He should conclude with moving, that a select committee be appointed, to examine and consider what increase or diminution had taken place since 1798, in the salaries or emoluments of public offices; and from time to time to report, with all convenient dispatch, what further reductions could be made without injury to the public service.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the noble lord had expressed his sentiments with great clearness and propriety, and the only question was, as to the best mode to be pursued. He did not think that the noble lord had stated any

any reason whatever for taking the management and direction of the public offices out of the hands of his majesty's ministers, which would go to the length of changing the whole administration.—After stating a variety of reductions which had taken place, the right honourable gentleman concluded with declaring, that he thought the present motion quite superfluous, and should move the previous question.

Lord Binning said, it was admitted by the advocates of reform, that inquiries to effect retrenchment should originate in government itself. We now found, however, that as soon as government began to take any steps towards this object, a different language was adopted, and government was no longer to be trusted. They stated what had been done—they showed that retrenchment had actually been made; but no, this was all in vain; and in order to satisfy the wishes of our constituents, a committee must be appointed by the house, to supersede those labours which had been so auspiciously begun.

Mr. Brougham, disposed as he was to concur with the motion of his noble friend, felt that coincidence much increased by the speech of the noble lord who had just sat down. Looking at the ministerial commission, whose dispatch was so advantageously to be contrasted with the slow march of a parliamentary committee, he would ask, ~~what~~, with all its expedition, it had ~~done?~~ It had now sat three weeks, looking at the date of its appointment, and it had yet done nothing.

Lord Castlereagh said, the motion of the noble lord (Althorpe) involved two prominent points: the ~~first relating~~ to the actual expenditure, and the other, to the patronage which grew out of it. Both of

them were undoubtedly of the greatest importance, and entitled to all the considerations which the house could give them. It was, nevertheless, nothing but delusion to teach the public, that by any retrenchment of expenditure, any great practical relief could be afforded to the distresses and sufferings of the country. This was not said as an argument against the proposition for inquiry, or the expediency of effecting economical reforms at the present moment; but as an observation rendered necessary by the endeavours used to mislead the public into an unfounded belief and illusory expectations. With regard to the extent of the patronage of the crown, he knew there was a considerable diversity of opinion, both out of that house and in it; but the general opinion, he conceived himself justified in saying, was, that it was not excessive, nor required diminution. He submitted that large reductions had been already effected; that the house was apprised that further retrenchment was in progress, and that it was not practicable to decide in one, or even in two years, what ought to be the fixed expenditure in so extended an empire as our own. His majesty's ministers would not run a race with their opponents in attempting a transient popularity by professions of economy, at the expense of sacrificing the public interest. They were conscious that they were acting before the awful tribunal of public opinion, which was sure, finally, to be just; and on its decision they rested their claim to confidence in carrying on the administration in peace, which they had the good fortune successfully to have conducted in a time of war.

Mr. Tierney observed, that if ever he saw a person's real fear disguised under

under a lofty tone—if ever he saw a person attempt to look tall by walking upon stilts—if ever he saw a minister betray a consciousness that he was tottering to his fall—it was on that night, and in the person of the noble lord (Castlereagh). A committee was, no doubt, a very alarming thing—precisely that thing which it was for the house to respect, and for the noble lord to despise. The house was told that, by voting for the motion, they would withdraw their confidence from ministers. For his own part, he had no confidence to withdraw, for he had never given any; but he differed as to this point; he did not think that the effect of the vote would be to remove the noble lord and his colleagues from office. He had that opinion of the constancy and perseverance both of the noble lord and the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, as to believe, that they would never abandon their posts so long as they could muster a corporal's guard and a bank token. The noble lord alluded to Mr. Pitt; but Mr. Pitt proceeded in an open and a manly manner, and did not resort to petty private meetings, to frighten ministerial members into a belief of imaginary dangers. His majesty's ministers, notwithstanding all the confidence expressed by their leader, might shortly find it necessary to employ a little of their spare strength, and to re-import what for a time they had exported. The administration which now set all advice at scorn, and would rely on nothing but its popularity, on the confidence of a rich and happy nation, might in a few weeks deem it prudent to bring back into this country a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) whom but a short time ago they sent out of it;

and that gentleman, partly out of gratitude, and partly out of compassion to his friends in adversity, would, no doubt, persuade one or two of his connexions to lend their aid to the servants of the crown.

On behalf of the people of England, he claimed, that more should be done than ministers had suggested: if the noble lord thought the country did not understand him, he was miserably mistaken; at least as far as respected economy, the people of England were not to be deceived in the intentions of the noble lord and his colleagues. "What," said the noble lord, "will they desert us now, after we have won for them so many glorious battles, and after we have conquered for them such a happy peace?" To this he (Mr. T.) could only reply, that one distinguishing characteristic of Englishmen was their great good sense, which opposed itself to all sorts of imposition. It might be truly said, that no man in our history had ever gained for a time an unmerited reputation, that had not soon been exposed by the national penetration, and degraded to the low level from which accident had raised him. The natives of Great Britain could easily distinguish between such people as the noble lord opposite, and such men as the duke of Wellington. The cloud which had hitherto surrounded the noble lord, and the intervention of which, like a mist, had "made him but greater seem, not greater grow," was now fast dispelling, and leaving him exposed as he really was. The presence of a right honourable gentleman, who was on his way to reinforce the ranks of the treasury, would again throw back his lordship to the place he had originally occupied. It could not be said of
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the noble lord, that "he was great ere fortune made him so;" his lordship had been very successful, and he (Mr. T.) recommended that he should retire with submission, and thank God for his good luck. He (lord C.) would find that he could no longer ride the people of England; and that if he proceeded with the system he had declared himself determined to pursue, he would raise a storm of resentment, at all times difficult, but now almost impossible, to be allayed.

Lord Castlereagh, as soon as tranquillity was restored, begged the house to do him the justice to recollect, that he had not contended generally against parliamentary inquiry, but that the present occasion was ill chosen, immediately after the restoration of peace. The house had not hitherto interfered with the executive government. [His lordship was interrupted by cries of *Spoke! Spoke! Question, &c.*]

Messrs. Huskisson and Wellesley Pole spoke against the motion; and Mr. Bankes in its support.

Mr. Marryat was as desirous as any man to promote economy and retrenchment; but he considered that there was a certain point, beyond which, violent and intemperate zeal would defeat its own object. A pretty large dose had already been given to ministers, and he was anxious to see how that dose worked before the house proceeded further.

The house then divided on the motion, which was negatived, by 169 votes to 129: majority in favour of ministers, 43.

On the 8th of May the debates in the house of commons assumed more novelty than they had displayed for some time before, in consequence of the motion of Mr. Brougham on the liberty of the

press. The debates on this topic deserve a full report.

Mr. Brougham.—In rising to call the attention of the house to the subject of which he had given notice, he was fully aware of the difficulties which he had to encounter, and undoubtedly he should require all the indulgence of the house; for certainly there was no question of greater importance to the country than the privileges of a free press. It would not only be his duty to endeavour to prove to the house, that the laws of this country relative to the press were capable of very considerable improvement, but also that very great practical good would result from that alteration which he should have the honour of submitting to their decision. In the many discussions which had taken place on subjects of a similar nature, he lamented that persons who had not been sufficiently acquainted with the laws had always contended, that it was only necessary to go back to those particular times which, they insisted, were the pure times of our constitution; but which, in fact, were times of barbarity and oppression. In his opinion, the constitution of England, with the exception of one or two blemishes, was never so pure as at the present moment. To define wherein libel consisted was absolutely impossible. If we took the model of the statute of Edward the Third respecting treasons, and called that a libel which affected the character of the sovereign, this might seem a definition, but would fall far short of what libel actually was, and it would require a new statute to say what should be deemed an attack on the character of the sovereign: but, from the very nature of the offence, it would be impossible for any law prospectively to define what

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what was such an attack on government as might be considered dangerous. Though it might, however, be difficult to define the offence, these expressions, though a little vague, were sufficient for ordinary purposes.

Having said thus much to clear the way, he should proceed to remark, that as the law now stood, the chief evil felt by persons accused of offences of this nature was this,—that if prosecuted for libel it was of no manner of consequence to the trial of their cause, it was a weight that entered not at all into the scale, whether the matter of the alleged libel was consistent with truth, or totally false. This was the first grievance; and in calling the attention of the house to this, he must remind them that he did not rashly require legislation on the subject;—to say that he had considered it himself for many years, was little: but he certainly did approach the subject with a sense of great anxiety, because he was aware of the multiplied considerations which it involved. It should be his business to state every difficulty that had occurred to him and others within his knowledge, and he should be content to stand or fall by his success in producing an adequate remedy. The house would clearly see wherein lay the great evil to which a party accused was subject. He would suppose that a statement, not one item of which was overcharged, containing reflections on government, or on an individual, is published, and the author then prosecuted by government, or the individual. Be the statement ever so true, he was willing to admit that the prosecution should be criminal; but he contended that the question, whether the matter was true or false, ought to

be taken into consideration by the jury. To say that the measures of government were bad, and that the ministers who proposed them ought to be impeached, or that B., a given individual, is guilty of felony, though never so true, might frequently be highly criminal; because there were cases in which nothing but malice could have originated such charges, and other circumstances, besides the allegations being true or not true, might account for the publication, and from them a malicious motive might be inferred. Nevertheless no one could deny, first, that the crime would be greater if the allegations were false; and that would go to be considered at least in the amount of punishment: but, secondly, though on trial truth was no absolute justification, yet it ought to enter into the consideration of the cause, because in many cases it would be decisive for or against the defendant. He should first put the case of a private libel, because it was more likely that malice should enter into the composition of this, it being difficult to conceive a person guilty of intentional malice on subjects of public concern. He would suppose it had been published that A. B. was guilty of felony: it did not follow, because he might have been guilty, that the publisher was not also guilty of a libel; but the truth or falsehood ought to go before the jury, that they might sift whether the motives of the publisher were innocent or not. There was no case in which the falsehood of the charge would not be decisive against him, though there might be many in which it would not be decisive for him. If I say that A. B. is guilty of felony, and it turns out to be false, I am a libeller; though it
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does not follow that the truth being so would always exculpate me. But, then, is the truth always to be excluded? Unless those who take a different view of the question are prepared to say, that in no possible case can the truth or falsehood of the facts be material as to the malice or purity of motives, then they must agree with his conclusion, that the court should have the truth of the facts before them, not as conclusive for or against the defendant, but as going to show the purity or malice of his motives. As the criminal law stood at present, the truth cannot be stated, and it was no mistake to say that the law had always stood so. But this was the only circumstance so excluded: every other circumstance which went to elucidate motives was freely allowed to be produced.

In order to show the inconsistencies to which this system led, he should refer to a few of them, for the sake of gentlemen who were not quite so conversant with the subject. If a party was prosecuted for a libel, it was competent for the defendant to show on what occasion he was induced to publish it: and if it was in answer to any former attack, he has a right to bring this forward in evidence. But let the house observe to what this led: If I libel a party, it is no justification that he libelled me before; but I ought to have prosecuted him for his libel, instead of adding offence to offence. But although the courts say that this is no justification, yet they allow it to be given in evidence, in order to cast a better light on the conduct of the defendant; the malice or purity of his motives being the point to which their attention is really directed. Another instance was this: All circumstances attending the manner of publication were allowed to be given in evidence, not

as any justification, but because they tended to show the motives of the publisher. The third instance he should adduce was one which frequently occurred, and particularly in a late case: it was where libels were published in the form of a report of speeches, or the proceedings of a court. If a member of that house published his speech, or a private person the account of what passed in a court, and that publication contained a libel, it would be no justification that the speech had been spoken, or the matter had passed in court. He was aware that the court of Common Pleas had gone further in the case of Curry and Walter: but it had been said in the King's Bench, that if the matter were tried over again, the report of what actually passed would not be a justification. Now, how did this bear on the question? We had come to decided cases, and the courts said it was no justification to prove that you were only the reporter, but they allowed it to be given in evidence, and to go to the jury, because they were sifting only the purity or malice of motives: they inquire, "did he invent and defame, or did he only give a defamatory speech, which might be spoken, but not published, with a view to dissemination?" As they considered the solution of this question to throw a light on the subject, they allowed it to be given in evidence, though not to be adduced as a justification.

The last instance he should bring forward would be that of high treason. It was well known to several members, that in the case of lord Russell (a less indulgent case he could not mention, for he had a right by statute to call it a murder,) the evidence of Dr. Tillotson was admitted to prove that his lordship's habits of life were

moral : even against the imputation of high treason was this evidence allowed, to show the improbability of such guilt being compatible with opposite habits of life. In the case of Horne Tooke, in 1794, evidence was given of a book published by him 12 years before (the celebrated letter to Mr. Dunning), in which, though written with great freedom of discussion, there happened to be a number of loyal expressions. This evidence was offered, and the court considered themselves competent to receive it, not as a justification, but because it went to show the probable motives of the writer even in a later publication.

These were the instances he had thought fit to produce, and he might produce numberless others to show, that although it was not allowed to give truth in evidence, yet all other circumstances were admitted which tended to show the motives of the party. The question then was, what was there in the nature of truth that it should not be taken into the account? Why should that only be omitted which in many cases was conclusive—in all was of weight?—conclusive where the charges were false, and of weight where they were true. It was needless for him to convince the house of the materiality of truth in all cases; there could scarcely be any one circumstance so material; but it was quite enough to show that this *might* be material; or rather he should call on those who negatived the position, to show that it was immaterial in the bulk of cases. If they could show that this was wholly beside the question, wholly immaterial, then he would retire at once. He had mentioned the hardship it was to a defendant to be put on his trial with his right arm (if he might use the expression) thus tied up, and he should not insist

much on the fact that the present system limited the freedom of discussion on public matters of every description: this would be admitted by all; but they would rely, in answer, on the probable mischiefs which would ensue from letting in the truth, which, they would allege, would amount to a greater inconvenience than the present restrictions on political discussion.

But there was not a point in which the present question was more material than that which related to libels on private character. When he referred to the evil arising from the restriction of political discussion, and compared it with the mischief to which the character of every one was now subject, much as he regretted the former, he should, if obliged to confine redress to one of the evils, prefer remedying the latter. With regard to this, the best that could be said was, that the press was, like the air, a chartered libertine, and that we must be content to suffer a little in private character for the sake of preserving that liberty;—but he had said enough to show that this liberty degenerated, in many instances, into absolute licentiousness; and he considered that licentiousness to arise from this cause, that there was no public person to watch over the property or character of individuals. By the inveterate practice of our law, wrong suffered by a private person could only be redressed by that person himself. When a man's character was attacked, be the pain and injury he suffered ever so great—be the person who made the attack the most malicious of men, and his motives the most iniquitous—it was a thousand to one he escaped with impunity.

He should be asked, Did the law afford no redress? Why did not the injured individual come forward?

forward? He would tell the house what was the remedy offered in theory, and what was its result in practice. The reasons why the injured individual did not come forward were these: There were two ways pointed out for redress—by action, and by indictment. Suppose the remedy by action was preferred, the accuser was, indeed, desired to prove the truth: but the injured person went into court for a verdict, and then, after running the gamut of having all his affairs exposed to the impertinence or prurency of public animadversion—after submitting to a speech from the defendant's counsel ten times worse than the original libel—after all the expense of a trial, and the risk of being turned round on a point of law, he appeals to a jury for damages to estimate the value of his character; and they who know what juries are, and the impression likely to be made on them by the speech of defendant's counsel, will know that these damages are likely to be very inadequate; not more, perhaps, than 40 or 50*l.*: they were, indeed, sometimes larger, and in a late case had been 2,000*l.* But, speaking with the greatest possible respect of the system of juries in general, it must be remembered, that so long as juries were men, they would be usually led much more by the weight of names in the cause, than by the facts contained in the declaration. He had seen large sums of money given because the plaintiff was a person of high rank; and he had seen the damages inflated and raised to thousands, not because the party ~~aggrieved~~ deserved them, but because the aggressor bore a high name. But that which best served the purpose of redress, and stamped with the reproach of malignity

the party who made the attack, was alone to be found in a criminal prosecution; and there was only one ground on which he would ever advise any man to enter on a civil action for redress;—it was, that by a criminal prosecution he seemed to imply the truth of the charges in the libel, and this was the reason why men did not prosecute criminally: but if there was a power for the defendant to give the truth in evidence, as one of the circumstances tending to elucidate his motives, the objection to a criminal prosecution would be entirely done away. If this power were granted, it would prove at once a weapon and a shield. The impossibility of punishing libels against private characters was a much greater evil than the restraint on public discussion; and if only one of these evils were to be now remedied, he should, as he had stated, prefer a remedy for the former. It would be observed there was a remedy for all offences against the state, because government had the power of prosecuting, and the amount of the grievance was not a matter of feeling, like that which was inflicted on an individual. The only case left without protection was that which most required it.

Before proceeding to state the remedies he meant to propose, he should call the attention of the house to the inconsistencies in principle, by which truth was excluded in some cases, and admitted in others. From the time of lord Hardwicke in 1735, it had been undoubted law that truth is a justification of libel in all civil actions:—why not then in criminal prosecutions? The answer was, that when a man asks for damages, he must come *rectus in curiam*; but in criminal prosecutions damages are not sought or recovered, and the king's

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peace is considered rather than the character of the prosecutor. But this was not borne out by the practice; for when a private individual applied, as he might do, for a criminal information, he was called on to make oath that the matters contained in the libel were false. Now, why was this necessary? Why must he come *rectus in curiam*, when no damages were to be recovered? The prosecution was carried on in the name of the king, and the party making the oath was only a witness: but then he was seeking an extraordinary interposition of the court, and the court did not choose to say he should have no remedy, but no remedy without this preliminary. But why should not this remedy be afforded always?—It was by far the best, and he should only observe that it was in the nature of a private proceeding, though criminal. The inconsistency existed to this degree, that though this was in the nature of a private proceeding, and though the falsehood of the charges must previously be sworn to, yet the truth could not be given in evidence, to the manifest disadvantage of both parties; while, in a civil action, the question ceased to be any other than one of truth or falsehood. This denial of such evidence was a great hardship on the plaintiff himself, as a number of cases would show; and it was equally so, that truth should always be a justification in a civil action. If any change were made, it should be that the subject matter, in a civil as well as criminal proceeding, should go to the jury, not as a justification, but as evidence of intention. He could also imagine cases in which public libels might be true, and yet their truth might be injuriously stated. For example, to state in an inflammatory way

any thing relating to scarcity of provisions, or payment of troops, might be libellous, though it might not have been so had the statement been made in a plain manner. The honourable and learned gentleman mentioned several other instances in which the publication of truth might be libellous, or in which truth could be no justification of the conduct of the defendant. Truth, in such cases, should no more be allowed to be pleaded in justification when the plaintiff proceeded by action, than, as the law at present stood, it could be brought to justify the defendant on indictment or criminal prosecution. A publication may be as malicious when the facts it contains are true, as when its assertions are false. He did not, therefore, propose that the truth should be given in evidence as a complete vindication of an attack upon character by a libeller, but that it should go to the jury as a part of that case on which they were to form their decision, as an element of their deliberation, as a point which, affecting the proofs of the defendant's criminal or innocent intention, was either to regulate them in assessing damages in a proceeding by action, or the judge in awarding punishment in a proceeding by indictment.

To the great changes in the present state of the law, to which the carrying into effect of those views and principles would lead, he was aware that there might be great and important objections. He did not, however, despair of being able to offer a satisfactory answer to them all. The first he was prepared to meet was, that in a prosecution for libel, proceeding on its tendency to disturb the peace, and not on its injurious effect on character, the truth or falsehood

falsehood of the matter alleged was of no consequence, and should not be brought into view. The answer to this, he thought, was easy, and would be completely satisfactory, or even irresistible. This allegation of a breach of the peace was merely a fiction of the law, merely a reason for giving the court jurisdiction, merely a creature of judicial refinement, similar to that by a father recovering damages for the seduction of his daughter. The action in this latter case was not brought ostensibly to punish the seducer, or to obtain compensation for the injury his family had sustained, but proceeded on the ground that he had been deprived of the benefit of her services, and was entitled to damages for the loss. The tarnished honour of his family—his own wounded feelings—the degradation and disgrace of his child, were all left out of the view of the law; and the father, considering his daughter as his servant, of whose services he was deprived, came forward under the authority of law merely with a claim of compensation for those services. Who was there, however, in practice that ever looked upon the matter in this light; and how ridiculous would it be in cases of seduction to allot damages on the only principle that a legal fiction allowed! In the case of libel the legal fiction proceeded on the idea that character was nothing, and that the tendency to a breach of the peace was every thing; but why adhere to such a fallacy? Why not admit that character was of some value, that it was property which deserved protection, and that the robbery of our goods and chattels would infer the punishment of death? The robbery of our good name, which was dearer to us than any other species of possession, de-

served a certain degree of punishment, although the act had no tendency to create tumult or a breach of the peace. But if any thing could prove the futility of this objection, it was the second answer that he would return to it. If the tendency to a breach of the peace was the only ground of proceeding in cases of libel, how came it that this tendency to a crime was punished with more severity than the offence itself? When a riot was excited, when violence ensued—in short, when the peace was broken, the punishment was often of small importance, while the penalties of libel were frequently very severe. In some cases, three or six months imprisonment were awarded for a breach of the peace; while a year, or two years, with a heavy fine, were adjudged to the publication of libel. Here the tendency to crime was punished more heavily than the crime itself. Did not an absurd inference like this show the fallacy of the premises from which it was legitimately drawn, and consequently that a breach of the peace was not the true ground of proceeding in cases of libel? He might exemplify the absurdity of this principle, and show how different the practice was from the fiction of law, by appealing to the case of duelling. Suppose that, instead of publishing defamatory matter calculated to break the peace, a party challenged another to fight a duel; suppose they went out, suppose even death ensued, or that one of them killed his antagonist, then would no punishment follow this outrage, unless there were some unfairness in the transaction. This was the practice of the law, and this was the spirit of its present administration. The law, however, could not contemplate this unfairness; it merely consider-

ed the act, and should pronounce judgement accordingly. It decreed no punishment here for an actual breach of the peace; but in the case of libel it punished the tendency to it. Consummation of crime was privileged with impunity, while the steps to it were punished with severity. He did not complain of the practice of the courts in their leniency to acts such as he had mentioned—he merely brought the instance forward to show the absurdity of grounding the actual justification of the law of libel on a pretended allegation of a tendency to break the peace.

There was another objection to the receiving of evidence, with the intention of establishing the truth in cases of libel, of greater importance than that to which he had replied. It might be said, that if proof were to be received, the object of the slanderer might sometimes be accomplished, as he had only to publish his libel, and force the prosecutor into court on an issue with regard to his character. To this objection it might be considered a sufficient answer, that the defendant would be obliged not only to establish the truth of his assertions, but to remove the charge of malice. He would not only have to justify his statements by showing their conformity to truth, but his motives, by demonstrating their consistency with right intention. The second answer to this objection was, that it would be the prosecutor's own fault if he permitted the attention of the jury to be diverted from the original charge against the defendant to a question regarding his own character. What was the effect of the present practice in cases of libel? When the plaintiff chose to proceed by action, the truth, and the truth

alone, was put in issue. When he proceeded by criminal prosecution, the truth of the libellous statements was not regularly put in issue, but the prosecutor's character suffered more than if they were regularly examined. Did it not almost always happen that insinuations were liberally dealt out—that hints were made, that the jury, the court, and the public, by means of the defendant's counsel, were let into all the facts they could desire? The legal assistants of the defendant were in the habit of lamenting that the hands of their client were tied up, otherwise he would have established his charge; and that the prosecutor chose to proceed by indictment, where he was sure the truth could not be listened to, rather than by an action of damages, where it certainly would have been turned against him. The honourable and learned gentleman here appealed to the attorney-general, and described the able and adroit manner in which he, if he were counsel for a defendant in a criminal prosecution for a libel, would use the privilege of the bar to aggravate or confirm the original allegations. All the facts would be brought by a side-wind before the jury, and would make an impression the more unfavourable in proportion as they were undefined in their nature, and eked out with surmises, suspicions, hints, and insinuations, the mists of which a rigorous examination would scatter. There could, therefore, be no hardship to the prosecutor in the change of the law which he proposed.

But it might be said that the officers of the crown, by collusion with the defendant, might prosecute in the name of a third party, or nominal prosecutor, for the purpose of enabling themselves to defame the character

racter of the latter, and to fix a stigma upon it by false testimony, in the trial of an issue with regard to its correctness or purity. This danger he thought completely chimerical. No attorney-general would be so base as to join in such a plot, or, if he did, his right to grant *ex officio* information should be taken from him. There was another answer, if an objection so absurd deserved one: Neither the jury nor the court would permit a conspiracy of this kind to succeed. His last answer was, That the offended party might choose whether, in the face of the facts with which he was acquainted, he could with safety proceed against the defendant or not. With regard to any injury he could do his character by allowing it to be brought to trial before a jury, he did not hesitate to say, that the injury was greater as the law at present stood.

On these grounds he thought the measure he proposed might be defended, and many practical advantages pointed out, as resulting, from its adoption, to the freedom of the press—to its proper regulation—to the security of private virtue and public character. He would therefore state the sum of the changes he contemplated in the law of libel. The first of them went to abolish the distinction between written and overt libel, and oral or spoken slander. It was well known that words which were not actionable when spoken, only became so when put on paper or published. Here the honourable and learned gentleman stated several cases, and particularly a decision pronounced by lord Mansfield upon a case argued before the twelve judges. The next change he proposed to embody in the measure which he was about to move for

leave to introduce, was to allow the cognisance or the non-cognisance of the defendant, under whose ostensible authority the libel issued, to be put in evidence on his trial. Suppose, as had lately happened, that the person prosecuted was absent, or in prison, or beyond seas, when his servants or agents published the libel for which he was indicted, it appeared preposterously unjust that he who knew nothing of its contents, and whose interest it might materially injure, should be additionally punished for that of which he was entirely ignorant, and which he had no means of suppressing. Much caution might be necessary in receiving pleas of ignorance; but the duty of examining them might fairly be left to the jury. Last of all, he would allow evidence of the truth of alleged libel to be laid before the jury, with the view of modifying or guiding their decision, as he had formerly explained. He meant to make a provision, that the defendant should give notice to the prosecutor that, when put on trial, he intended to offer proof to establish his statements.

The hon. and learned gentleman, after having discussed the substance of the law of libel itself, next adverted to the changes his new measure embraced in the mode of administering it: these regarded *ex officio* informations and special juries. We had long ceased to hear the ancient defence of *ex officio* informations, which was drawn from the urgency of government business, the danger of delay, and the necessity of dispatch. Little time was saved by such a mode of proceeding, and no advantage in point of celerity was obtained, that might not be obtained by the instrumentality of a grand jury. Indeed one could scarcely listen with gravity to
a plea.

a plea of dispatch, when the tediousness of *ex officio* informations was known. There was another and a better reason than this for this mode of proceeding. Government did not wish to refer its cause to a grand jury, and therefore was anxious to retain this substitute. But why not trust a grand jury as well as private individuals? Why should members of administration pretend to more than what was allotted for the protection of their fellow-subjects? Why should the state be endowed with feelings—why should it be personified and invested with privileges which were denied to those less powerful to defend themselves? To talk thus was to confound the government with those who exercised its functions, and to raise them above the laws to which the community were bound to submit. The real cause why government did not apply to the twelve good and faithful men of a grand jury was, that they would throw out their bill; and why would they throw out the bill, but because they knew beforehand that the truth could not be received in evidence on the presentment they should make? As it could not be said that government agents were always in the wrong, or that a grand jury must necessarily be always disaffected, this was the only mode of accounting for their propensity to throw out government bills, and to refuse indictments. If the truth were allowed to be put in issue, they would act with regard to government as they did with regard to private individuals, for whom they found bills when they saw strong evidence of the facts on which they were grounded. When we considered the expenses, the delay, and the harassing circumstances attendant on a trial by an *ex officio* information,

there would appear strong reasons for abolishing the power of the great law-officer of the crown to file them. About nine years ago there were 26 informations filed in the space of a few months, and not one of them had yet been proceeded in. The trial was kept hanging over the heads of the persons against whom they were directed—they were kept in terror—they were controlled in all their proceedings by the fear of government vengeance—they paid great sums for fees and papers—and perhaps, after all, would never be brought to trial, acquitted, or punished. There had been only one case of prosecution on the part of the crown during the time his honourable and learned friend (sir A. Pigott) held the office of attorney-general. This was nothing less than a libel addressed to troops about to sail on a foreign expedition, stating that the transports in which they were to be embarked were not sea-worthy, and that they were more likely to go to the bottom than to arrive at the place of their destination. This statement was from the beginning to the end a gross and malignant falsehood. The vessels in question were perfectly tight and well found in every respect. This prosecution of an attempt to excite the army to mutiny was abandoned by the law-officers of the crown who succeeded, and on what ground? On one certainly somewhat unexpected, viz. on the publisher giving up his author, who was stated to have gone abroad, and who had never since been produced. He was happy to observe, and he mentioned it as an argument against the necessity of the power, rather than a compliment to his honourable and learned friend (sir W. Garrow), that he also had filed but one *ex officio* information.

mation in the execution of his duties as attorney-general. We had now arrived at quiet times, peculiarly fitted for a revision of this important chapter of the law.

The right of replying on the part of the crown appeared to him to be another abuse, which might with propriety be altered, as a remnant of barbarous jurisprudence. With respect to the third point in the measure he should propose to introduce, he conceived it sufficient to state, that in all cases of libel prosecuted by information *ex officio*, the crown never went to trial without a special jury. All other crimes and misdemeanours, felony, and even the highest crime known to the law, high treason, were always tried before a common jury. He saw no reason for giving to the crown, in the instance of libel, a right of selection which it did not possess in any other case. It appeared to him therefore, that the only argument which could be urged on the other side was one founded on the aversion to innovate at all on the legal institutions of the country. Excellent, however, as the system was, the lapse of time had introduced blemishes which it would be more beneficial to its interests to convert into beauties, than to regard as parts of its perfection. With these views he begged to move for leave to bring in a bill for securing and extending the liberty of the press.

The attorney-general had listened with all the attention which was due to the importance of the subject, and to his honourable and learned friend's manner of treating it. He had no inclination to resist the introduction of any measure professing such an object, however strongly he might feel it his duty, when it came before the house, to oppose it on its parts the alter-

ations recommended by his honourable friend. He felt it a duty he owed to the established system of legal administration to protest against changes of such a nature and extent, without any proof that they were called for either by necessity or convenience. With regard to the justification by truth, he should reserve himself for a future occasion on that branch of the discussion; and content himself for the present with reminding his honourable friend, that no official information ever issued from the attorney-general's office in cases of private prosecution. Upon the general subject of these informations he was happy to observe, that his honourable and learned friend had distinguished himself from those who, in reference to this question, maintained that the present times were worse than the times of our ancestors. He considered that the power of filing these informations was a power extremely useful, if not essential to the safety of the state in troublesome times. It ought to be lodged somewhere, and whether where it was now placed, or in the hands of some other officer of the crown, made but little difference in the present question. It was observable, too, that it was a power, of which the instances were admitted to be few in which it had been abused. It was not the business of the attorney-general to hunt out libels; the suggestions came from a variety of quarters; and if he had instituted but one prosecution, it was not from the absence of numerous applications. Though he had filled the office but a short time, he had assisted at the consultation of his predecessors for thirty years, and from them he had learned that it was more advisable to avoid than to multiply prosecutions. He valued
this

this advice more than all the law he had acquired upon the subject. The single case of the King against Sutton, where he had proceeded by information, was one of a most flagrant nature—an attempt to inflame an insurgent populace to a continuance of their disorders. It was in cases of this kind, and when it might not be so prudent to leave the peace of a district to the decision of grand juries surrounded by a tumultuary multitude, that the proceeding by information seemed peculiarly expedient. He could easily conceive that it might be proper to commence two dozen of prosecutions on an emergency, and be satisfied with one conviction, after the restoration of tranquillity had made it desirable to bury all past offences in oblivion. Adverting, then, to the last topic of his honourable and learned friend's speech—the employment of special juries on trials of libel prosecuted by the crown—it ought not to be forgotten that the subject had, both in civil and criminal cases, the option of a special jury. This appeared to have been allowed, because it was thought hard that in a complicated case, or one which rested on a construction of motives, the defendant should be denied the privilege of having his case submitted to intelligent as well as upright men. Nothing could be more unfounded than the jealousy of special juries, nor more absurd than the calumny that they were packed. A common jury was selected from the constable's return. When a special jury was to be struck, the sheriff, or his deputy, attended the master of the crown-office, with an agent for each party. The book was then opened and 48 selected, from whom each party struck 12, so that it was impossible for any man to say which 12 out of

the remaining 24 would form the jury on the trial. With these explanations, he should not oppose the present motion, but content himself with observing, that the proposed measure appeared to him to be a dangerous interference in the existing system of administering this branch of the criminal law.

The solicitor-general would not oppose the introduction of the bill, because he was satisfied that the more this question was discussed, the greater in the opinion of the house would appear the objections which existed against it. The power which every man enjoyed who was master of a printing-press of bringing any individual to the bar of public opinion, was a power of the highest consequence to the peace and happiness of the community. It was a power which required to be regulated, because it was a power to prosecute; and it was still more necessary that it should not degenerate into persecution. The consequence of shutting the gates of our courts against those who were injured would be to compel them to take the law into their own hands. "Revenge is a kind of wild justice," was a sentence from lord Bacon, and that justice would be the only redress to be obtained from a libeller. Of the two alternatives, he would rather that it should be enacted that truth should be no justification in an action, than that it should be held to be a justification in a prosecution. With regard to informations filed by the king's attorney-general, or by the king's coroner, he had heard no reason why the law should be altered in that respect. The trial by jury, as at present regulated, appeared to him capable of little or no amendment; but least of all that proposed, by which the lower and least

least informed class would be called upon to decide all questions, whether of law or fact, of easy or of difficult solution. He was convinced, that the more the subject was examined, the better would the country be satisfied with the present system.

Mr. Marryat admitted that the question was one of much importance, and embraced a wide field of discussion. Among other subjects in a manner connected with it was one not hitherto adverted to, viz. the way in which the characters of most respectable individuals, who being absent, or not belonging to the house, had no opportunity of defending themselves, were attacked by honourable members. The mode of attack was, in some cases, both unfair and unmanly. A case of this sort had occurred within his recollection, where the character of an absent individual had been assailed in a manner which threatened not only his property, but his life: by the speech of an honourable gentleman, the person to whom he alluded had been exposed to the blind resentment of a misguided mob. The member who had made the injurious observations afterwards refused either to retract or explain them. Under such circumstances, no means of redress were left to the suffering party but to appeal to a tribunal of the last resort; and when the member was invited to it, his answer was, that he would meet the person whose resentment he had provoked, with the speaker for his second, and the serjeant-at-arms for his bottle-holder. If some remedy for this grievance could be inserted in the bill of the honourable gentleman, a point of some importance would be gained.

Mr. Brougham begged to be permitted to say a few words in con-

sequence of the most unprecedented and unprovoked attack which he conceived had just been made upon him; an attack which had as little to do with the subject of debate as the remarks of the honourable gentleman, who could have no possible concern with the measure under consideration. He (Mr. B.) well recollected the circumstance to which reference had been made, though it would have been much better if the honourable gentleman had been contented with plain terms, instead of resorting to a metaphor couched in language so refined and delicate, that the house would willingly dispense with its repetition. With regard to the fact, it was necessary to remind the house of some circumstances unconnected with the question before it [*crisis of Question.*] He had a right to be heard in reply to the charge of the honourable gentleman, who had not been interrupted while making one of the most irrelevant and disorderly speeches ever heard within the walls of parliament. In the course of an inquiry four years since, in a committee of the whole house, a witness had been called to the bar and examined, upon whose testimony he (Mr. B.) had made such remarks as appeared necessary: in doing so he had consulted no man—least of all the witness himself, and still less than least of all—if such a degree of comparison could be allowed—the honourable gentleman who had now chosen to interpose. The opinion which he (Mr. B.) had delivered was strong and pointed against the conduct of the witness; that opinion he was now ready to repeat, if necessary: and he was not to be deterred, either by the conduct of the honourable gentleman's friend out of doors, or by the still less

less regular proceeding of the honourable gentleman within doors. He had spoken at that time sitting as a judge upon the conduct of the witness; but soon afterwards he received a letter from that witness, enclosing a copy of his (Mr. Brougham's) speech, printed in one of the newspapers, and requesting him to state if it were accurately reported. In declining to give an answer to such a demand, he was persuaded he had only acted as every other member would have done; for he was yet to learn that the privileges of parliament were so completely at an end, that, after having retired from the business of the session, and after having discharged important public duties, a member of the house of commons was to be compelled to become a corrector of the newspaper reports of debates. Where was the boasted freedom of discussion, if members were bound to answer such interrogatories? As the desire, however, was conveyed in civil terms, the refusal to comply with it was also civil, but short. Near the close of the session he had, however, received a letter from the same witness, very different from the former, containing the most foul and unfounded aspersions upon the character of a member of parliament, and making as deep an inroad into the invaluable rights of members as could be found on the journals at any period when the privileges of parliament were at the lowest ebb. This letter repeated the former demand, accompanied by a threat; and the reply to it was a repeated refusal, with the addition of a piece of advice for the government of the writer of the threat; recommending him to take care how he proceeded further in the line of conduct he was pursuing, since if he persisted he might find it

somewhat inconvenient to himself. He (Mr. B.) heard no further upon the subject until three weeks afterwards, when he was 200 miles from London, on professional business: the witness took that opportunity of publishing the correspondence; but, though strongly advised by his friends to bring the gentleman to the bar of the house, he had not thought it right to proceed to that extremity: he now regretted his forbearance, partly on account of circumstances that had since happened, and partly on account of the most judicious conduct of the honourable gentleman, who on this night stood forward as the friend of the witness. He had been induced not to call the witness to the bar by several circumstances, and mainly by one which the publishers of the letters had duly considered, namely, that the session was within three or four days of its termination, and the imprisonment which the house could inflict would therefore only be of very short duration. The honourable gentleman had thrown out a hint which was easily understood—that, instead of resorting to the house, he (Mr. B.) ought to have given another kind of answer to the invitation sent. [*Mr. Marryat shook his head.*] It was in vain for the honourable gentleman to shake his head: not a man in the house could mistake what was meant; and, should he select his elegant phraseology from all quarters of the town, it would be impossible for the honourable member to convince the house that he intended to convey any other meaning. If ever he (Mr. Brougham) was prevailed upon to give such a reply as that alluded to, it would be after considering well his own and the feelings of the individual who supposed himself injured; but there was

was one species of person who never should possess the smallest influence over his conduct in this respect, because the least worthy of such an answer—a man who took upon himself the part of an interferer for the sake of renewing and promoting personal altercation.

Mr. Marryat denied that he had either said or intended that the honourable gentleman ought to have given the personal satisfaction required; but after it had been publicly and unfoundedly asserted in the house, that an individual, who employed in his manufactories 2,000 workmen, had stated that bread and water was food good enough for the lower classes, it would have been but fair for the member who had made that assertion to explain or retract it. This was all he had intended to state; and looking at the sort of license which some gentlemen allowed themselves, he must say that the true line to be observed in debate, where the characters of individuals were involved, was *ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat*.

Mr. Brougham added, that he was not the only person who had misunderstood the honourable member who had falsely accused him of refusing to give any explanation as to the correctness or incorrectness of his speech.

The chancellor of the exchequer spoke to order very shortly and inaudibly.

The question upon the original motion was then put.

Mr. Brougham said, that he should reserve any of his remarks upon the objections urged to his proposition, until a future stage when the bill should be before the house. With regard to what had just transpired, he wished to subjoin, that he had on a former occa-

sion given an explanation of the charge he had made against the witness whose cause was advocated by the honourable member (Mr. Marryat); he had then stated, that a part of the speech, as reported in the newspapers, was correct, while another part was erroneous. Leave was then given to bring in the bill.

After this debate there was a short discussion on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, respecting the further consideration of the bank restriction bill, which was carried by a majority of 103.

May 15.—Mr. Rose brought in a bill for the regulation of provident institutions and savings banks. The provisions are as follows: These banks are to be enrolled; to have the liberty of choosing their own officers, who must give security for the money intrusted to them; in case of death or bankruptcy, these societies are to have preference over the claims of other creditors; depositors in these banks not to be prevented from applying and receiving parish relief; depositors dying intestate, distribution to be made according to a specific provision made in the bill; and the transfer of stock to these societies to be exempt from the stamp duties.

Sir James Mackintosh moved certain resolutions on the subject of the contributions to be paid by France for the maintenance of the British army in that country; purporting that the crown had exercised its prerogatives to an unwarrantable extent, by disposing of the produce of these contributions without the advice or privity of parliament.

The chancellor of the exchequer apprehended that the learned gentleman had not properly recognised the difference between the contributions before the treaty and those subsequent

subsequent to it. The former were the issues of war, and were the right of the conquering army. He had formerly stated to the house, by the command of the prince regent, that the sum procured in consequence of the treaty would be applied to the public services. That sum was nothing more nor less than an indemnity to the nation for its expenses, and as such it had been received by the sovereign.

In consequence of this explanation, the motion was withdrawn.

May 21.—On the motion of Mr. Broughan, a committee was appointed to inquire into the state of education in the metropolis. From 85,000 to 90,000 children, Mr. B. stated, were left uneducated.

Mr. W. Elliot presented a petition from the Roman catholics of England, praying relief from the restrictions and disabilities to which they were at present subjected by law.

Mr. Grattan then rose to make his annual motion on the subject of catholic emancipation. In the course of his speech the honourable gentleman stated, that he had in his possession a letter from cardinal Gaeta, written under the authority of the pope, setting forth the terms to which his holiness was willing to assent. It was an official document, countersigned by Dr. Poynter, a catholic bishop. Speaking of the oaths taken by the catholic bishops, this letter states, that though they alone might be sufficient to satisfy the government, yet his holiness was willing to permit that a list of the clergy who were candidates for the vacant sees might be exhibited to the king's ministers, in order that the government, if it disliked any of them, might point out the name, in order to its being expunged. The cardinal then goes on to say, "that, as soon as the legislature of Great

Britain shall promulgate the act of emancipation founded on these principles, his holiness will send a brief to all the catholics of the United Kingdom, in which he will publish his sense of the generosity of the most powerful British government, and exhort them to still more solid loyalty to their august king." Mr. Grattan concluded with moving that the house do, early in the next session of parliament, take into its serious consideration the state of the laws affecting the Roman catholics, with the view of adopting such conciliatory arrangements as might conduce to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom.

Sir H. Parnell seconded the motion.

General Matthew said, he had gone to Rome, and obtained an interview with the pope, who had assured him that he was fully prepared to go every possible length towards this country.

Lord Castlereagh spoke at some length in support of the motion, as did Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Peel against it. On a division the motion was negatived, by 172 to 141.

May 22.—Mr. Newman concluded a prefatory speech on the subject of tithes, by moving the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the petitions upon the table on that subject, and report their opinion whether it be expedient to enable tithe-holders to substitute pecuniary payments for tithes in kind at certain periods.

Messrs. Curwen and Brand were satisfied that the commutation of tithes would be productive of much good, and that the clergy were quite as desirous of it as the laity.

Mr. Smyth declared that, if tithes were abolished, it would not be practicable to provide an adequate equivalent either in value, title, security, or

6r means of collection. He should therefore object to any proposition for depriving the clergy and other tithe-holders of that property to which they had as much right as any freeholder had to his land.

Mr. Rose professed himself a friend to inquiry upon this subject.

The chancellor of the exchequer, though not very sanguine in his hopes of success, yet thought that the time of the house could not be better employed than as mediators, or arbitrators, between the tithe proprietors and the occupiers of land. As however the motion was ambiguously worded, and might create considerable alarm, he should propose as an amendment, after adopting the general terms of the motion, a conclusion to the following effect:—"That the committee should inquire into, and report their opinion upon, the expediency of enabling the proprietors of tithes to grant longer leases thereof under new regulations."

Sir W. Scott would give his vote for the committee, but would oppose any attempt to substitute pecuniary payments in lieu of tithes, because it would tend to remove the clergy from those solid and immemorial grounds of revenue by which they were rendered, in point of fact, co-proprietors and co-posseors of the land.

Lord Castlereagh declared that

he would not oppose the committee, though he did not think it likely to lead to any successful results.

In the conversation which followed, the reference to a committee was generally supported, all the speakers declaring at the same time their opinion that the property of the church should be held inviolable. The motion as amended was then agreed to.

May 24.—The house having gone into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer, before proceeding to an enumeration of the general supplies and the ways and means for the year, alluded to the intended loan from the bank of three millions, at three per cent. in consideration of permission to be granted the bank to extend its capital by a similar sum, with the further provision that, during the continuance of the advance, the notes of the bank of England should be accepted as cash in all payments of the revenue. This was, in other words, only granting permission to the bank proprietors to divide among themselves 3,000,000*l.* of their own money, on consideration of their advancing a similar sum for the public service. As a mode of raising money for the public service, this was in itself the best that could be adopted. He then stated the following to be the items of the supply for the present year:—

1815.	SUPPLY.—1816.	£.
13,876,759	{ Army.....	9,665,666
	{ Deduct troops in France.....	1,234,596
		<hr/> 8,431,070
23,983,476	Extraordinaries.....	1,500,000
1,099,961	{ Commissariat.....	480,000
	{ Deduct troops in France..	75,000
		<hr/> 405,000
99,000	Barracks.....	178,000
91,630	Storekeeper general.....	50,000
		<hr/> 2,133,000
	R	Brought

		Brought forward	£.
18,644,200	{ Navy.....	10,114,345	10,564,070
	{ Deduct naval stores.....	679,905	
			9,434,440
4,431,643	{ Ordnance.....	1,882,188	
	{ Deduct France.....	186,003	
			1,696,185
3,000,000	Miscellaneous.....		2,500,000
	Indian debt.....		945,491
	Total of joint charge for the United Kingdom		25,140,186
	Separate charges including coinage 500,000 <i>l.</i> and other items		2,159,000
	Total.....	£.27,279,186	

WAYS AND MEANS FOR 1816.—to defray the above:

Land and malt tax	£3,000,000	Surplus grants, 1815.....	£5,663,755
Surplus consolidated fund	3,000,000	Bank advance on account of	
Excise duties continued for		increased capital.....	3,000,000
five years.....	3,500,000	Unclaimed dividends.....	301,316
Bank advance on bills.....	6,000,000	Unapplied money in the exchequer	140,000
Lottery	200,000	Exchequer bills.....	2,500,000
Total.....	£.27,305,071.		

The chancellor then moved, "That the proposal of the bank for an advance of three millions be approved."

Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald observed that it was not his intention to go at length over the same statements which he had recently had the honour of submitting to the consideration of the house. The quota of contribution estimated to be due from Ireland for the service of the present year was 3,407,794*l.* Irish currency, or 3,145,656*l.* British. The charge of interest and sinking fund on the present debt was 6,826,750*l.* forming a total supply of 10,234,524*l.* To meet this charge the following were the

all the circumstances, he was justified in taking this estimate.—After a very short discussion, the resolutions were agreed to, and the house resumed.

May 28.—Mr. Curwen reviewed, in an elaborate speech, the various plans which had been suggested by various gentlemen, to render the poor laws less burthensome to the country. Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Estcourt had devoted a great portion of their lives to this subject, but their plans had failed. Mr. Pitt, with all his splendid abilities, possessed no experience on, and had no opportunity of becoming acquainted with, this subject. His bill never got into a committee. The next individual was certainly one whose great knowledge of the subject eminently fitted him to undertake the task of reformation; he meant the late Mr. Whitbread. That eminent senator had two plans: the first, a general education, of which he certainly approved; the other, that of a national bank. It was utterly impossible, however, that the work of 200 years could be instantaneously destroyed—

WAYS AND MEANS. £.

Surplus of consolidated fund.....	991,570
Revenue, estimated at.....	6,000,000
Profit on lotteries.....	100,000
Seamen's wages	111,960
Loan on treasury bills in Eng- }	
land 1,700,000 <i>l.</i> British }	1,841,666
Ditto, ditto, in Ireland.....	1,200,000

Total ways and means £10,245,196

He had estimated the produce of the revenue in Ireland at six millions; and he thought that, under

destroyed—it might even require centuries before the whole was done away. The remedy which he proposed to apply was not altogether founded on theory. In the course of 30 years having had occasion to employ many men, 6*d.* a week had been laid aside from the wages of each man, which in the 30 years had amounted to 20,000*l.* He should propose in like manner that all classes in the country should be called on to contribute to a national bank. The contribution would fall lightly on all classes, as it would not amount in any case to more than 1-30th of the earnings of any labourer. The labourers employed in agriculture would contribute 4*d.* per week, which would amount, on 3,000,000 of labourers, to 2,200,000*l.* The same contribution from the same number of manufacturing labourers was 2,200,000*l.* A weekly contribution should be required from all employers of labourers to the amount of 1*d.* on each labourer employed, which would amount to 1,200,000*l.*; and the same contribution should be levied on land. A contribution of 6*d.* per week should be raised on the higher classes, which would produce probably 2,000,000*l.* which would make a total of 8,800,000*l.* This sum should be applied to give all comforts to the poor in their old age, without dragging them into those dreadful receptacles in which they were now placed. The management of the fund, he proposed, should be placed in the hands of persons elected—1. From the labourers.—2. From their employers.—3. From persons of consequence in the parishes. This would tend to give the poor consequence and consideration, and to raise them from the degraded state in which they now were. This would form

a pleasing contrast with the present system of management by overseers, who had no sympathy with the class to whom charity was extended, and who were too apt to confound the unfortunate with the vicious. When the fund accumulated to a certain amount in particular parishes, the contribution should be reduced one half, and finally cease. The money should be paid to the receiver general of the counties, and vested in government securities. He should recommend a similar establishment for the army and navy. As to those illegitimate children who were deserted by their parents, he should propose that the government should extend its care to their education. He should propose that meantime parochial relief, under the act of Elizabeth, should be extended to persons only above fifty years of age. He should also propose to simplify the settlement laws, and to enable parishes who were overstocked with hands to send, on consideration of the payment of a certain sum, labourers to parishes where they might find employment.—The honourable member concluded by moving, That a select committee be appointed to take into consideration the state of the poor laws, and to report thereon to the house. —Agreed to.

May 30.—The prince regent's message on the subject of a new silver coinage having been referred to a committee of the whole house; the earl of Liverpool said, it was intended by government to make gold the standard of value in the kingdom; there would be therefore no alteration in the value of gold coin. Silver, he considered, stood on the same principle as copper; it was not the standard or measure of value, and it was only requisite that there should be enough of it for the

R 2 purposes

purposes of change, and it should not be melted down. In 1773, a pound of silver was coined into 62 shillings; and at the rate of 62*s.* for the pound, the price would be 5*s.* 2*d.*: so that silver was at present below the mint price, and might be coined even on the old principle. It was not till the market price of silver was above the mint price that a profit was afforded for converting it into bullion. Such an inducement would be taken away by fixing upon the coin a small seignorage, which, while it defrayed the expense of coinage, would also raise its value above bullion. Upon an average of the fluctuations in the price of silver since 1733, it had borne the value of 5*s.* 4*d.* an ounce. It was at present at 5*s.* 1½*d.* being an halfpenny below the mint price. He therefore thought that a rise to 5*s.* 9*d.* the ounce would afford a sufficient security to all the coin that might be thrown into circulation, and would admit of fluctuation within considerably extensive limits. The difference between 62 shillings for the pound troy weight of silver, which was the mint price, or the present proportion that it bore to gold, and 68 or 70 shillings which it would be fixed at, would pay the expenses of a re-coinage. He should now mention the arrangements proper to be adopted in recalling the deteriorated silver coin, and substituting the new. The bank tokens in circulation amounted to 3,700,000*l.* These would be allowed to circulate till the new coin was ready to be issued, which would be in about seven months. The amount of the deteriorated coin, consisting of shillings and sixpences, he did not know. The calling in of the base money, and the issue of the substitute, would be simultaneous; and to issue such a quantity of coin at first as would

be sufficient for public convenience. He thought 2,500,000*l.* of new coinage would be sufficient to supply the place of the shillings and sixpences called in or driven out of circulation, which was depreciated full 30 per cent. In regard to indemnity, he should propose, that all the old silver which could be considered as legal tender, by having the proper marks, should be received at its current value, when called in; mere counterfeits could not be received for more than their value as determined by weight and fineness.—Agreed to.

June 14.—The house having gone into a committee on the exchequer consolidation bill, sir J. Newport objected to the creation of a vice-treasurer, who should be allowed to execute his office by deputy, and whose situation would thus be a sinecure of 3,500*l.* a year. An amendment was proposed against the amount, which was rejected, by 108 to 66.

It was then proposed by Mr. Ponsonby, that the clause rendering the vice-treasurer eligible to sit in parliament, be omitted; which was also negatived, by 107 to 57.

June 17.—Mr. Ponsonby called the attention of the house to the salary of the vice-treasurer of Ireland; and said he would detain the house a very short time, as the reasons against the uncalled-for and large salary of 3,500*l.* a year appeared so strong. He had already proposed to fill the blank with 2,000*l.* a year; and he was convinced that out of that house there were none in England, who understood the matter, and nobody in Ireland, who would not be of opinion that, taking 2,000*l.* a year, he proposed rather too large than too small a salary. He then moved that the blank be filled up with 2,000*l.*

The

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that some members were present who did not attend on the former discussion. He should therefore say a very few words. It was to be recollected that the treasury of Ireland was formerly under three vice-treasurers, till the Irish parliament in 1795 instituted a board of treasury. It was now proposed to have only one vice-treasurer to do all the duties incumbent on the office.

The house then divided on Mr. Ponsonby's amendment. — Ayes, 100; Noes 98: majority in favour of the amendment, 2.—When the result was announced, it was received with loud cheering.

In a committee of the whole house, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed resolutions for granting various sums:—among these were 10,253*l.* for the charges of the British Museum; 800*l.* for defraying the expense of removing the Elgin marbles from the place where they then were, and 1,700*l.* for erecting a temporary building to receive them. The sums of 50,000*l.* for foreign or secret service money; 75,000*l.* for the Caledonian canal; and 20,000*l.* for making bridges and roads in the highlands of Scotland,—excited from their continuance and magnitude great opposition; which occasioned ministers to withdraw one resolution, granting 20,046*l.* to the Royal Naval Asylum.

June 19.—Mr. Wilberforce, after an affecting exordium, said, that the slave population of the West Indies had a peculiar claim to our regard. For 200 years we had brought them from their native home—we had planted them in the Western hemisphere, for the purposes of our aggrandisement and wealth—we owed them in an especial degree

our protection, and there could be no difference of opinion as to the obligation imposed on us to afford it. In the associations of the planters, every thing tends to render the negro an object of degradation—his colour—his language, an imperfect mimicry of our own,—and the very habits of self-abasement which slavery itself produces. Every where, except in the West Indies, they were a prolific race. There, great numbers were lost every year, from being under-fed and over-worked. From all he had heard, he entertained a high opinion of their industry and capacity. Mr. Wilberforce then showed the absurdity of the charge brought against him and his friends, of having, by agitating the registry bill, been the cause of the late insurrection at Barbadoes. It would, he observed, be as consistent to maintain that the disturbance excited on the subject of the corn bill was the fault of parliament, and that no benefit resulted from that measure because it had been attended with some degree of rioting,—as to attribute the insurrection in the West Indies to the operation of the registry bill. Were we precluded from considering the distressed state of the country at any time, merely by the possibility that the disclosure of its sufferings might augment discontent, and lead to revolt? The insurrection at Barbadoes might be traced to other causes—perhaps to the managers of estates, who did not so much consult the feelings or comforts of the slaves as in our other colonies; and they pressed upon the rights of that degraded race with a weight which they felt intolerable. He had been charged by an honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Marryat) with fanaticism. If to profess humanity to our fel-

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low-creatures, and to endeavour with zeal to carry into execution whatever measures lay in his power for promoting their welfare, were the honourable gentleman's definition of fanaticism, he was afraid that he was a most incurable fanatic. If he really was a fanatic in the cause of the abolition, he was glad to think he was one in so good a company. The honourable gentleman had been a little louder, more zealous, and more abusive of late—a circumstance which he (Mr. W.) ascribed to his agency. If all that he had heard were true, he doubted whether or not the acceptance of this appointment might not operate as an exclusion from the house; and he had once thought of bringing the matter before parliament.—The honourable gentleman then moved for papers respecting the illicit importation of slaves into Jamaica; and sat down amidst loud cheering, which lasted several minutes.

Mr. N. Palmer submitted, that it was the first duty of the legislature to quiet, rather than exasperate, the alarms which had taken place amongst the colonies; and with this view he should propose an amendment, to the following effect:—That an address be presented to the prince regent, praying that he would be pleased to issue instructions to the governors of our West India islands, that they should proclaim to the slave population his highest displeasure at the late insurrection, ascribable to the false and mischievous opinion that orders had been sent out for their emancipation; reminding them that the most prompt measures would be resorted to, to put down the spirit of insubordination; and at the same time that the governors should recommend it to the colonial legisla-

tures to carry into effect every measure that may tend to the moral and religious improvement as well as the comfort of the slaves.

Mr. Barham spoke with warmth in favour of the amendment.

Mr. Brougham said, that the planters had with sinister views instilled into the minds of the slaves that they were to be immediately freed—when the cannon was charged and fired, it had recoiled on themselves.

On the recommendation of Messrs. Ponsonby and Canning, and lord Castlereagh, Mr. Wilberforce agreed to withdraw his motion, and that Mr. Palmer's address should be substituted; after which it was agreed that the papers should be produced.

June 20.—Mr. Brougham brought up the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the education of the poor of the metropolis—120,000 children were without the means of education; though the amount of the public and private charities for this purpose, including the Charter-house, Christ's Hospital, the Westminster and St. Paul's schools, amounted to 70,000*l*. There were scarcely any instances of abuse in the above establishments. One flagrant case had been transmitted to him from the country, where 1,500*l*. which was left for the endowment of a school, was managed by the lord of the manor, who appointed his own brother schoolmaster, with a large salary, while he again shifted the duties to a deputy schoolmaster, in the person of a joiner, with the small income of 40*l*. a year, and left this ignorant person to educate the children. It appeared that 18,000*l*. educated, upon the old plan, only 3,000 children; whereas, upon the new plan, it was sufficient to educate 30,000 children.

den. If children were only educated, instead of being boarded, clothed, and lodged, the benefit of education might be extended to all the poor requiring it: but many charitable establishments were under the direction of trustees, who were clothiers, butchers, bakers, &c. and these were interested in contracts. The honourable gentleman recommended that next session a parliamentary commission should be appointed, which should progress through the country, and have power to examine persons upon oath, &c; and in order to ensure dispatch, the members of the commission should be paid for their labours.

Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Wilberforce, paid Mr. Brougham many compliments; and the report was ordered to lie upon the table.

July 1.—Mr. Bennet brought up the report of the committee on the police of the metropolis, which he trusted would occupy the attention of the house next session. One of the branches of the police which was deserving of particular attention, was the manner in which the licenses were granted to public-houses: for though the magistrates in general were men remarkable for uprightness, yet in the district of White-chapel it appeared that there was an improper connexion between some of the magistrates and the brewers. As to the increase of crimes in the metropolis, it certainly appeared that the numbers of commitments in 1813 to the different prisons was 9000; and in 1815 they were 10,500. It was worthy of remark, that 800 persons were committed to Clerkenwell prison in one year for assaults. In the prisons, it was to be regretted that there was no classification of the

different offenders. From the evidence, on the whole, it appeared, that there was an amelioration in the general state of manners and morals of the lower orders of late years, though there were now 20,000 persons in the extremest state of want.

House of lords, July 2.—The prince regent being seated upon the throne, a message was sent for the commons to attend; who having arrived, the speaker (Mr. Abbot) delivered the following address:

“May it please your royal highness,—At the close of a laborious session, we, his majesty’s most faithful commons, attend upon your royal highness with our concluding bill of supply. During the course of our deliberations, we have, in obedience to your royal highness’s commands, examined the various treaties and conventions which had been laid before us. We have there seen the tranquillity of Europe re-established upon a basis of legitimate government, by the same presiding counsels which planned the bold, provident, and comprehensive measures commenced in the negotiations at Chaumont, matured in the congress at Vienna, and completed by the peace of Paris. We have also seen, that with a wise and generous policy the allied powers, in disclaiming all projects of dismembering the great and ancient monarchy of France, have been contented to adopt such precautionary measures as might effectually protect the world from a renewal of its former sufferings. And we have rejoiced more especially that this important charge has been confided, by common consent, to the same victorious commander, whose triumphs have so mainly contributed to the glory of his country and the general happiness of mankind. In

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our domestic concerns, the great and sudden transition from a state of extended warfare to our present situation, has necessarily produced many serious evils and difficulties, to which we have not failed to apply our most anxious attention. To the distresses of the agricultural interests we have rendered such immediate relief as could be devised, hoping also that they may daily decrease, and trusting much to the healing influence of time. For the benefit of commerce, and the general convenience of all ranks of his majesty's subjects, a new coinage has been provided; and in various ways, by positive enactments or preparatory inquiries, we have devoted much of our labours to the general improvement of the condition of the people, their relief, and their instruction. In settling our financial arrangements, the expenditure of the services of our civil and military establishments has been considered with reference to the pecuniary resources of the year; and amongst the most important of our measures, as affecting the joint interests of Great Britain and Ireland, is the law which we have passed for consolidating the revenues of both portions of the United Kingdom. But, sir, in the midst of all our various and important concerns, domestic and foreign, there are none in which the nation ever takes a deeper interest than those which regard the splendour and dignity of the throne which reigns over us. Impressed with these sentiments, we have endeavoured, by a new arrangement of the civil list, to separate those revenues which are especially assigned to the support of the royal state, placing them henceforth beyond the reach of any contingent charges, which more properly belong to other and different branches of the

public service. And in the same spirit of loyal and affectionate attachment we have hailed, with heartfelt satisfaction, the auspicious marriage by which the paternal choice of your royal highness has gratified the universal wishes of the nation, and has adopted in the family of our sovereign an illustrious prince, whose high qualities have already endeared him to the people amongst whom he has fixed the future destinies of his life. These, sir, are the objects to which our thoughts and labours have been chiefly directed; and for completing the grants which it is our especial duty and privilege to provide, we now present to your royal highness a bill, entitled 'An act for granting to his majesty a certain sum out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain moneys therein mentioned for the service of the year 1816, and further appropriating the supplies granted in the session of parliament;' to which bill, with all humility, we entreat his majesty's royal assent."

The royal assent was given to the appropriation bill, the bankrupt amendment bill, the pillory abolition bill, the regent's canal bill, the gas light bill, Dyott's divorce bill, and a few other bills.

The prince regent then delivered the following speech:

"My lords and gentlemen,—I cannot close this session of parliament without again expressing my deep regret at the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition. The cordial interest which you have manifested in the happy event of the marriage of my daughter the princess Charlotte with the prince of Saxe-Cobourg, and the liberal provision which you have made for their establishment, afford an additional proof of your affectionate attachment to his majesty's

majesty's person and family, and demand my warmest acknowledgements. I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that I have given the royal consent to a marriage between his majesty's daughter the princess Mary and the duke of Gloucester; and I am persuaded that this event will be highly gratifying to all his majesty's subjects. The assurances which I have received of the pacific and friendly disposition of the powers engaged in the late war, and of their resolution to execute inviolably the terms of the treaties which I announced to you at the opening of the session, promise the continuance of that peace so essential to the interests of all the nations of the world.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons—I thank you for the supplies which you have granted for the service of the year; and I am sensible of the beneficial effects which may be expected to result from the salutary system of making provision for them in a way calculated to uphold public credit. The arrangements which you have adopted for discharging the incumbrances of the civil list, and for rendering its future income adequate to its expenditure, by relieving it from a part of the charge to which it was subject, are in the highest degree gratifying and satisfactory to me; and you may be assured that nothing shall be wanting on my part to give full effect to those arrangements. The provision you have made for consolidating the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland,

will, I doubt not, be productive of the happiest consequence, in cementing and advancing the interests of the United Kingdom; and must afford an additional proof of the constant disposition of parliament to relieve the difficulties and promote the welfare of Ireland.

"My lords and gentlemen,—The measures to which I have been under the necessity of resorting, for the suppression of those tumults and disorders which had unfortunately occurred in some parts of the kingdom, have been productive of the most salutary effects. I deeply lament the continuance of that pressure and distress which the circumstances of the country, at the close of so long a war, have unavoidably entailed on many classes of his majesty's subjects. I feel fully persuaded, however, that after the many severe trials which they have undergone in the course of the arduous contest in which we have been engaged, and the ultimate success which has attended their glorious and persevering exertions, I may rely with perfect confidence on their public spirit and fortitude in sustaining those difficulties which will, I trust, be found to have arisen from causes of a temporary nature, and which cannot fail to be materially relieved by the progressive improvement of public credit, and by the reduction which has already taken place in the burthens of the people."

The lord chancellor, by the prince regent's command, then prorogued parliament to Saturday, Aug. 24.

CHAPTER VIII.

Proceedings of Parliament not confined to the Debates—The Reports of their Committees of great public Interest and Importance—Principal Reports of the Session—Report on the Police of the Metropolis—Summary View of the Topics which it embraces, and the Evils which it discloses—Causes and Consequences of those Evils:—How far Government is concerned in their Production—How they ought to be remedied—Reports on the State of Education—on the Employment of Children in Manufactories—on Mad-houses; and on Mendicants.

OUR readers will perceive that we have entered much more fully than usual into the proceedings and debates of parliament:—this we have been induced to do from several considerations. In the first place, in time of peace the internal state and feelings of a nation are objects of the most important nature, and indeed of paramount consequence; and these can best be learnt, in our country, by the proceedings and debates in the two houses of parliament, particularly in the house of commons. In the second place, to this general consideration must be added the particular one—that the debates and proceeding of the session of 1816 were of great moment and interest. This will be sufficiently apparent, not merely from the subjects which were discussed, but also from the manner in which, and the persons by whom, they were discussed. Lastly, we wished to give a clearer insight into the parliamentary history of the united kingdom than could be given merely by condensing and abridging the principal debates.

We should however form an inadequate and unfair view and estimate of the labours of parliament, and of the tendency which they have either to unfold the real state or to promote the interests of the nation,

if we confined our attention exclusively to their debates. Till within the last 25 or 30 years, the members of either house had indeed little else to do but to discuss and vote upon the subject brought before them; but latterly, other objects have called for their notice and labour. Not a session passes by in the course of which committees are not formed, to collect evidence and report upon topics of very general and deep interest. It would carry us far beyond our limits if we were to attempt to give even a summary and rapid view of the reports which were laid before parliament during the last session: we cannot however entirely pass them by without notice. The reports most interesting and most important were those that related to the police, and the state of education in the metropolis; to the employment of children in manufactories; to the state and regulations of mad-houses; and to mendicity. The last indeed occupied the house of commons the session before: but as we have not noticed it previously, we shall now pay that attention to it which the importance of the subject demands and deserves.

The report on the police of the metropolis is one of melancholy and deep interest. The scenes which it unfolds cannot be viewed without feelings

feelings certainly not consolatory or flattering to human nature. That in such a city as London, containing upwards of one million of inhabitants—principally occupied in the pursuits of commerce, and too many of them destitute of those principles which are the best safeguard against vice,—there should be great variety as well as great atrocity of crime, was to be expected; but assuredly few could have anticipated such a display of vice and immorality as this report opened up to view. This, however, is not the worst display in the report; there are other points more alarming. The system of police acted upon for the express purpose of detecting and putting down crime, was proved to be in most instances not merely inadequate and inapplicable; it was proved to be positively injurious, actually to foster and nurse up those crimes which, if they could not be prevented, ought at all events most certainly to be put down as quickly and as radically as possible.

We will not shock and disgust our readers even by a qualified and general account of the facts which the police report brought to light: suffice it to say, that they proved most lamentably and indisputably, that the system was radically wrong; and that those who ought to have watched over the morals of the people, most fatally and criminally neglected their duty. The inferior officers of police no one can expect to be men of disinterested views or very rigid virtue; but they certainly ought not to be men who, for the sake of reward, will encourage and stimulate to crime;—and yet, such is the system of police proved to be followed too generally in the metropolis, that those inferior officers were best rewarded, who brought

in the most abundant harvest of crime.

It seems scarcely necessary to point out all the evils resulting from such a system. They are so obvious, and at the same time so dreadful, that they force themselves on the mind in the most painful manner. The nation at large, as well as particular classes of individuals, suffer from this system. So far as the nation is concerned, it may justly be regarded as preying upon the very vitals of its strength, morality and happiness;—for if the strength of a nation depends upon, and in fact exclusively results from, the industry of the people, what can be more extensively and deeply fatal to its strength than the encouragement of crime? A wise government, though perhaps it has it not often in its power, will always be desirous to prevent crime, rather than to punish it when committed; for punishment, even as it respects nations, ought not to be regarded as the gratification of revenge—as the gratification of a passion instinctive to all individuals, transferred to the government; but as a necessary and unavoidable evil—as a means, however painful and immediately productive of evil, which is absolutely necessary to prevent greater evil. It would almost seem to us that the right of governments to punish for crimes is greatly lessened in all cases in which it does not use its utmost endeavour to prevent crimes:—in other words, we are convinced that a system of preventive police, so far as it is practicable, is a paramount duty of government—a duty much more imperative, and certainly much more pleasing, than that of punishing crime. But if it be a duty of government to prevent crime, and if it be questionable whether their right to punish is not diminished

diminished in those cases in which they have not properly and fully exercised this duty—what shall we say to a government, which either directly or indirectly encourages, or which does not even immediately repress and punish, those who carry on the police of the country in such a manner as to encourage crime, in order to benefit themselves?

It ought to be impressed upon all governments, and more deeply upon a free and popular government such as ours, that not only the strength, morality and happiness, of the people are affected by the police which is acted upon, but that the stability and permanence of the government itself depend upon it in a great degree.

We shall afterwards have occasion to notice the tumults and dissatisfaction which took place in many parts of the kingdom, particularly in the metropolis. These arose no doubt in no trifling degree from real distress;—but can any one doubt that in the metropolis, at least, real distress was not the only cause, and that abandoned and profligate characters took advantage of this distress to commit acts of violence and atrocity? We do not mean to say that in such a city as London any system of police can possibly prevent or keep down all crime, or that it will not exist to a great degree; but for that very reason the system ought to be framed on the best possible principles, administered by the most active, intelligent, and patriotic magistrates, and watched by the highest officers of government with the utmost care and jealousy.

It perhaps is necessary that the magistrates who have the administration of the police of the metropolis should be paid as well as appointed by government. But who

does not see that this, if absolutely necessary, is a necessary evil? If on the one hand, in such a constitution as ours, popular opinion, watchfulness and jealousy, keep the government to their duty in many instances; it is equally certain, that the very nature of our constitution produces great abuses in other cases; for it seems to be indispensable that government should obtain and preserve a certain degree of influence in the house of commons. Whether or not this influence, for all proper and salutary purposes, might not be obtained by more temperate and harmless means, we shall not now inquire: it is certain, that to obtain and preserve this influence, places are given to those who have no other merit but that which recommends them to government on this score. In the police report, thought it appeared that most of the police magistrates discharged their duty with fidelity and conscientiousness, yet there certainly were cases brought forward and substantiated, where magistrates most disgracefully neglected their duty, or, to speak more accurately, where they not only were guilty of the crime of not discharging their duty, but where they positively contributed to the spread and growth of those crimes which they were paid and in-duty bound to repress and punish.

The most singular part of the police report relates to the mode of licensing public-houses and gin-shops. It will not we are certain be deemed irrelevant, or below the dignity of history, to advert to these matters, when we reflect how much the public-houses and gin-shops of the metropolis contribute to its crimes. Without adverting however more particularly to them, at present, in this view and connexion, we shall notice the plan of licensing them,

them, as indicating the abuse of the system of police, and as tending to form and encourage a monopoly, as well as to throw an improper degree of power into the hands of individuals.

It was proved,—what indeed was well known before,—that the great brewers of the metropolis were possessed of the greater part of the public-houses, which they let to persons on the express condition that they sold their beer or porter. This is in itself an evil, in so far as it encourages monopoly and increases the power and influence of individuals who, independently of this source of power and influence, must possess too much from their enormous capitals. But the evil does not terminate here. It was also proved that some of these brewers were not content with the power and influence which they thus enjoyed, but that they indirectly possessed the privilege of granting and refusing licenses. Instances were brought forward in the evidence of the reports, in which licenses had been refused by the magistrates while the house intended for a public-house was the property of a private individual, whereas as soon as it became the property of a great brewer the license was immediately granted. What shall we think of a system of police in which such instances could occur,—in which any magistrate acting under it could so far forget his duty, as to become the agent of any individual to the neglect of that duty?

There were, however, stronger cases even than these: there were cases in which application had been made to the magistrates to withdraw the licenses from certain public-houses, on the express ground that they harboured and encouraged thieves and prostitutes; and these applications were refused,—the refusal,

there is too much reason to apprehend, resting entirely on these public-houses being the property of persons whom the magistrates did not wish to disoblige or injure. We have already adverted to the fact, that public-houses and gin-shops, in such a place as London, administer most abundantly to the crimes which are perpetrated in it. This they would unavoidably do under the best regulations,—but how much more under the system pursued?

Thus we perceive that the report of the committee on the police of the metropolis has opened to our view topics that loudly call for legislative interference. But will the legislature interfere? And if they do, in what manner can they interfere, so as to do the most good with the least mixture of harm? It may seem strange and uncandid to make it a matter of doubt and uncertainty, whether the legislature of such a country as Britain will interfere to correct the abuses and destroy the evils of such a system of police as we have pointed out; more especially after the house of commons had expressly appointed a committee to inquire into the state of police; and after this committee had made their report, and after the report was actually printed, and had excited such deep and general attention and interest in the country at large. But, unfortunately, in our government at all times, and more particularly under the present circumstances, there are other considerations which weigh with it, besides those which affect the morality of the people. We have already alluded to the weighty consideration of influence: and the less manageable from crime, or the less satisfied from other causes, the mass of the people become, the more necessity is supposed to exist for this influence.

influence. At present there is the additional consideration of revenue. No one can possibly doubt that if revenue were not a paramount object with government, lotteries would not be encouraged, nor would gin-shops be so numerous as they are. If this consideration did not weigh above others, that respect the morality and happiness of a people, would the gin shops be permitted to be not only more numerous than necessary, but under regulations which seem to have for their sole object the quantity of spirits consumed in them? And yet, that is a short-sighted and impolitic as well as a bad government, which seeks either influence or revenue by any other means than those which will at the same time create attachment and confidence in the people, and encourage, instead of weakening, their habits of industry, prudence and sobriety.

But on the supposition that the legislature were disposed to put down the evils which the police report has disclosed, In what manner are they to proceed? We are by no means of opinion that the removal of evils which have long existed in a community is an easy task, or can safely be accomplished except after much inquiry and investigation, and in a gradual and cautious manner. When governments permit an evil to grow up, either in their own system or in the habits of the community under their charge, they should reflect not only on the consequences which it will produce, but also on the difficulty and inconvenience which its eradication, when it can no longer be borne, will produce. The rooting out, in the case of an individual, of a bad habit, is not only a work of great difficulty, time and labour, but in many cases produces temporary mischief: and

it is much more so the case with respect to large communities.

There can be no doubt, that if the legislature were seriously to set about the eradication of the evils brought to light in the police report, they would at once change their principle of action; and instead of saying "Let us obtain influence and revenue at all events and by all means, whatever becomes of the public morals," they would say "Let us in the first instance secure the purity of public morals, and, after that is done, obtain as much influence and revenue as we can." On this principle they would act: the application of the principle would depend on a variety of circumstances which cannot be foreseen or laid down beforehand: one thing, however, the legislature ought to guard against, not merely when reforming abuses, but when directly contributing to benefit the community; that is, not to legislate too much; but, like a wise and judicious physician, to let nature act alone, if she appears capable and disposed to act without co-operation; or, if she gives undoubted signs that she needs assistance, only to assist her so far as she needs, and in the manner which she by her own operations points out. To apply these remarks to the case before us.—Government have in a great measure produced the evils complained of, either by their own negligence or by their own positive misdeeds: where they were negligent before, let them now be vigilant and active; and let them withdraw all encouragement to crime, which they heretofore have given for the sake of influence and revenue. We by no means wish them to go much, if any further; we are no advocates for government interfering either in the moral or political education of the

the people. This country has risen to its present state of grandeur and wealth, (for its grandeur and wealth still substantially remain, though suffering under a temporary depression,) it has seen its ports filled with vessels from all parts of the globe; its manufactures forcing their way into the remotest parts of Asia, Africa, and America; its lands cultivated with a skill and productiveness unparalleled; its bridges, canals and roads formed at an expense that would have constituted the revenue of many states,—and all this by the mere operation of individuals, by the energy and activity of the public acting in most cases without the smallest assistance from government, and in many cases in spite of the impolicy and wasteful effect of their measures.

Government therefore, if so disposed, has little to do in order to destroy those evils which the police report has disclosed. With respect to the appointment of the police magistrates, indeed, their co-operation will be more directly required. When the system of the police was established on its present footing, there was a popular outcry against government appointing and paying the magistrates who were to act under it; it was supposed they would be instruments in the hands of government to answer their purposes, and that before them no person inimical to government would meet with a candid and patient hearing. It must be confessed, however, that, considering the prejudice against them, they have satisfied the public more completely than might have been expected: they have an arduous, an unpleasant, and highly responsible duty to discharge, and upon the whole they have discharged it well. But more might be done both by government and by them. So far as re-

lates to government, they ought by no means to permit any influence in the smallest degree to interfere in the appointment of the police magistrates; but in all cases they should exclusively select men in every respect qualified for the situation; intrepid, active, acute, intelligent, impartial, cool; and with an adequate knowledge not only of the laws, but of those classes of society whom their decisions were most likely to affect. The magistrates themselves should reconsider the system on which they act for the detection of crimes: informers, and the inferior officers of police, must be rewarded for the detection of criminals; it is perhaps impossible to detect crimes otherwise; but the utmost caution should be used in offering and bestowing rewards; and as it is made the interest of informers and the inferior officers to detect crimes, these people should be most rigorously and without intermission watched over, lest the temptation held out to them, induces them either to accuse the innocent, or, what is worse, to render the innocent guilty, in order to reap their reward.

We have said that of government we require little or no positive co-operation:—what they principally ought to do, is to withdraw the causes of crimes which their measures may create: when these are withdrawn, positive remedies will rise up, by the mere operation of that vitality which all societies, and especially the people of Britain, contain within themselves.

The report on the education of the lower orders in the metropolis is of much deeper interest, and certainly of a much more pleasing nature, than the report on the state of the police. While it points out a large proportion of the children in the

the lower classes still destitute of the advantages of education, and strongly depicts the evils which result from a want of it, it also affords strong and interesting proofs of the advance of the national system of education and of the benefits resulting from it.

The report may be regarded as relating to two grand and distinct topics; the state and the effects of the old established schools, and of those which have been established recently, that is to say, during this king's reign.

It is doubted by many, whether education will be much benefited or advanced by government interfering in it, or even by the endowment of schools. Government cannot interfere without endeavouring to render the schools under its patronage subservient in some respects and degree to its views. This will be the case under all governments; and though the British government is too liberal and enlightened to adopt a regular plan for rendering places of education which it establishes and supports subservient to its views, yet its influence must act upon them, though in an indirect yet in a prejudicial manner. It is therefore better that the business of education should be left, like trade and commerce, to individuals: all that government should do is to withdraw impediments; in the one case to give trade and commerce, and in the other case to give education, fair play.

With respect to endowed schools, we think there is sufficient evidence in the report to prove that they are liable to many abuses, and that even where they are in a great measure free from abuses they do not advance with the advancement of the age—they keep back the human mind, and engender and strengthen errors and prejudices. Where they

do get forward, they are forced forward; they do not, like schools entirely supported by the people of the age, directly and mainly help forward that age, in literature, science, and general knowledge.

The report is very satisfactory with respect to the progress of the two national systems of education, that founded by Lancaster and that founded by Dr. Bell. We are glad to see that the foolish, ill-natured, and prejudicial dispute respecting the merits of these two persons and their respective plans is gone by, and that both parties have directed their strength and talents expressly to the more dignified object of rendering the rising education wiser and better, without troubling themselves, who are the agents of this reformation, or by what particular plan it is effected.

Having offered these general remarks on this report, we shall now attend to some of the particular parts of it. The most important parts are those which prove the progress of the national system of education in the kingdom or metropolis, and the comparative number of educated and uneducated children in either.

Mr. Althens, secretary to the East London Auxiliary Sunday School Union Society, gives the following statement regarding the educated and uneducated children in the metropolis:

"I have endeavoured to ascertain the number of untaught children within the general district of our east union; and I herewith transmit the following calculation:

"In the district bounded by the river Thames, Gracechurch-street, Bishopsgate street, through King's-land-road to Stamford-hill, the population east of this boundary amounts to about 250,000 persons.

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One half of this number are above twenty years of age.....	125,000
One quarter under six years, and from sixteen to twenty	67,500
One quarter, from 6 to 16 years of age: {	
Number of those whose parents can pay for their education, about.....	12,000
Number of those who are taught in charity, parochial, and national schools, about.....	5,000
Number of those who are taught in Sunday schools, by gratuitous teachers, about.....	10,000
Untaught, about.....	30,500
Total.....	250,000

"I submit the above, believing it will, upon investigation, be found nearly correct: if so, a similar calculation, to include the other three parts of London and its vicinity, will leave 122,000 children, between the ages of six and sixteen, destitute of instruction in the metropolis."

A very interesting detail is given by Mr. William Allen, treasurer to the British and Foreign School Society, on the subject of the progress of that society, and of the schools for boys and girls on the British system which have been organized in Great Britain.

"About the middle of the year 1808, I became first acquainted with the benevolent exertions of my late friend, Joseph Fox: previous to that period, I had merely paid my annual subscription to the Borough-road school conducted by Joseph Lancaster, but had never attended particularly to the subject: when informed of the interest taken in the concern by Joseph Fox, I inquired more minutely into the nature of the establishment, and visited it myself. I saw that it was an institution pregnant with the greatest benefits, not only to this country, but to the whole world; I saw a system in action capable of affording instruction to poor children, at the expense of from five to fifteen shillings per head per annum. 1816.

num, according to the magnitude of the school, ranging from a thousand to a hundred boys; indeed a school of a thousand might be conducted at the expense of only four shillings and sixpence per head per annum. It appears that as far back as the year 1798, Joseph Lancaster taught a few poor children in the Borough-road; himself and parents were in low circumstances, but he seemed to be actuated by a benevolent disposition, and to possess great talents for the education of youth; he was countenanced and supported by a few benevolent individuals; and, as the subscriptions were limited to a very small sum, he was obliged to devise the most economical plans. By a series of improvements, he at length demonstrated the possibility of instructing even a thousand children (if so many could be collected together in one room) by a single master; he divided his school into eight classes, each of which was managed by a monitor, whose duties were exactly prescribed to him, and who was made responsible for the good order of his class; over these a monitor-general was placed, who regulated the business of the whole school, under the immediate direction of the master. Upon Lancaster's plan, a single book was found sufficient for a whole school, the different sheets being put upon
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pasteboard, and hung upon the walls of the school. He avoided the expense of pens and paper in the first stages of education, by substituting slates; he also introduced the plan of teaching the younger children to form the letters in sand, which plan was borrowed, I believe, from Dr. Bell, who had imported it from India; he contrived to teach writing and spelling at the same time, and he made a single spelling-book serve for a whole school, however large. He taught arithmetic from lessons which he had constructed for the purpose, whereby the monitor might correctly teach the principles of it, even if he were not fully acquainted with them himself: in this case, also, one book of arithmetic served for the whole school. So that the expense of teaching on this plan consists in the salary of the master or mistress, the rent of the school-room, and from ten to twenty pounds per annum, according to the size of the school, for the necessary apparatus. I was particularly struck with the liberality upon which the system was conducted; for, while the reading lessons consisted of extracts from the Scriptures, in the very words of the authorized version, no peculiar catechism or creed was forced upon the children thus promiscuously collected together, and who must obviously consist of those belonging to persons of different religious persuasions; and I could not but perceive at the same time, the immense advantages which would arise to the community by thus educating children of different religious persuasions together, inasmuch as it would tend to lessen those prejudices and animosities which often have been found so mischievous to society. The children might naturally be expected to acquire an attachment for each other, which they would, in

many instances, carry with them through life. We all recollect that when a person whom we have not seen for twenty or thirty years past is introduced to us as a school-fellow, the recollection of the circumstance brings with it generally claims of attachment and regard. At this period, Joseph Lancaster was involved in great pecuniary difficulties; his debts amounted to between 6000*l.* and 7000*l.* while his effects were estimated only at about 3,500*l.*; and if they had been sold, they would not probably have realized much more than a third part of that sum. Upon examination into the accounts, it appeared that Joseph Lancaster, in his ardour to propagate the system, had entered into pecuniary engagements which it was impossible for him to fulfil with the subscriptions he then had. Some time previously to this period, our venerable sovereign had condescended to give him a personal interview, and was so much impressed with the value of this simple and economical plan, and the probable benefits which the country and the world might derive from it, that he became an annual subscriber of 100*l.* and recommended the queen and other branches of the royal family also to become subscribers to a considerable amount. The prejudices which had been operating against the founder, had so far diminished the subscriptions in the beginning of the year 1808, that they amounted then to little more than those of the king and royal family. Joseph Fox saw that unless a vigorous exertion was immediately made, the whole plan was in danger of being utterly lost. In this period but few schools upon the system existed in the country, and the public were not aware of the value of the plan, and nothing but a most decisive measure could have saved

it. Joseph Lancaster's creditors were at that moment harassing him with legal proceedings; and it was under these circumstances that Joseph Fox advanced nearly 2000*l.* of his own property, and made himself responsible for as much more, by bills drawn by him and accepted by William Corston, as were necessary to settle in full with all the creditors. This measure was arranged before I became acquainted with the circumstance. It was obvious that, though the plan was thus saved, it would be quite impossible to carry it on without a great increase in the annual subscriptions. The expenditure at that time, for the training of masters for the purpose of establishing this æconomical plan in different parts of the kingdom, involved an expense of from two to three thousand pounds per annum. I then determined to render all the assistance in my power, and to procure the co-operation of as many of my friends as possible, provided Joseph Lancaster would agree that the whole business should be managed by a committee of a few gentlemen, to be chosen by himself, that regular accounts should be kept of all receipts and expenses, as well as fair minute-books of all transactions. To this he at length agreed, and appointed the following members of the committee: Sir John Jackson, M. P., Joseph Fox, William Corston, William Allen, Joseph Forster, Thomas Sturge; and from that period down to the present day, the account-books and minute-books have been regularly kept. In addition to the patronage bestowed upon this institution almost from its very beginning, by the duke of Bedford and lord Somerville, the royal dukes of Kent and Sussex, about the year 1811, having minutely inquired into the nature of the plan, gave it their decided and warm support; and

through all the difficulties that have attended its progress at different periods, these illustrious personages have rendered most important assistance, and have uniformly shown the most lively interest in its final success. In the year 1811 several distinguished persons also came forward to its support, and, by their kind assistance and countenance, the committee were encouraged to bear up under all their difficulties. In the years 1808 and 1809 the sum of 4000*l.* was raised, mostly in shares of 100*l.* each, from several benevolent individuals, which loans were to bear interest at five per cent.; and the annual subscriptions were increased, so as more nearly to meet the expenditure. But, with all these exertions, the sum necessary to be employed in capital for the stock of lessons, slates, and apparatus, for the supply of country schools, rendered it necessary for the committee to advance sums of money, which at the end of 1811 amounted to 5,400*l.* About this period the committee had much opposition to encounter, from those who were advocates for an exclusive plan of education, and who wished to insist on the church catechism being taught in all schools for the general education of the poor. The subscriptions were, however, still very considerable; and though they did not equal the annual expenditure, the trustees made the necessary advances from their own private property. Joseph Lancaster, being set at liberty from his pecuniary embarrassment, travelled throughout the country, explaining his plan in public lectures; and by this means the public became so much interested in the business, that a great number of schools were established in different parts of the kingdom, which occasioned an extensive claim upon the parent institution for masters and mistresses.

At this period the advocates for an exclusive system established schools, which they called national, and insisted that children introduced into them should learn the church catechism, and go to church. Down to the year 1812, the system had been progressively making its way throughout the country; and the demands upon the parent institution, for masters and mistresses, whose training had incurred a considerable expense, became more and more urgent. A great number of accounts were now opened with new schools, for lessons, slates, &c. In 1813 Joseph Lancaster, without the knowledge, and contrary to the advice of the committee, engaged in an establishment at Tooting, on the plan of a boarding-school for the children of the middle ranks of society, from which he expected to derive emolument; he then proposed to the committee, that if they would exonerate him from all claims for their advances, amounting to between 5000*l.* and 6000*l.* he would make over the premises and all the stock at the Botolph-road, and commit the whole business to their management; promising that, if this request was acceded to, he would still render every assistance in his power. The committee, upon deliberate consideration, agreed to his proposal; and the necessary deeds were drawn up and signed. The committee was now enlarged, by the addition of several highly respectable persons. From the great extension of the plans, not only in this country, but to all the quarters of the world, this measure had become absolutely necessary. And it is a gratifying reflection, that all these important benefits to mankind have been procured at an expense which must be deemed comparatively trifling. The total amount of subscriptions and donations received since the year

1808, when the committee first took charge of the concern, down to the end of the year 1815, amount only to 16,127*l.* 7*s.*; and it is further to be remarked, that the committee, from its very commencement, have had to struggle under a very heavy debt, which the increasing demands upon the establishment would never permit them to liquidate. They resolved, however, about two years ago, to make an attempt to raise 10,000*l.* which they calculated would discharge the whole of the debt, and place the institution on a permanent basis. Upwards of 7000*l.* are already subscribed; and the committee are confident, that if the nature and value of the plan were but sufficiently known, the remaining 3000*l.* would be immediately supplied."

It further states, that the annual income at present is about 1600*l.* whereas the average yearly expenses are between 2000*l.* and 3000*l.*, so that it is evident unless the subscriptions increase, this most useful establishment must decay, and fall to the ground. In Great Britain the number of boys-schools is upwards of 200; those for girls between 70 and 80. The average number of children educated at these schools, Mr. Allen thinks, cannot be taken much lower than from 150 to 200, in some schools there are 500. The expense attending this mode of education seems from the evidence to vary from 12*s.* to 16*s.* each child.

The state of the Irish children in the metropolis forms an interesting part of the Report. It appears that in the district of St. Giles alone, including the parts of Bloomsbury that are connected with it, there are at least 9000 poor Irish men, women, and children; of which 8000 are children: and that for this great number of poor children there are only ten schools independent of the

the parochial schools. It may well be conceived that the state of these children is very deplorable: the morals of the parents are very dissolute, and they encourage rather than repress vice and profligacy in their offspring. If therefore the national system of education could be extended to these children, it would undoubtedly be a great national blessing, and reduce in a very great degree the number of crimes committed in the metropolis. According to the evidence of M. Burgoyne, esq., who took very considerable pains to ascertain the population of the Irish poor resident in the metropolis, there are 1,994 boys from five to twelve years of age, 1,796 girls between the same period of life, and 6,876 grown persons.

The most serious obstacle to the education of the poor catholic Irish, seems, from the evidence given in this Report, to result from the unwillingness of the priests to allow any system, but such as they approve, to be followed. Indeed it is not uncandid to infer from the evidence of Dr. Poynter, Roman catholic bishop and vicar apostolic of the London district, that the catholic priests are by no means willing that the benefits of education should be extended to the poor catholic children.

The manufacturing system has justly been deemed unfavourable to morals and the advancement of knowledge in those who labour in it: but that much might be done to set up the force of education against the inroads on morals which the system makes, is proved by the evidence of Mr. Owen, who possesses cotton mills at New Lanark. He was well aware that Mr. Owen is so much of an enthusiast, that he is apt to give a high colouring to the benefits and effects

of his plan; and that his enthusiasm, zeal and perseverance, have produced more good than could in general be expected from the proprietors or managers of other manufactories. Notwithstanding these circumstances, however, we shall extract Mr. Owen's account of the plan he pursues.

"The children are received into a preparatory or training school at the age of three, in which they are perpetually superintended, to prevent them acquiring bad habits, to give them good ones, and to form their dispositions to mutual kindness and a sincere desire to contribute all in their power to benefit each other: these effects are chiefly accomplished by example and practice, precept being found of little use, and not comprehended by them at this early age; the children are taught also whatever may be supposed useful, that they can understand, and this instruction is combined with as much amusement as is found to be requisite for their health, and to render them active, cheerful and happy, fond of the school and of their instructors. The school, in bad weather, is held in apartments properly arranged for the purpose; but in fine weather the children are much out of doors, that they may have the benefit of sufficient exercise in the open air. In this training-school the children remain two or three years, according to their bodily strength and mental capacity; when they have attained as much strength and instruction as to enable them to unite, without creating confusion, with the youngest classes in the superior school, they are admitted into it; and in this school they are taught to read, write, account, and the girls, in addition, to sew: but the leading object in this more ad-

vanced stage of their instruction, is to form their habits and dispositions. The children generally attend this superior day-school until they are ten years old; and they are instructed in healthy and useful amusements for an hour or two every day, during the whole of this latter period. Among these exercises and amusements, they are taught to dance; those who have good voices, to sing; and those among the boys who have a natural taste for music, are instructed to play on some instrument. At this age, both boys and girls are generally withdrawn from the day-school, and are put into the mills or to some regular employment. Some of the children, however, whose parents can afford to spare the wages which the children could now earn, continue them one, two, or three years longer in the day-school, by which they acquire an education which well prepares them for any of the ordinary active employments of life. Those children who are withdrawn from the day-school at ten years of age, and put into the mills, or to any other occupation in or near the establishment, are permitted to attend, whenever they like, the evening schools' exercises and amusements, which commence, from one to two hours, according to the season of the year, after the regular business of the day is finished, and continue about two hours; and it is found that out of choice about 400, on an average, attend every evening. During these two hours there is a regular change of instruction, training, and healthy exercise, all of which proceed with such order and regularity as to gratify every spectator, and leave no doubt on any mind, of the superior advantages to be derived from this combined system of training, instruction, ex-

ercise, and amusement. The 400 now mentioned are exclusive of 300 who are taught during the day. On the Sunday, the day-scholars attend the school an hour and a half in the morning and about the same time in the afternoon; and the evening scholars, as well as their parents and other adults belonging to the establishment, attend in the evening; when either some religious exercises commence, or a lecture is read, and afterwards the regular business of the evening Sunday school begins. These proceedings seem to gratify the population in a manner not easily to be described, and, if stated much below the truth, would not be credited by many; inspection alone can give a distinct and comprehensive view of the advantages which such a system affords to all parties interested or connected with it.

"How many masters have you in the day-schools?—Generally ten or eleven; in the evening-schools usually two or three more.

"Is the expense of this institution considerable?—It is, apparently; but I do not know how any capital can be employed to make such abundant returns, as that which is judiciously expended in forming the character and directing the labour of the lower classes. I have made out a short statement of the expense of the instruction of the institution at Lanark, and the expense of the instruction for 700 scholars, part taught in the day and part in the evening, supposing schools to be erected and furnished: One sector or superior master, at 250*l.* per annum; ten assistants, males and females, at 30*l.* each on the average; light, heat, and materials of all kinds, 150*l.*; making together 700*l.* or 800*l.* per year for each child, which if taken under tuition at three years old,

old, and retained to the age of ten, would be 71. each, for forming the habits, dispositions, and general character, and to instruct in the elements of every branch of useful knowledge; which acquirements would be of more real value to the individual, and through him to the community, than any sum of money that at present it would be prudent to state. The expenses attending the exercise and amusements are all included.

"Can you give the committee the ages of the children in your establishment?—This paper contains them.

[It was delivered in, and read, as follows.]

Males.	Females.
35 -	25 of 3 years old.
27 -	19 - 4 _____
29 -	30 - 5 _____
27 -	21 - 6 _____
34 -	22 - 7 _____
26 -	24 - 8 _____
30 -	23 - 9 _____
38 -	34 - 10 _____
216 -	198
	246
	444 from 3 to 10 inclusive.

Males. Females.

155 124

155

279 from 6 to 10 inclusive.

There is one very pleasing and encouraging feature of the poor displayed in the evidence to this Report. It appears from the testimony of most of the experienced and intelligent witnesses, that the poor are very desirous of having the benefits of education granted to their children; that they seem sensible of their own deficiency in this respect, and convinced that they shall best secure the worldly prosperity, as well as the health and morals, of their offspring, by instructing their children.

Intimately connected with the subject of this Report, is that which we shall next advert to;—we mean the Report on the employment of children in manufactories. We have already alluded to the prejudicial effects on morals which the manufacturing system produces, and to the attempts which have been made and are making to counteract these effects, by educating the children employed in manufactories. But it has long been known that the health as well as the morals of children employed in manufactories suffered considerably, and this from several causes. The children were employed at much too early an age, they were employed for too great a proportion of the day, and they were frequently employed during the night. The attention of the legislature had been already directed to these abuses of manufactories—particularly to the employment of very young children, and to night-work. The Report presented last session contains evidence respecting the actual employment of children, given by the manufacturers, and the evidence of medical men regarding the effects of such employment when carried to an excess, or when the children are very young.

From this evidence it appears that the plan of conducting manufactories—especially cotton manufactories, which are much more prejudicial both to the health and the morals of children than any other kind,—has been much improved within these few years;—the manufacturers having begun to be convinced that their interest as well as their duty ought to lead them to attend to the health and the morals of the children they employ. In the course of the evidence given in this Report, however, there is one plea upon which the employment of very young children

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is defended, which is certainly ingenious and plausible, and not destitute of strength. It is contended that if the money received by the parents of the children for the work done by the latter, is diminished by the withdrawing of them from the manufactories—the parents will be so much less able to purchase food and education for their children, that it is probable their health and morals will suffer to as great a degree as they did when they were employed in the manufactories. This, however, can never be the case where the parents are prudent and careful; for the wages of parents, if they are prudent and careful, in most cases are adequate to the support not only of themselves, but also of such of their children as are of too tender an age to work.

There have been several reports and legislative enactments on the subject of mad-houses. Perhaps, if there were no public establishments for the reception and cure of insane persons, it would be better if government did not interfere regarding them; but as there are public institutions of that nature, the interference of government is necessary and proper.

In the reports on mad-houses there have been several circumstances brought to light touching the gross mismanagement of them, highly disgraceful to those who superintended them. The interference of the legislature may perhaps do much to reform the abuses thus detected and exposed; but we look for more good from the attention and suspicion of the public being drawn to these establishments by means of these reports. It is indeed one of the greatest blessings that this country enjoys, that every thing here is discussed; however secret the evil, if the public or even any large portion of the community are affected

by it,—it is dragged to light and exposed, the outcry is raised against it,—and such is the influence of public opinion in this country, that no abuse can very long stand against it. On this account we are glad to see the practice extending of printing, for general use, the most interesting reports of parliament; the newspapers in most cases extract largely from them,—but they cannot give the whole; and what they do give, cannot be read with so much interest and effect when detached and in parts, as when given entire and connected. The circulation of these reports, and of the debates of parliament, together with the free discussions of the newspapers, are features almost peculiar to this country:—they are circumstances which have produced and must continue to produce much good, both to the governors and governed.

The last report which we shall notice, is that on mendicity. In a future volume we shall offer some remarks on the poor rates: here, however, we may remark that, notwithstanding the immense sums collected by these rates, the system of mendicity—for a system it may well be called,—is much more extensive in Britain than in most other countries. From the report on this subject it appears that begging is a regular and a most profitable occupation;—that in many cases so much money has been made by it, that those who followed it absolutely refused to be employed. We do not know any publication which gives a more disgusting and depraved picture of the state of society in the metropolis, than the Report on Mendicity; and we are apprehensive, if it is examined closely, it will tend to lessen the high opinion entertained not only by ourselves, but by foreigners, on the subject of the great generosity of the British nation.

don. We are indeed generous of our money, we lavish it on every occasion and on every body. But, if we were really and wisely generous, would we encourage, as this report proves we do, the idle and profligate, by contributing to their support? and not merely to their support, but actually to their comfort and luxury. He who is lavish of his money, but who grudges trouble and time—who would rather throw a penny to every beggar who asks it, than inquire out real and deserving objects of charity—cannot be said to be really generous; and if there were not too many persons of this description, we may be assured that the scenes portrayed in the Report on Mendicity would not have had existence.

The system of our poor laws is bad enough, granting support to all who demand it—for the law almost authorizes them to demand it;—but the evil consequences of this system are much increased, strengthened and extended, by thoughtless and indiscriminate charity. It requires no deep reflection, or extensive and long experience, to be convinced, that while begging is an easy and profitable trade it will be followed; and that, so far as it is followed, the sources of national strength and wealth are dried up, and the cause of morality and religion suffers.

There are many facts proved in the Report on Mendicity even more alarming than those to which we have alluded. It is proved that children are hired out by their parents to beggars, in order that thus they may more deeply excite the compassion of the charitable, and that parents have refused to send their children to school, because by thus letting them out they could earn a considerable sum of money daily.

It is also proved that mendicity and crime are closely connected; and that most of those who solicit charity, though they are not proper objects of it, are not only profligate in their conduct, but habitual thieves. The remedy for this evil it is not so difficult to point out as to apply: indeed the whole system is so erroneous upon which we relieve our poor, it is surrounded by so many mischiefs which it has generated, and has become so much a part even of the good and beneficial branches of our social system, that the cure must be the work of great length of time, and must be conducted with the greatest circumspection and skill.

We have thus gone over some of the principal Reports laid before parliament; they afford interesting and useful documents for a view of the state of society in Britain at the present period; and they also give undoubted and pleasing evidence of the research and labour of the committees by whom they were respectively drawn up. We have only to express our hope that they will not long remain a dead letter; not that we wish that the legislature should interfere beyond its province,—and this province we have endeavoured to point out. But individuals may do much, if they act on the information which these Reports convey: they may reform the police where they are masters, by attending more than they generally do to the conduct of their servants; not by injudiciously interfering, but by conducting themselves in such a manner that their servants will of their own accord seek and follow their advice:—they may do much where they are parents, by being more attentive to the education of their children. But the most important lesson to be drawn from these Reports,

ports, is the necessity of changing the nature of charity; of no longer regarding the giving of money as the only, or even as the best, mode of benefiting the poor. If, instead of the distribution of money, the intelligent and rich would examine into the state of education and morals among the poor, and would bestow on them the gifts of an independent

spirit, which would spur relief, unless its own exertions were unavailing, and of prudence and forethought, which would induce them to save for distress or old age;—then their charity would be of the highest order, and the greatest blessing to themselves, the objects of it, and the nation at large.

CHAPTER IX.

State of the Country during the Year 1816—State of Agriculture—Of the Internal Trade and Consumption—Of the principal Manufactures—Cotton—Woolen—Hardware and Iron—Silk—State of Foreign Commerce—State of the Finances.

IN our last volume we gave a brief and rapid view of the causes which raised the agriculture of the British isles to an unprecedented and unparalleled state of prosperity and perfection; and we also entered shortly into the causes which brought ruin on a large portion of the agriculturists, and depressed them far below the standard which either was fit for such a class of men, or beneficial to the real and permanent interests of the nation.

The causes were indeed so apparent, that little doubt could be entertained of their existence and efficacy;—two very unproductive harvests in the midst of a war which almost excluded us from the continent, had raised the price of corn extremely high, and of course had increased the profits of the farmers: hence competition for land took place; there were more who wanted land than could be supplied with it,—the rent of land consequently advanced very rapidly to an enormous sum, and this re-acting on the price of corn, kept it at a high price.

This high price induced and ena-

bled the farmer to bring into cultivation a very large quantity of hitherto uncultivated land, as well as to increase the productive powers of what he had already in cultivation: hence the produce increased, which, however, during the war still brought high prices; but as soon as the war terminated and the importation of foreign corn took place, the price fell. These causes of a fall in the price of corn were assisted in their operation by the withdrawing from the farmer of the credit heretofore afforded him by the country banks. The consequences were ruinous to a large portion of the agriculturists; they were obliged to trespass on their capitals where they possessed any, and where they did not, they were speedily reduced to poverty.

Early in the year 1816 the board of agriculture transmitted to the various counties of Great Britain a number of queries, for the purpose of ascertaining more accurately and clearly the real state of agriculture. Some of these queries were very irrelevant and improper, and produced answers which proved unsatisfactory.

ary. But many of the queries relating to matters of fact and not of opinion, and to such matters of fact as came within the experience or observation of those to whom they were addressed, called forth direct and satisfactory answers. From those answers it was fully proved that the agricultural population, and especially the farmers themselves, were in a deplorable condition;—that much land was entirely uncultivated, that still more was cultivated in a very inferior manner, and that the agricultural capital of the kingdom had suffered a very considerable diminution. The unfairness and impolicy of the income tax, as it affected the farmer, were most clearly ~~proved~~ ^{seen} from these answers; indeed the simple fact, that the income tax was levied on the farmer under the idea that his profits were always in proportion to his rent, sufficiently points out the injustice of this tax, as applied to the profits of agriculture.

Corn continued at a low price, and agriculture depressed, during nearly the whole of the first half year of 1816: but in consequence of a very cold and backward spring, and a summer not only cold and backward but also uncommonly wet, corn began to rise in price about the end of June. The months of July and August proving still more unfavourable, and there being now a certainty that the harvest must be very late, and probably very unproductive, corn rose rapidly in price. Unfortunately, however, for the agriculturist, this rise in price availed him very little: no longer possessing capital, or being unable to obtain credit and accommodation from the country banks, he had been under the necessity of disposing of all, or nearly all, his corn before the rise in price took place. In general, therefore, the farmer

was not benefited by it. He might however hope that, if the high prices continued, the produce of his new crop would benefit him considerably. In the mean time the seasons continued most dreadfully unfavourable for the ripening and gathering in of the corn. In the southern counties of England, where during most years the fields were *cleared* early in September, the harvest did not commence till that period, and the fields were not *cleared* till the beginning or middle of November, the weather still continuing most unpropitious and unfavourable. In the north of England, and in Scotland and Ireland, agricultural operations were of course much more backward, and the produce of the land much less abundant and of much worse quality.

In consequence of this dreadful harvest, and of the same weather having prevailed over the greatest part of the continent of Europe, the price of corn rose considerably above the importation price. It might now be supposed that the evil days of the agriculturists were at an end: no such thing; in most cases they derived little advantage from the great rise in the price of corn; for though old corn, that is corn of the crop 1815, brought very high prices, yet an immense proportion of the corn of 1816 was of such very bad quality that the farmers were obliged to sell it at a very low price. Besides, being completely exhausted of capital, and in many instances in arrears for rent and taxes, they were under the necessity of bringing the new corn to market long before it was fit for use, and in such large quantities as to increase the difficulty of selling it, arising from the badness of its quality.

Hence it is evident, that the state of the agricultural interest of these kingdoms has not improved during

during the year 1816. Indeed, so far as the agricultural peasantry are concerned, they are in a worse condition than they were in 1815; for the price of corn is higher, without the farmer being at all more able to employ them in greater numbers or at higher wages.

Whoever considers the very artificial state of society that exists in Great Britain, must be convinced that no one class of the community can long or deeply suffer, without their sufferings being communicated in a greater or less degree to nearly all the other classes. This observation must apply more strongly to all the classes of the agricultural community:—the landlord and servant, and the tenants and peasants are more intimately bound together than the different branches of the manufacturing population. Hence, while the mischief struck downward from the tenant to his labourers, it also struck upwards from the tenant to his landlord. The tenant must pay the taxes to government and the parochial rates; he must cultivate his land, though not at such expense as formerly; he must support his family, though not in his usual style:—but after these things were done, little or nothing remained for rent. If the landlord secured his rent before the claims above mentioned were satisfied, it was in most cases followed by the land being abandoned by the tenant, and in this event it was almost impossible to procure a new tenant. Hence, the income of the landed interest was greatly diminished; and the evil which spread from the tenant to the landlord, extended from the latter to all those among whom he used to spend his income.

The abolition of the income tax, and of the war tax on malt, came too late to be of much service to the

agricultural interest; it did not take place till agricultural capital had been most seriously diminished; and it must be a tedious and slow operation to replace any kind of capital, especially agricultural capital.

The picture which we have drawn of the state of agriculture in these kingdoms, during the year 1816, is by no means flattering or pleasing, but it is unfortunately true.

The state of internal trade and consumption during this year was equally unfavourable. That the wealth and strength of Britain depended merely on her foreign commerce, is a doctrine which a very few years ago would hardly have encountered a single opponent; and the opponents who first appeared against it made few converts, partly because they pushed their doctrines too far, and partly because they supported them, not by facts but by a reference to speculative principles. Latterly, however, suspicion has gone abroad that the wealth and power of Britain do not depend so much as was supposed on foreign commerce; and the opinion that the internal trade of the country is more important in every respect than the foreign trade, has met with many able and strenuous supporters. So far as revenue is concerned, the proof is decisive; for the proportion of the property tax paid by the agricultural class was nearly double that paid by the commercial class, and the excise duties double those of the customs.

In drawing the picture therefore of the state of the country, it is essential to attend particularly to the internal trade and consumption, and these will not be found more flattering than the state of agriculture. One of the surest criteria of the state of internal trade is the revenue of the post-office, as it is evident that a brisk trade must require
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and support a regular and frequent communication by letter : but the post office revenue has fallen off considerably during the year 1816. There are however other proofs, —the strictest economy is forced upon even those who previously were neither disposed nor obliged to practise it. Every expense is avoided which can be avoided, and where it must be incurred, it is incurred to a much less amount than formerly. The shop-keepers in every place, but particularly in those places that depended exclusively or principally on the agricultural classes, complain most heavily of a diminution of trade. But perhaps the most unequivocal and striking proof of the depressed state both of internal trade and foreign commerce, is the immense quantity of unemployed capital in the country. If capital is part of the machinery of manufactures and commerce—which it undoubtedly is—its very great abundance, and low price, or, which is the same thing, the low rate of interest, is too sure a symptom that manufactures and commerce are not flourishing.

The state of our manufactures indeed during the year 1816 does not appear in the smallest degree to have improved. The demand from foreign nations, and for home consumption, has not increased. Immense quantities of almost all kinds of goods were poured into the continents of Europe and America immediately on the conclusion of the war. A few of the first adventurers realized large profits; but by far the greater number of those who speculated on this occasion were losers; and in many instances the goods were sold abroad for less than the prime cost.

The depression of our manufactures has arisen from different causes; some of them existing with-

in ourselves, and others arising from the state of foreign countries. These causes will be best explained by considering our principal manufactures separately.

The cotton manufacture is comparatively of recent date in Great Britain; but its progress has been very rapid, and at present it undoubtedly employs more people than any other branch of manufactures. The use of machinery in almost every part of this manufacture, and the application of the power of the steam-engine to that machinery, gave this country incalculable advantages; and for a very long time cotton goods were made scarcely any where but in Great Britain:—being sold at a very low price, they superseded on the continent as well as here, in a great measure, the silk and linen manufactures for particular articles of dress. Latterly, however, other nations have begun to manufacture cotton goods: at Rouen in France, in many parts of Germany, and in the United States, cotton manufactures are established and carried on with considerable vigour and success. The direction which the anti-commercial edicts of Bonaparte gave to the capital and industry of the continent is still continued, and those sovereigns whom we assisted to overthrow his despotism, and who are grateful to us on that account, are by no means disposed to push their gratitude so far as to encourage our manufactures.

Of all these, perhaps the cotton manufacture is suffering most, and this from several causes. A very large proportion of its products were always made for foreign markets, which are now in a great measure closed; speculation has been entered into to a much greater extent by the cotton manufacturers than by any other manufacturers, and a far greater

number of them have begun or extended their business, entirely or in a great measure on fictitious capital, that is, on the advances made them by the country banks :—these advances being now withdrawn, that portion of the cotton manufacture which depended upon it must of course suffer. Lastly, those who labour in this branch of manufacture feel more severely the effects of its depressed state; for it engenders such profligacy among them, and exposes them to such sudden and great fluctuation of wages, that they are by no means in any respect prepared or able to sustain the effects of its depression.

With respect to the next important and extensive branch of our national manufacture, — viz. the woollen, — it is evident that the termination of war must withdraw from it one great source of demand, as there will be no longer occasion for such large quantities of coarse woollen goods for soldiers' clothes. The system of rigid economy also practised by a very large portion of the British community, must lessen the demand for the woollen manufactures. With respect to foreign competition and demand, the one has increased, and consequently the other has diminished, both in Europe and America, though not nearly to the same degree as in the case of the cotton manufactures. On the whole, the state of this branch is not so deplorably bad nor so hopeless, nor are those who are engaged in it such severe sufferers, as in the cotton manufacture. It has always been conducted in a more regular and steady manner, with less speculation, and resting more on real capital; and the habits of the labourers in it being in themselves better, and not exposed to great and sudden fluctuation of wages, their poverty

and misery are not so grinding and intolerable.

Of all the different kinds of manufactures in this country, perhaps there is none which depends so directly and materially on war as the manufacture of iron in most of its branches. When we consider the great demand which must exist during war for cannon, muskets, and the equipment and construction of ships, besides other inferior and more minute objects, we shall easily perceive that the transition from war to peace must affect the iron manufactures in a very great degree; and if the transition from a war of common duration and character to peace depressed this manufacture, how much more extensively and deeply must it be depressed by the transition to peace from such a war as that in which we had been engaged during the last twenty-five years? The supplies of arms which this country sent to the Peninsula alone must have given employment in their construction to a very great number of people; and it has been ascertained that nearly half a million of money was annually expended by government in the town of Birmingham, solely for the purpose of small-arms. It has indeed been one of the most striking features of the late war, to call into existence a population and capital which would not otherwise have been produced, and this population and capital are now left unemployed, by the cessation of war. It may be remarked too, with respect to the iron manufactures, that the number of people to whom they either directly or indirectly gave employment is greater than in any other manufacture. Let us only consider the immense and laborious operations of smelting the iron, and of the iron foundries, — how much must

must be consumed in these operations? how many people must derive the means of their support from working the coal? how many steam-engines must be wrought in the iron founderies? and how many people must be employed in the construction of these steam-engines, or in preparing the materials for them?

If we reflect on these things, we shall not by any means be surprised that the iron districts of England and Wales felt the depression of trade much more severely and extensively than any other districts. In that district of Staffordshire where the large foundries and manufactures of iron are situated, and in South Wales, the population of a very extensive tract of country were thrown out of employment, by the manufactures being entirely at a stand. The proprietors of these at first kept them on; though the demand had diminished; but they soon found that if they did not wish to dissipate their capital, they must cease to manufacture.

We have hitherto considered these manufactures as affected solely and almost entirely by the transition from war to peace, but they suffered also from the same causes which depressed the woollen and cotton manufactures. For though foreign nations have not been able to rival us in the manufacture of hardware, especially of that immense and wonderful variety of goods for which Birmingham is distinguished, yet they have made some advances towards a rivalry; and these advances operating with a diminished demand both at home and abroad, have caused a stagnation in this branch of manufacture. It ought also to be stated, that in most of the branches of the hardware manufacture,--

particularly such as are carried on in Birmingham,—the capitals are small, and of course cannot long stand out against diminished demand and lowered prices. With respect to the labourers in the iron manufactures, their habits and condition are in general better than are found in the cotton manufactures, and perhaps equal to those in the woollen manufactures.

The last branch of British manufacture the state of which we propose to describe, is that of silk. It seems an obvious objection to this manufacture, that as the raw material must be imported, the countries from which it is imported must be able to undersell us in this species of manufacture. To this objection, however, stated simply in this manner, there is a satisfactory answer,—The cotton is also an imported article, and yet we have advanced in the extensive and cheap manufacture of it far beyond any other nation. This answer indeed will be not found satisfactory, if we take other circumstances into the account; for it ought to be recollected, that when the cotton manufactories were first established in Great Britain, they had not gained a footing in any European country, as was the case with respect to silk,—that the latter manufacture is carried on in the countries where the raw material is produced, while with very trifling exceptions the cotton is not manufactured where it is grown; and that our advances in the cotton manufacture have been principally derived from the application of the steam-engine and improvements in machinery, neither of which have taken place, at least to any extent, in the manufacture of silk.

Hence it will appear that the silk manufacture of Great Britain could not have been established, and must long

long ago have fallen below foreign rivalry, had it not been for protecting laws. In fact, the desire of our government to give employment to the French refugees who came hither at the revocation of the edict of Nantz, induced them to protect the silk manufacture; but it has always been so weak and languishing, that, notwithstanding more acts of parliament have been formed regarding it than most other branches of our manufactures, it has never flourished. There have been frequent disputes between the masters and the workmen, especially in the Spitalfields manufactures; and the result of government interfering in these disputes has been the transfer of many branches of the Spitalfields manufacture to Coventry, Macclesfield, and other places.

Now it must be evident that a manufacture of this kind is little able to bear up against adversity; and in fact it has suffered more than any other manufacture. In Spitalfields the depression and consequent misery have been extreme; nearly 40,000 people in that district, engaged in this manufacture, being thrown out of employ, without any, or with very inadequate means of subsistence, and dependent on charity for their daily food.

Such is the picture which truth compels us to draw of the state of agriculture, internal trade and consumption, and manufactures, during the year 1816. It is most melancholy, not only in its present aspect, but in its probable future results. That it is altogether or in a great measure temporary, as arising from the operations of temporary causes which have before existed, produced the same effects for a time and then passed away, few, we believe, are now disposed to assert; and of those

who still hold this opinion, we would ask to what period they extend the meaning of the word *temporary*. We have been at peace now upwards of two years; for the short war of 100 days (as it is called) which followed on the return of Bonaparte from Elba, could hardly either from its duration or its nature interrupt the effects of peace.

At the same time we are willing to allow that the operation of several incidental and temporary causes in producing the depressed state of agriculture, internal trade and manufactures, may be distinctly traced. Those nations which used to be our great customers for our manufactures have been impoverished by the war; and before they were able to raise themselves from this state of poverty, a scanty harvest, almost a famine, visited them. Under these circumstances, the little money that remained to them they naturally expended in procuring the absolute necessities of life. This cause of the depressed state of our manufactures is undoubtedly temporary, and therefore must pass away. We also have been exhausted by the war, and during that state of exhaustion have been visited by a scanty harvest; but the nature of the exhaustion under which we suffer is different from that of the continent: they have no national debt, whereas ours is enormous. It is probable, therefore, that the foreign demand for our manufactures will revive before the home demand regains its former briskness and extent; though we must expect that it will be counteracted by another cause, of which it is not easy to determine whether it is temporary or not. We allude to the establishment on the continent of Europe, and in the United States, of various manufactures to rival and

and supersede the British. In our last volume we pointed out and contrasted the advantages and disadvantages which we possess with respect to manufactures: and we are still disposed to believe, that superior capital, aided by the more workmanlike habits of our labourers, will fully counteract the cheapness and the prohibitory decrees or heavy duties of foreign countries.

In depicting the state of our principal manufactures, we in a great measure have depicted the state of our commerce: for it is evident that, if the former languish, the latter cannot be very flourishing. But besides that branch of our commerce which directly depends on our manufactures, the late war either created, or at least carried to an unprecedented extent, another branch of commerce, which at present is in a most depressed state. In consequence of our having conquered nearly all the foreign possessions of our enemies, and of the British government having adopted what is called the "warehousing system," Great Britain became the grand depot of the merchandise of the world: she was the great storehouse from which nearly every civilized nation in every quarter of the globe was supplied. The consequence was, that our shipping was constantly employed, and our merchants gained large sums, even by the commission on the goods which they were employed to transmit or sell. This branch of commerce has been nearly annihilated by the return of peace:—Great Britain is no longer the depot of the world: the monopoly (for it amounted to a monopoly) which she enjoyed is at an end: her shipping have fallen above one half in value; and comparatively few of them are employed. The immense warehouses and docks

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that were constructed to accommodate her trade while at its height, are now nearly empty; and of course those who speculated in their construction have suffered greatly. France, Spain, and Holland have regained their colonies, and have become their own carriers.

There is, however, one branch of commerce which seems to be flourishing in the midst of this general stagnation:—we allude to the free trade to India. As far as it has hitherto gone, it has disappointed the predictions of those who opposed it, and answered the wishes and expectations of those who have engaged in it.

On the whole we may conclude, that the nation, with respect to its government, its revenue, expenditure, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and capital, has been for nearly twenty years in a forced and unnatural state; every thing has been swollen beyond its proper dimensions; the nation has been in a dream, from which it is now waking to a sad and gloomy reality; and the disappointment and mortification are naturally extreme, to find that the dream is at an end.

It will easily be supposed that in such a depressed state of agriculture, internal trade and consumption, manufactures and commerce, the finances of the country must suffer considerably: and our view of the state of Britain would be very incomplete and unsatisfactory, if we omitted to give an account of them. We shall therefore conclude this chapter with a general view of the produce of the revenue during the year 1816, and with such reflections as that view suggests.

It will naturally be conceived, that the finances of the country, under the influence of such a depression

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sion of agriculture, manufactures, home trade and commerce, as has been just described, would afford by no means an encouraging prospect: they indeed fell off, yet not nearly to such an extent as might have been apprehended.

As the subject of public finances, and especially of the finances of Great Britain, is very imperfectly understood, we shall, previously to explaining their state during the year 1816, enter into a brief and rapid view of their nature.

When the expedient of borrowing large sums for the public service was first adopted, it was found necessary to set apart and assign to the lender the produce of some branch of the revenue supposed to be adequate to the payment of the interest or principal, or both, according to the terms of the contract. Each loan had thus a separate fund provided for it, which was usually distinguished by the date of the transaction, the rate per cent. payable, or some circumstance relating to the mode of raising the money or the purpose to which it was to be applied. These separate funds sometimes produced more than the yearly payments with which they were charged, but more frequently fell short of them; and as making good the deficiencies of some from the surpluses of others or from the current supplies, created much trouble and useless intricacy in the management of the public finances, it was found more convenient to combine several of the funds, and to charge the payments for which they had been set apart on the aggregate produce of the several duties. It then became necessary to give a more general denomination to the fund; and thus have been established, at different periods, the aggregate fund, the

South Sea fund, the general fund; the sinking fund, and the consolidated fund.

The aggregate fund was established in the year 1715, and had this name given to it because it consisted of a great variety of taxes and surpluses of taxes, which were in that year consolidated, and given as the security for discharging the interest and principal of all the exchequer bills then outstanding, and of some other public debts; and likewise for the payment of 120,000*l.* per annum to the civil list.

The South Sea fund was established in 1716, and was so called because appropriated to pay the interest and allowance for management on the capital of the South Sea company.

The general fund was also established in 1716, by making perpetual various duties which had been granted for the term of thirty-two years, and consolidating them with some other duties into one fund. It was appropriated chiefly to the payment of the interest on various sums raised by lotteries during the reign of queen Anne.

The sinking fund consisted of the surpluses of the three funds just mentioned, whenever the produce of the taxes composing them should be greater than the charges upon them. The establishment of these funds formed part of a plan for a general reduction of the interest payable on the public debts; and this being effected, the charge on each of the three funds was of course lessened considerably, and the future overplus was directed to be carried into a fourth fund, to which was given the name of the sinking fund, because appropriated to the purpose of redeeming or sinking the public debts. The act of parliament by which this fund was established, expressly

pressly ordained that it should be applied to the discharge of the public debts, and "to or for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever;" yet in the course of a few years many encroachments were made upon it, and ultimately it became a mere nominal distinction, the whole produce of it being usually taken towards the supplies of the current year.

The consolidated fund was established in consequence of a new arrangement of the public accounts in the year 1786, when the funds above mentioned were abolished, and the whole of the public revenue (except the annual grants) included under this general head. Out of this fund are paid the interest and expenses of management of all the public debts, the interest on exchequer bills, the civil list, pensions to the royal family and others, salaries and allowances to various public officers, and some miscellaneous annual expenses. The surplus of the produce of the fund, after satisfying all these charges, is annually granted by parliament as part of the ways and means for raising the supplies voted.

During the two French revolutionary wars, it was deemed advisable, or found necessary, to raise part of the supplies within the year; that is,—instead of making up the sum to the amount of which the taxes fell below the annual expenditure entirely by loans, as had been formerly the practice, to raise from the nation not only the sums necessary to pay the interest of the debt, but also a large portion of what was necessary for the current expenditure of the year. This was done by means of the property tax, and other taxes to an inferior amount, called the war taxes. We have seen that the chancellor of the

exchequer was obliged, by the house of commons acting in conformity to the wishes of the nation, to give up the property tax; and in time of peace it was not thought politic to continue to raise money for the public service by the way of loan.

Thus the minister was deprived of two sources of revenue: and as the public expenditure at least during the first year of peace was necessarily large, it was thought that he would be puzzled in what manner to raise the supplies necessary to support it.

By a reference to the parliamentary debates it will be found that the ways and means for the year 1816 were of three descriptions. In the first place they consisted of sums which could not be looked forward to in future years; these sums were derived partly from the surplus of the grants of 1815—a surplus of considerable magnitude, in consequence of the war continuing only for a very few months, and the money having been raised to meet the expenditure of a whole year; and partly from money advanced to government by the bank of England. This money it was not probable that the bank would continue to advance for any permanency; or, if they did, it would be in fact having recourse to loans. Both these ways and means, therefore, were in their nature to be regarded only as temporary. In the second place, the chancellor of the exchequer calculated upon a surplus of three millions from the consolidated fund:—this surplus, from the explanation just given of this fund, will be easily understood. He expected that the taxes forming this fund would be so productive, that after the interest of the national debt had been satisfied and the other charges upon the fund had been defrayed, there would be a

surplus to the amount of three millions, applicable to the current expenses of the year. Lastly, the chancellor of the exchequer evidently calculated upon, though he did not officially lead parliament or the public to expect, a surplus from the arrears of the property tax for the year 1815-16.

With respect to the first source of revenue, it was impossible that the minister could be deceived; as it consisted entirely of money actually raised and in his hands, or of money which the bank of England had promised to lend. The other two sources of revenue depended upon the ability of the people to pay the taxes; and of course must be productive or otherwise in the direct ratio of that ability. As the year 1816 advanced, it became apparent that the surplus of the consolidated fund—if there should be any—would fall much short of what the chancellor of the exchequer calculated upon; and by the 5th of January 1817 it was ascertained that there would be no surplus—that there not only would be no surplus, but that the consolidated fund would not be equal to the discharge of the claims upon it at least to the amount of one million;—or, in other words, that the falling off in this fund, compared with the expectations and calculations of the chancellor of the exchequer, was about four millions. The total receipt of the revenue derived from taxes was about fifty-seven millions; but of this sum, nearly eleven millions were derived from the arrears of the property tax, and were applicable to the services of the year 1815. Hence it will appear that the real revenue of the year 1816 derived from taxes did not exceed forty-six millions.

That this view of our financial

situation is alarming, it requires only a plain and common-sense view of the subject to perceive. The interest of the funded and unfunded debt, added to the sinking fund, may be estimated at forty-two millions; so that the revenue arising from taxes applicable to the current expenses of the year cannot be rated higher than four millions, unless in future years the taxes produce more than they did in the year 1816. But even allowing that the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of the country improve, and that the taxes become as productive as the chancellor of the exchequer calculated upon—still there cannot be applicable to the services of the year, after paying the interest of the debt and keeping up the sinking fund, a greater sum than ten millions. Now, the most moderate calculation does not reduce our peace establishment lower than eighteen millions; and consequently the produce of our taxes will fall short of the payment of the interest of the national debt, the keeping up of the sinking fund, and the charges of the peace establishment, by the sum of eight millions.

If these things could be justly predicated of an individual, no person would for a moment hesitate to pronounce his affairs in a desperate condition: but, from the operation of various causes, some of which are obvious and others not so near the surface, it happens that almost all men are disposed to regard national affairs as differing essentially from the affairs of individuals. If an individual were obliged to go on from year to year borrowing money in order to defray his current expenses, he would be pronounced to be on the verge of bankruptcy; whereas it is matter of congratulation and confidence with most people,

ple, and seems to keep off instead of creating alarm with the nation at large, that we can make up for the falling off in our taxes by borrowing money.

Even the general fact, that the taxes for the year 1816 were less productive than they were in 1815, or than the chancellor of the exchequer anticipated, ought to excite alarm. But this alarm ought to be still greater, when we ascertain the particular taxes that are most deficient.

Till within these very few years it was almost regarded as a self-evident truth, that foreign commerce was the principal source of the wealth of Great Britain; and as this wealth—as indicated by the ability of the nation to support increased taxation, and by the enormous loans which the British merchants without the smallest difficulty raised for government—seemed to rise in proportion to the increased amount of the value of our exports and imports,—the opinion just mentioned was regarded as put beyond the reach of disputation or doubt. Latterly, however, it has not only been doubted but disproved, at least to the satisfaction of many intelligent and well-informed individuals. That the agriculture and internal trade of the kingdom are the sources of a larger share of its revenue than foreign commerce, is demonstrated by two facts. In the first place, the amount of the property tax paid by the landed interest was much greater than that paid by trade and commerce. And in the second place, the amount of the duties of excise has for several years been double the amount of the duties of customs.

Regarding, therefore, internal consumption as one of the most productive and regular sources of tax-

ation, and being convinced that internal consumption must depend upon the state of internal trade, it is proper that we should, in examining the revenue for the year 1816, look with a watchful and anxious eye to the duties of excise. These, unfortunately, have fallen off in a greater proportion than most of the other duties; and they have fallen off in those particular branches, which indicate too plainly and forcibly, that all classes of people—rich, in the middle ranks, and the poor, have been, and are, under the necessity of living much more economically than they ever did before. The receipt of the duties on wine and on tea sufficiently proves this. The decreasing wealth of a country cannot sooner be indicated by the state of the receipt of any other taxes, than those on articles of consumption: for, these articles a man can leave off as soon as ever he finds himself unable to purchase them; whereas most of the assessed taxes must be paid, for some time after it has become advisable no longer to incur them.

Such is the picture, which we feel ourselves under the necessity of drawing, of the state of the agriculture, manufactures, internal trade, commerce and finances, of the country during the year 1816. That they will revive in some degree we have no doubt; but we cannot flatter ourselves that they will revive to such a degree as to support the weight of the taxation absolutely necessary to discharge the interest of the debt, to keep up the sinking fund, and to defray a moderate peace establishment. The alarm that the nation was on the eve of bankruptcy;—that as soon as the national debt reached a certain sum (which it has long and greatly passed) the bankruptcy must take place;—and that increased taxation

was absolutely impossible,—has so long been sounded in our ears, that, having hitherto experienced the alarm to be groundless, we seem to have “laid the flattering unction to our souls,” that the nation may go on accumulating debt and paying taxes to an indefinite amount. By many this idea has been pushed to a still more extreme and absurd length; for they, —seeing an apparent increase of individual and national wealth take place, along with an increase of national debt and taxation,—seized upon the idea, that these were cause and effect; or, in other words, that the national debt, and of course tax-

ation—for one must follow the other—instead of being an evil, were a blessing,—instead of overwhelming and paralysing national enterprise and industry, stimulated them. The spell, however, is now broken,—the pleasing dream is at an end;—and we are strongly inclined to believe, that the period is fast approaching when there will be practical proof that the affairs of an individual and of a nation are governed by the same laws, are subject to the operation of the same causes; and, if conducted in the same manner, must lead to the same results.

CHAPTER X.

View of the State of the Nation in the Year 1816 concluded—State of Parties in Parliament—The Ministers—The old and regular Opposition—Sir Francis Burdett—Lord Cochrane—Leading Men among the People, out of Parliament—Major Cartwright—Mr. Cobbett—Mr. Hunt—Sentiments of the great Mass of the People on the Subject of Reform and Retrenchment, as manifested by their Meetings—General Character and Conduct of these Meetings—Revolutionary Doctrines discovered in their Proceedings and Resolutions—Meetings at Spa Fields—Spenceans—Disturbances, Dissatisfaction and Misery in various Parts of the Country.

BEFORE the period of the first French revolutionary war,—certainly before the commencement of the war that terminated in the independence of the United States of America,—there were only two grand parties in parliament; and these parties divided between them all those classes of the people who at that time concerned themselves much about politics: for then, the great bulk of the nation very seldom thought, conversed or read, on political subjects; and seldom or never met for the purpose of declaring their sentiments and expressing their wishes in the form of resolution or petition. The two great

parties were the Whigs and Tories: the limits which divided them were accurately defined, and they seemed in theory to be far apart from each other: yet, if we make ourselves acquainted with their practice when in power, it will be found that they did not essentially differ.

During the American war, a party that advocated the cause of a reform in the representation of the people arose in parliament: at the head of this party when it first appeared was the duke of Richmond, and it was soon afterwards joined by Mr. Pitt. About the same period the great mass of the nation began

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to take a part and an interest in politics; they were naturally appealed to by those who were desirous of obtaining for them a larger share, through a more equal representation, in the government of the country. This reforming party consisted of some of the whigs in parliament; and thus was naturally formed a division among the whigs. A second division took place at the beginning of the revolution, when Mr. Burke and his associates separated themselves from Mr. Fox.

As the French revolution advanced, the state of parties in the British parliament underwent still further changes. Ministers were so powerful in and out of parliament, that they carried all their measures, both of foreign and domestic policy, in the most triumphant manner: hence the whig party—or rather that division of it which adhered to Mr. Fox—dwindled almost to insignificance in point of numbers and influence. The party which advocated the cause of reform also sunk: that cause was almost entirely deserted, or at least it was very feebly supported, by most of those who formerly had stood forward as its most strenuous and warm supporters:—many had conscientiously changed their opinions on the subject, having their reason convinced, or their apprehensions alarmed, by what they deemed the natural and unavoidable consequences of innovation in the case of France. Others seized the opportunity of deserting a cause which there was no chance of gaining, and which cut them off from ministerial favour, while it did not secure them popular applause or support; for the cause of reform, even among the people, was for some time after the commencement of the French revolution nearly deserted or forgotten.

There had been two grand prophecies indulged in by British statesmen on the subject of this revolution. One was, that it would terminate in profligacy, misery, and despotism:—and the other, that resistance to revolutionary France was fruitless. During its more early stages, the misery which it created in France, and the danger which it threatened to Europe, were much more apparent than the formidable nature of its military strength:—though the latter occasionally burst through all the opposition that was raised against it, yet there were intervals when the cause of the British ministry seemed on the point of triumph,—when their most sanguine hopes, their often repeated predictions, seemed about to be accomplished. These glimpses of good fortune acting along with the dread of French politics in Britain, and of the consequences of the permanent success of the French arms on the continent of Europe, kept alive and in strength the party of ministers both in parliament and in the nation. But as soon as it was beyond a doubt that the Continent must fall before France, that the resistance of Britain was not likely to be of service; and as soon as the weight of taxation, being a present evil, took stronger possession of men's minds than the anticipated and uncertain evil of French politics,—the party of ministers began to decline in some degree in the houses of parliament, and it fell off very considerably among the people at large.

The decline in the party and popularity of ministers, was not however followed, either in or out of parliament, by a corresponding increase of strength among their old and regular opponents. Many causes contributed to this. The

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regular opposition seemed at that time to have been truer prophets than ministers;—for, in the midst of the successes of the French, it was forgotten that they prophesied nothing but liberty, independence, and happiness from the French revolution; and it was only remembered that they had always foretold that opposition to France would be fruitless.—But the nation also bore in mind, that they could not foretell success to the arms of France, and not at the same time anticipate misfortune to the arms of Britain; and they recollected the old proverb, that what we prophesy is likely to come to pass, we frequently are desirous should come to pass. That this was applicable to the opposition, is too evident from the eager belief with which they always received intelligence of the defeat and disgrace of Britain and her allies; and from the sullen and reluctant credit which they gave to accounts of their successes. Hence the regular opposition did not rise in numbers or in influence, either in or out of parliament, in proportion as ministers sunk. Besides, their leaders had been apostates to the cause of reform; and, while in power, had done none of those things which while in opposition they had promised to do, and had censured ministers for not doing.

The two grand parties continued nearly in this state till the downfall of Buonaparte,—the ministers having been gradually gaining credit with the nation, by the fulfilment of their prophecies respecting the issue of the Peninsular war:—whereas the opposition, having committed themselves most expressly and strongly on the subject of this war, rendered themselves still more unpopular than before. In the Peninsula alone had Britain an op-

portunity of appearing as a military nation, and of trying her strength by land against the French. Hence the people of Britain were naturally proud of the success which their armies obtained there; and as naturally transferred their attachment to those who had planned and prophesied success, and their dislike to those who had not reluctantly and with pain, but seemingly with eagerness and pleasure, anticipated defeat. The downfall of Buonaparte having brought a certain though a late accomplishment to the predictions of ministers respecting the final and permanent issue of the war against France, for a time raised them very high in the opinion of the nation at large, and gained them a great accession of strength in parliament.

As soon, however, as the intoxication of success had passed away, and the real state of the country, which had hitherto been concealed from view, was laid bare, and in a most alarming manner forced itself into notice; ministers began to lose their hold both on parliament and on the nation. Before the change in political parties already noticed,—and which we have traced to the American war,—the circumstance of ministers being left in a minority in parliament, or even suffering a great falling off in their numbers, was almost uniformly regarded as a proof of the strength of the regular opposition, and an indication that ministers must yield and go out of place, and that the opposition would come in. It is not, however, so now. In all the cases, latterly, in which ministers have either been left in a minority or found themselves much reduced in numbers, it has not been the effect of the influence of the regular opposition, but of public opinion acting upon and through the members

members of the house of commons. In illustration and proof of this remark, we need only refer to the divisions respecting the charges against the duke of York in the year 1809, and the division which took place during the session of 1816 on the subject of the income tax.

Hence it appears to us, that the existence of what used to be a regular opposition is at an end; or, if not actually at an end, is in so feeble and languishing a state that it never can be formidable to any minister, and that ministers on almost all questions will command a large majority in parliament. They need not now, as in former times, be under any apprehension in consequence of being occasionally left in an actual minority. The regular opposition in former times consisted either of men of ancient families, who possessed great influence in parliament and in the country, or of men who were chosen for their boroughs, or by their interest. The power of this aristocracy,—for an aristocracy it was,—has been much shaken; for it has been proved that a ministry may be formed, and may continue to act and obtain majorities in parliament, though it contains few if any of the members of this aristocracy. And the power of this aristocracy has been further weakened in parliament by the increased numbers and influence of commercial men there. We are much mistaken, therefore, if a regular and formidable party in opposition to any ministry, such as was always in existence till within these thirty years, ever again rises up in this country. Nor shall we regret its entire dissolution; for, notwithstanding the subtle and injurious sophistry by which party politics have been defended, we are of opinion that it requires only a

common-sense view of the question, and very limited observation and experience, to be convinced that party politics are injurious to the talents, the patriotism, the principles, and the success, of those who engage in them; and that they never can be productive of any but bad consequences to the nation at large.

It must not be supposed, however, that because the old and regular opposition is, in fact, broken up, ministers are therefore enabled to pursue their course without interruption or obstacle. So far is this from being the case, that they are now more liable to have their measures severely canvassed than they were formerly: for no party in opposition being in themselves sufficiently powerful, it is absolutely incumbent upon them to ground their objections to the measures of ministers on public feeling and opinion. And as it is equally incumbent on ministers to consult more frequently and directly than formerly the real good of the people, it may fairly be inferred that that good is much more likely to be attained.

We have already adverted to the rising up in parliament of a party that advocated the cause of reform, and to the increasing interest which the people at large took in political matters. Of those who most strenuously and indefatigably advocated the cause of reform in the house of commons, sir Francis Burdett and lord Cochrane, the representatives of Westminster, were the most conspicuous. Sir Francis Burdett is undoubtedly a man of much sounder judgement, much more refined taste, and much more extensive information, than his colleague. He was first introduced into the political world, or rather

first became remarkable in it, under the auspices and guidance of Horne Tooke—a man who in acuteness and depth of intellect has seldom been surpassed. As long as Horne Tooke lived, it was supposed, even by the friends of sir Francis Burdett, that the latter was very deeply indebted to the former for the subject matter, as well as the arrangement, illustrations, and often the very language, both of his parliamentary speeches and of his harangues to his electors. The enemies of the political doctrines of sir Francis Burdett went much further. They confidently asserted that Horne Tooke was the animating spirit, the very intellect of sir Francis; that the latter was a mere puppet in his hands, who spoke as he suggested, and acted exactly as he pulled the wires: and they foretold that when Horne Tooke should die sir Francis Burdett would sink into political insignificance. This however has not been the case: his speeches indeed have lost some of their poignant and felicitous illustrations; and his language perhaps is not so purely and characteristically English as it used to be while his friend and instructor was alive: but he still may be held up as an excellent speaker; as exhibiting much of the polish, and—where he does not push his political doctrines too far—much of the good sense of a well-educated English gentleman. With respect to his political doctrines, they evidently are deduced rather from the spirit and theory of the British constitution, carried perhaps to the very verge of republicanism, than from considerations of practicability. And yet, though his principles in their general nature and tendency are evidently of a republican hue, he always treats with tenderness and even

with partiality the sovereign, while the utmost bitterness of his sarcasm and invective is unsparingly poured out against the corruption of ministers,—the subserviency of the house of commons,—and what he terms the aristocracy of the borough-mongering faction. During all the violence and extravagance of the doctrines regarding political reform which have distinguished the last year, sir Francis Burdett has carefully abstained from advocating the doctrine of universal suffrage, nor has he lent himself as an orator to the most popular meetings which were held in 1816. As a member of the house of commons he has been extremely useful, by keeping ministers on the alert; by detecting and exposing whatever was inimical to the cause of political or personal liberty; and by being the organ through which the republican part of the constitution exerted itself in the house of commons. In many instances, perhaps, he has brought forward unfounded charges against ministers; but in every point of view, it is better that ten unfounded charges should be brought against them, than that one charge well founded should be passed over.

The feelings, talents, taste and character, of lord Cochrane are all very different from those of sir Francis Burdett, and they are all much inferior. Lord Cochrane's political opinions are evidently much more violent and extravagant than those of his colleague; and they are as evidently embraced without due reflection or knowledge. The opinions of sir Francis are at least for the most part consistent in theory, though they may be impracticable; they are evidently the opinions of a reflecting and well-informed mind: whereas the political
 opinions

opinions of lord Cochrane,—except in those cases in which they are directly and entirely borrowed,—are neither theoretically true, nor are they consistent. Nor does his lordship support them with the smallest talent or information. Indeed it appears that, having been obliged to give up, by the unfortunate transaction at the Stock Exchange, all hopes of rising in his professional career, he had, in a kind of despair—and perhaps from some feeling of revenge—resolved to lend himself to the opinions and plans of the most intemperate and violent reformers.

Out of parliament, the men who possessed most influence over the public mind on all questions of politics were undoubtedly major Cartwright, Mr. Cobbett, and Mr. Hunt. Major Cartwright has been the advocate for reform and the enemy of standing armies for nearly half a century; he has lived to see almost all his former co-operators on these points become either indifferent or hostile. As they advanced in life they changed their opinions—declaring that increasing years had given them increasing wisdom: but the major in his old age is as zealous and indefatigable in the cause of reform as when he acted with the duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt. Within the last two years he has become a missionary in the cause, travelling over the greater part of England and Scotland, instructing the people in their rights, and exhorting them to persevere and petition till they gain their object. But major Cartwright's zeal and perseverance are not aided by popular talents:—as a speaker and writer he is most tediously voluminous; and the soundness of his judgement as well as his knowledge of human nature may well be questioned, when he urges the necessity

of going back to remote ages for practical illustrations of the beauty of the British constitution, and wishes to revive old institutions in a modern state of society.

Of all the writers who ever employed the English language—a language better adapted than any other to the appropriate and strong exposition of facts, and which addresses itself more directly and powerfully to the great mass of the people than any other language—none has wielded it with more talent, skill and effect, than Mr. Cobbett. Respecting the sincerity or the intentions of this man we shall not speak decidedly, though all must agree that both are very suspicious. In America, the enemy of republicans, the despiser of the constitution of the United States and of its inhabitants, and the panegyrist not only of the theory and good parts, but even of the defects and abuses, of the British constitution;—in England, the panegyrist of all he before abused, and the abuser of all he before panegyricized;—he has been consistent in nothing but in the most intemperate and uncharitable abuse of those with whom at the different periods of his life he first agreed and then differed. Totally devoid of consistency himself, he railed against inconsistency most virulently in others. Yet notwithstanding his political tergiversation, such is the force of party, such the fondness for the virulence of party, and such the homely vigour and point of his style, the appositeness and felicity of his illustrations, the directness and pith of his arguments, and the bold and direct manner in which he brings facts clearly and fully before the eyes of his readers,—that no writer ever exercised such a general and powerful influence over the minds of the

the great mass of the people in these kingdoms. Where his charges or his statements would be weakened by a detail of facts, they were brought forward in a bare and simple manner; but in all cases where detail served his purpose, there it was given in the amplest manner. In the midst of his facts, or argument, he knew well how to throw in a successful appeal to the feelings, the prejudices, or the passions of his readers. His popularity and the effect of his writings were still further increased by the dogmatic confidence of his manner. He often indulged in predictions. If these were corroborated by the events, they were referred to with great satisfaction and triumph; if they failed, they were passed over by him. He was so fully sensible of the effect produced on the minds and feelings of the great mass of mankind by continually repeated and uncontradicted assertions, that he seldom or never admitted into his Political Register any papers which opposed his opinions: so that these opinions being weekly sounded in the ears of the people, and being supported by his own statement of facts, in time made their way, and became as so many self-evident truths. Yet though Mr. Cobbett professed himself such a friend to the people, he seems to have formed a very low idea of what would constitute their happiness, or of the rank to which they might be raised. He wished them to pay fewer taxes, and to have a greater share in the election of their representatives: but provided they obtained these objects, he does not seem to have considered that they would be substantially benefited by education, or moral or religious improvement.

Mr. Cobbett trusted principally to his writings to make converts to his

opinions among the people; he seldom spoke at any public meetings; whereas Mr. Hunt advocated the same cause as Mr. Cobbett, by speaking at all the public meetings which were held either in the metropolis or in the west of England. This person seems first to have come forward as a public orator a few years ago during an election at Bristol. He then offered himself a candidate for that city; and bread being dear at that time, the violence of the measures by which he is charged with wishing and exciting the people to attain their object, was not inaptly designated by the distinguishing mark of his party—a pole with a loaf fastened to it, and the words “Bread or blood” conspicuously displayed. The language of Mr. Hunt, without being so pointed and vigorous as that of Mr. Cobbett, is much more low and vulgar; his insinuations and charges, without being supported with equal plausibility and force, are much more uncharitable; and his political opinions are, if possible, more wild and visionary, and his intimations that the people ought to use all means to redress themselves, more direct and unequivocal.

It is not to be wondered at, if the mass of the people, suffering under severe privations and distress, should, even without the instructions of the opponents of ministers of all descriptions, ascribe their miserable condition to the excessive pressure of taxation; and that they should persuade themselves, after being enlightened by the writings of Mr. Cobbett and the speeches of Mr. Hunt, that if there had been a reform in parliament,—that is, if they had been really and fully represented,—they never would have been so dreadfully taxed. But as it was too evident that a mere reform

form in parliament, though it might in their opinion prevent extravagance in future, could not materially lessen the burdens already imposed, it was necessary that they should be taught the means of freeing themselves from these burdens. Mr. Cobbett therefore, after he had spread by his writings the doctrines of annual parliaments and universal suffrage, advocated a new doctrine respecting the national debt.—He contended that as this debt had been contracted at periods when the genuine constitution of Britain was not acted upon—that is when the people were not represented in parliament—the debt could not justly be called national or their debt, and that therefore there could be no injustice in refusing to pay either the whole or part of it, as the people might deem fit.

At the numerous meetings of the people of all descriptions, which were held in almost every part of England and Ireland, there were three great topics of discussion and remonstrance. In the first place, a reform in parliament; where the meetings consisted of the middling classes principally, specific plans of reform were seldom mentioned; where they consisted of the manufacturing and working classes, annual parliaments and universal suffrage were strongly insisted upon. The second topic was retrenchment of expenditure and reform of abuses; the retrenchments specially pointed out consisted in the abolition of sinecures and the reduction of the army expenditure. And in the meetings at which Mr. Hunt spoke, the allowances of the royal family were represented as shamefully large, at a period when the people were suffering so much. The third topic was

the national debt:—this, however, was not nearly so general a subject as the two former.

There were other sources of alarm and apprehension to government besides the numerous meetings on the subject of reform, and the exhortations, often not very indirect, given at those meetings to the people to exert their physical strength in order to attain their object, provided petitioning and remonstrance were of no effect. There was evidently a correspondence kept up among the reformers in different parts of the kingdom; societies were formed which constituted a chain of communication from one end of Britain to the other, and greater unity and concert appears to have been given to these societies than might have been anticipated, considering the number of them, and the character, talents, rank and means of the members who composed them. There is reason to believe that the system on which the Luddites had so long acted with secrecy and effect, gave some intimation of the possibility of forming similar societies for political objects, the members of which might act in unison with equal effect. Thus a mighty engine was constructed, by means of which, if it could hold together, and all the parts could act simultaneously, the greatest political changes might be effected.

As it was evident that the petition of the inhabitants of the metropolis for reform and retrenchment must be of the greatest weight, from their number; and as moreover the leaders of the multitude probably imagined that this weight would be increased from the circumstance of such a multitude being assembled near the seat of government,

vernment, several meetings were held in and near the metropolis. The cities of London and Westminster not only sent up strong petitions to the throne and to parliament; but there were two meetings held at Spa-fields, to which were invited all who were distressed or out of employment, as well as all who were friendly to parliamentary reform:—at these meetings Mr. Hunt was the principal orator. At the first a petition to the regent was agreed on, which he was to present; and the second meeting was appointed for the purpose of hearing the result of this petition. The proceedings of the second meeting, as well as the riot which sprung out of it, are detailed in the Public Occurrences.

About the time of this meeting there first came into general notice a set of political enthusiasts, much more wild and visionary than those who with Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Hunt advocated the cause of annual parliaments and universal suffrage. For upwards of two years before this time there had been seen chalked in different parts of the metropolis, the words "Spence's plan and soon"—the meaning and object of which no person could explain. It seems that a little before the commencement of the French revolution, a man of the name of Spence, in a humble condition of life in the north of England, had conceived the opinion, that all the evils of man—poverty, slavery, vice and war—originated from the appropriation of the soil by individuals; and that all these evils would be radically and permanently removed if the land became the property of the nation. Did not every age and nation, however enlightened and experienced, prove that man is a credulous and visionary animal, no belief would

be given to the existence of such a man as Spence, and still less would it be credited that he should gain disciples. Soon after the beginning of the French revolution, this man, thinking the period was arrived for putting in practice his doctrine, published it to the world; for which he was prosecuted, and found guilty. The particular circumstances which revived his opinions about the year 1814 we are not acquainted with; but they were revived, and found advocates: among them was a bookseller of London of the name of Evans, who published several tracts in illustration and defence of his tenets, from one of which, entitled "Address of the Society of Spencean Philanthropists to all Mankind, on the Means of promoting Liberty and Happiness," we shall extract such passages as will give our readers some idea of a sect, which in our next volume we shall find deemed proper to be the objects of legislative enactments.

"Thomas Spence, a philanthropist inflexible alike to the frowns of power or the allurements of corruption, has promulgated a plan equally admirable for its simplicity and efficiency; precisely commensurate with the full extent of our indefeasible rights, and yet enabling us to combine the real advantages of the most highly refined civilization with the complete enjoyment of our essential equality:—a plan, moreover, whereby the concerns of any nation might be administered, without the pernicious alloy of the smallest trifle of taxation. It is to this plan, fellow-men, that we wish to direct your attention, as the only means to harmonize the discords, reconcile the interests, and promote the permanent happiness, of the world.

"This

"This plan of Spence truly declares, that—As all persons are in the order of nature born equal, and to preserve their existence must partake of the elements of nature, the air to breathe, the light and heat of the sun to exhilarate, and the productions of the earth and water to subsist; it is clear these elements, intended for the equal use of all, might be enjoyed, like a joint stock property, in parochial partnership.

"In behalf of this plan, we are supported by the combined evidences of reason and religion. 'To love our neighbour as ourselves' is a rule commanded by the founder of Christianity to be observed as the greatest of moral duties. This parochial partnership in land is eminently calculated to realise the practice of those fundamental principles of Christianity—brotherhood and equality.

"All lordship, feudality, or individual possession of the gifts of nature, to the exclusion of others, is pure Paganism; nor can practical Christianity prevail, till this unjust monopoly be completely eradicated. We, therefore, propose to the governments and people of the world, the establishment of this agrarian partnership, as the most simple and efficacious cure for all the disorders of society; civil, political, and moral. And, to our own government and countrymen in particular, we ardently recommend, as the sure salvation of the empire from its present grievances and impending ruin, that all feudality or lordship in the soil be abolished, and the territory declared to be the people's common farm;—that there be no other tenure than leasehold of the public;—that the mortgage or national debt be annulled;—that all taxa-

tion cease;—that the established form of government continue;—that all the relative classes of society remain undisturbed;—and that a written constitution be drawn up and established, defining the forms and powers of the existing government, the acknowledged rights of the people, and the security of their persons and properties, to which reference could be made on all occasions. Great as this undertaking may appear, it can be easily effected, without actual detriment to one individual, and would establish for ever the fame and glory of the government; the peace and liberty of the world, through its means; and the permanent strength, wealth, security, and happiness of these realms.

"The means to accomplish this desirable purpose consist in transferring all the land, waters, mines, houses, and all permanent feudal property, to the people, to be held in partnership, and administered for the common benefit, as follows: Each parish, or other small district, to be the proprietary of that part of the national estate within its boundary, as a body corporate. A board or committee to be appointed by the inhabitants, to let this property on leases only. Leaseholders to let to tenants at will, but not to grant under-leases. Present occupiers to have the preference, where they choose to continue.

"These parish, or district, boards or committees to receive the rents; and, after deducting their share of the governmental expenses, and all parish or other charges, to make a dividend of the balance remaining to all the people having settlement in the parish, or district, as the profit arising from their natural estate. The whole rental of the three kingdoms

doms being ascertained, the application would be the easiest thing imaginable: as for example:

"Suppose the total yearly rent of all the land, houses, mines, fisheries, &c. of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to be£150,000,000

YEARLY EXPENDITURE.

For the crown, in expenses of the court, great officers of state, army navy ordnance dock-yards, &c.	20,000,000
For the house of lords and nobility in pensions.....	5,000,000
For the clergy of all denominations, in lieu of tithes, &c....	5,000,000
For the house of commons, as agents or attorneys of the public	1,000,000
For public institutions, national education, universities, colleges, schools hospitals, &c.....	3,000,000
For inns and courts of law, salaries of judges, and other legal officers	1,000,000
For county rates of assizes, quarter sessions, harbours, bridges, roads, &c.	10,000,000
For parish charges	10,000,000
	55,000,000
Remainder.....	95,000,000
Indemnities, by way of annuities, to individuals or associations for losses sustained in the surrender of landed or funded property, not comprised in the class of nobility or pensioners.....	20,000,000

Balance still remaining.....75,000,000

"To be equally divided to every man, woman, and child; which, among sixteen millions of people, would be more than four pounds a head yearly, after providing for every national expense, without tax, toll, or custom. This statement, which is not pretended to be strictly correct, cannot fail to show what true Christian policy is;—the benefits it holds out to mankind, the simplicity and wisdom of its regulations, and the blessings it would produce to a suffering world. And if any thing can discover the finger of God delineating rules of conduct for man to be guided by in his passage through life, it is this system, and this system only; which, if once established in any nation as state policy, would soon destroy war, and make all mankind brothers and Christians.

"According to the laws of Moses, the land was directed to be possessed by families; not to be parted with otherwise than by mortgage, nor to be sold, given away, or ali-

enated beyond the year of jubilee, as no one had more than a life interest: witness—Naboth's vineyard.

"The fulfilment of these laws in the establishment of the Christian church is strikingly apparent. It has been the usage of the church, in all countries, from its beginning to the present day, to hold its property as a joint stock company in partnership. Its lands, colleges, convents, churches, houses, &c. are the property of the church; the individuals having but a life interest. Its revenues are divided amongst all the members; and, though not equally, it yet preserves them all from extreme poverty. None can buy, sell, give, devise, or leave to their children any part of this property, as it belongs to the whole body; no; not so much as a nail or a brick: and this mode of holding property relieves the members of the church from all expenses of law-suits about inheritances and titles; from the causes of war, civil

or

or external; and from the burden of tax collectors. In a nation of Christians, for the same reason, the whole territory of the country is their common farm, all the people are equally partners in it, and should have the rent divided equally among them; because 'the profit of the earth is for all;' and until this takes place, there can be no true, genuine, practical religion in the world.

"The social bias of the human mind constantly tends to produce this kind of association:—witness the corporations; East India company; insurance, canal, shipping, and other concerns, all of which are joint stock companies. The regularity and beneficial effect of their proceedings to the partners are so apparent, that the practicability of the Spencean system, whenever the public opinion shall demand its establishment, cannot be doubted for a moment. It might be adopted at any time, or under any form of government, without convulsing society. On the contrary, if all persons were partners in the land of their own country, it would render them very unwilling to leave it for the precarious pursuits of war. Indeed the principal incitement to war would be removed by the establishment of this system, as there would then be no possibility for the agents of government and their dependants to procure estates, from the increased expenditure passing through their hands; nor could the naval and military commanders secure their plunder in 'fields of blood.'

"The consciousness that the land belongs to the people has never been entirely effaced from the judgement of mankind.—Nay, the greatest ravagers and destroyers of the human race, even in the spring-tide of success, have frequently felt the

necessity of acknowledging, in some degree, these undeniable rights.

"Thus, when William the Norman, nearly eight centuries ago, subdued this nation under his tyrannical yoke, and established his Pagan system of feudality; he yet suffered a considerable quantity of land, in various parts of the country, to remain unoccupied and reserved for the public use. Hence they acquired the distinguishing appellation of 'commons,' as they were the conqueror's acknowledgment that the people ought not to be entirely cut off from the land, and as they were the common right and inheritance of all those who were, in other respects, deprived of landed possessions.

"It was on the same principle that tithes were established to be administered for the support of the clergy and the poor;—a kind of quit-rent, by which the landholder acknowledged himself to be the tenant of the public, bound to yield a certain share of his produce to maintain the ministers of religion, and those who, through age, infirmity, or misfortune, became distressed and unable to earn their livelihood. Before the Reformation, the convents acted as hospitals, both in sheltering and entertaining travellers, and in receiving the sick poor. Their revenues were given them expressly for this purpose; and, notwithstanding all the alleged corruptions of the Romish church, it is indisputable that much misery was alleviated by these charitable distributions. On the dissolution of the monasteries, the poor became bereft of this assistance; and their wretchedness increased to such an alarming degree, that poor-rates were instituted as a measure of relief, indispensably requisite, and founded on that right to the means

of subsistence which no human laws can abrogate.

"The spirit of our laws and institutions has always considered the holders of land, houses, &c. as the mere stewards of the public, and nowise proprietors in chief; and accordingly, they are at all times obliged to surrender their estates whenever the public convenience requires it. They are also compelled, even while they retain possession, to pay very large public rents in the name of taxes. And this sort of rent is demanded and distrained for with more authority than any other rent. If, therefore, the present possessors of land and houses were to change their situation from nominal proprietors, as freeholders, to tenants of the public, and all taxation was abolished, their condition would in most cases be greatly improved*.

"The past history of the world is sufficient to prove that the state of society, truly desirable by the enlightened philanthropist—in which the monopoly of the common benefits of nature would be unknown, and every man able to procure his subsistence with a healthy exertion of labour, would have leisure to cultivate his intellect, and liberty to expand his virtue,—is not to be attained by political expedients, or particular modes or forms of government, or any superficial attempts to regulate a property in which the great mass have no interest; but by a radical adjustment of the social system on the broad basis of universal justice, and the securing to every member of the com-

munity his indefeasible right to an equal share of the profit of the land and its appurtenances. And it appears to us evident, that no security can be equal to that of public partnership. It has been these bitter contentions about governments that have perpetuated the misery under which the people are now groaning; while the only means that can promote freedom and happiness have been overlooked, and that would, if established, convert the world from a charnel-house to a paradise.

"Till an effectual check be put to individual selfishness in monopolizing the gifts of nature, in vain will philosophy moralize—in vain will divinity denounce 'Cursed is he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark;' in vain will it be expressly commanded, that there shall be no coveting of our neighbour's property. Things will remain as at present, under any form of government, if the great mass of the people continue dispossessed. Landlords are the oppressors of the people—the mere drones of the hive. They do nothing for what they receive. They are the real sinecurists. It is not the expenses of government (so loudly declaimed against), of placemen and pensioners (so reviled and abused), that oppress the people: their exactions are but a drop in the ocean, compared with the exactions of the landholders and stockholders, who devour the whole produce of the people's industry, and cut them off from the land, their national domains. The people never complain if they be employed, and allowed to enjoy the fruit

* The taxes, rates, dues, &c. now paid for estates, if added together, will be found to be a tolerable good rent; viz. tithes, poor-rates, land-tax, excise, customs, road-dues, taxes on houses, windows, servants, horses, carriages, dogs, hair-powder, armorial bearings, game, &c. Real property in land and houses is, by nature, national domain, for which the public must be paid. Why should it not then be declared so at once, and proper regulations established for its administration?

of their labour. When they can neither get employment nor subsistence, to render them desperate, by pointing out the government as the sole cause, is baseness in the extreme in those who are the real oppressors, by enormous exactions of rent; by the seizing of commons and bits of waste in the highway, to prevent the poor relieving themselves by the growth of a potatoe; and by causing the world to be ransacked, to find means to pay them another rent for what they have deposited in the funds. What is the amount of places and pensions—nay, the whole expenses of the government, compared with the yearly amount of the rent extracted from the people, for what ought to be national domains? And of the interest of the national debt?”

“We have now the fairest opportunity that ever opened on a people: throw it not heedlessly away. A settlement of the national affairs is necessarily at hand. It will then be as easy to begin on a just system, as to re-enter on the crooked and bewildering path of state-expediency. Stop not, therefore, short of complete and fundamental justice; for, as far as you stop short of that, you approach a precipice, down which, sooner or later, you will again be plunged into all the misfortune and misery we have so long endured;—you leave unre-moved the source of the same discontent and opposition to the existing authorities; the same delusion and ferment in the public mind, as to the causes of our oppression; the same risk of open rebellion and civil war; the same danger of the overthrow of the reigning family and established form of government by an irritated and deceived people, who are at present cheated into the belief that their wretch-

edness and ignorance arise solely from the administration or construction of the government, and that they ought to expect from a change in that government the means of relieving their wide-spreading, alarming, and deep-rooted distresses. Lose not then, we conjure you, this extraordinary opportunity of fixing the permanent prosperity of your own country; and of giving to the rest of the world the sublime example of a ‘noble and puissant nation,’ as an eagle, renewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam of heavenly radiance.”

“We earnestly exhort all ranks and conditions to investigate the efficiency of this radical remedy for the evils, the sorrows, and the wrongs of man. That if it would remove the discontents against the throne, and afford adequate splendour to its dignity:—that if it would leave the nobility free to the study and pursuit of legislation; the guardians of the commonweal liberally provided for as their rank required:—that if it would produce a real representation of the people in the house of commons, by destroying the source of undue influence and corruption:—that if it would promote morality, sociability, and benevolence, by establishing the different denominations of clergy, without the assistance of tithes or any of those other vexatious exactions which now disturb the harmony that ought to subsist between the pastor and his flock:—that if it would forward the progress of public education, the sure antidote to crime and calamity:—that if it would reduce to a very narrow compass the application of law, and, consequently, prevent the ruin of many individuals and families:—that if it would provide abundant

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resources for the adorning and improving of the country :—that if it would enable the nation to liquidate its debt without actual injury to any one :—that if it would furnish the government ample means to conduct the affairs of the nation in the most efficient manner, without any kind of taxation :—that if it would at once unshackle us from the restraints and burden of taxation, and give the utmost latitude to our commerce, manufactures and agriculture :—that if it would establish security of property consistently with freedom of persons ; and, by freeing the community from the grievous weight of the present exactions, so far amend the condition of the poor as to enable them to supply their wants without parochial relief, or the degrading pittance of cheerless charity :—that if it would thus remove all the causes of national depression, and provide the means of our rising to a degree of elevation hitherto unattained, in which individual prosperity would be inseparably allied with the grandeur and mightiness of the nation :—if it would accomplish these highly desirable objects, with so much facility, and without any necessary confusion or disorder :—and if nothing be needful to establish it but the conversion of the public opinion,—Is not every friend to his country bound to forward its completion ? Is not every one that withholds his assistance so far a wilful perpetuator of the misery of his countrymen, and a rebel to the commands of his God ? Is it not likewise plainly perceptible to the enlightened philanthropist, that this theory of agrarian fellowship, once realized, would spread throughout the world ; extirpating in its progress the slavery, degradation and wretchedness of mankind ?”

This pamphlet concludes with the Regulations of the Society, and with a sketch of the progress of landed monopoly. Of the Regulations, the 2d and 11th articles deserve notice.

“Article II.—*Of the admission and state of members.*

“Persons, desirous of joining this society, must be proposed and seconded by members in their own section. The admission or rejection of the candidate ensues on his assent to the following questions :—

“Are you of opinion, that the land or territory of a nation is, by nature, the people’s farm, in which all persons, as equal partners, might receive their share of the rent ?

“Are you of opinion that the practical establishment of this division of the rent would tend to diminish the frequency of wars, improve the general condition of the people, obviate the necessity for political oppression, and introduce a state of society, founded on universal freedom and justice ?

“Are you then willing to become a Spencean philanthropist, by associating to extend the knowledge of these natural rights of mankind ?

“Article XI.—*Of external relations.*

“To extend the knowledge of the Spencean system, this society corresponds with all other societies, wherever situate, founded on similar principles of benevolence ; and willing to promote the happiness of mankind, by investigating the doctrines of political justice. The society equally corresponds with individuals whose situation prevents them from belonging to the society, but who are, notwithstanding, desirous to assist in disseminating the knowledge of agrarian partnership—the only solid basis of morality, freedom and justice.

“*The progress of landed monopoly.*

“At the revolution of 1688, on the expulsion

expulsion of the house of Stuart and the election of William of Orange, the managers of that transfer (the landed interest) seized the landed estate of the crown and made it public property, granting, instead of it, a yearly pension of six hundred thousand pounds; which pension, though it has been augmented, is restricted by votes of parliament, and at this time is not much more than double. But how is it with the landed interest themselves? By this one stroke of policy, they reduced the crown to a degrading dependence on their will, as their mere servant or agent; whilst they sit to represent themselves in the upper house, and influence the lower house by the irresistible power of their wealth. Thus controlling the legislature, although they limit from the income of the king to the wages of the cobbler, they lay no restraint on their own insatiable engrossments. The consequence is, that during the time the revenue of the crown has been doubled, their rentals have been increased tenfold: all drawn from the hard earnings of the people. Yet they have contrived to render the crown the object of popular displeasure, and elude the deserved odium of their own conduct! They have also promoted inclosure bills, which break up all leases and contracts, and create such enormous expenses in the execution, that small possessors are thereby ruined, and compelled to part with their estates. Nay; the waste and commons of the poor are not even spared, in order to augment the already overgrown lordly landholder; till nearly all the land and houses of the three kingdoms are engrossed by a few hundred families. Nor does the evil stop here: the great landholder becomes the great fundholder. Their excessive revenues in land, being far beyond

what any individual can fairly and usefully spend, supply the loans for war. Thus they generously lend the public the surplus of their unjust exactions—what they have no occasion for themselves—to make fortunes for their younger children, and tax the people to pay the interest of it. Hence the land is theirs; the houses are theirs; and the debt is theirs: and it is no unusual thing to be told that such a duke or such a lord has an estate of fifty thousand a year, and fifty or a hundred thousand more in the funds. Only look at this class of society, consider them and their policy attentively, and you cannot fail to be struck with disgust and horror.

“They pretend they have a right to their estates by prescription of inheritance;—but had not the crown the same right?”

“Yet they have taken the estate of the crown away, and parted it among themselves by leases held of the public at hardly any rent at all; let by themselves to themselves, for less than the twentieth part of its value. Had not the holders of small estates the same right of prescription?”

“And if inclosures were public benefits, why was not the expense of them paid by the public, instead of its being exacted from the possessors? The reason is obvious. The small landholders would have reserved the estates which those bills were passed to take away, and add to that of the lord; and the monopoly would have been incomplete. Had not the poor also the same right of prescription to their common and waste? And yet they have been unhesitatingly seized by these merciless oppressors of our country.

“But it is the effect of monopoly to destroy itself. The borrowing of money, and purchasing of funds

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to extend its exactions, mostly produce bankruptcy; and that is the situation of the landholders of this country. A nation can never be a bankrupt, but the holders of the property of a nation may. A nation cannot be indebted to other nations and have a docket struck against it: no—but the holders of the property of a nation may be indebted to the people, and have a docket struck against them, and their property may be seized and divided among the claimants: a national bankruptcy is literally an impossibility. The wealth of this country, supplied by the industry of the people in carrying on the trade of great part of the world, has hitherto provided means for payment of this great rent and interest of money; but this means of industry being lost, it is now the interest of the great proprietors to commute their now nominal revenues for a pension, like the crown, that the people may be employed upon the land; or in a very short time the expenses of the government, the interest of the debt, and the maintenance of the unemployed poor, will leave them without any revenue at all; and, like the nobles of Denmark, they may be constrained to petition the crown to take their land off their hands to disencumber themselves of a worse than profitless possession."

We shall reserve our further reserve our further remarks on the doctrines, &c. of the Spenceans, till they come before us in our next volume.

In the mean time the country was in a very disturbed and distressed state; serious riots took place in Ely and other districts; and the distress in the manufacturing counties, especially in the iron districts, became almost intolerable. The poor-rates were totally inadequate to the support of those who had claims upon them; and it soon became evident that, unless voluntary contributions were made to a large amount, the wretchedness of thousands would terminate only in death.—One of the first meetings called for the relief of the poor was held in London: it was attended by some of the royal dukes, the archbishop of Canterbury, &c. But, unfortunately, one of the resolutions ascribing the distress to a transition from war to peace, lord Cochrane took advantage of this very imprudent introduction of political matter, and most effectually put a stop to a large and liberal subscription. Soon afterwards another meeting was called for the relief of the Spitalfields weavers; and this being conducted with more judgement, a very large sum was subscribed. The example was followed in almost every part of the kingdom, notwithstanding the representation of Mr. Cobbett and his friends, that subscriptions to the largest amount would be of no avail, and that they actually did harm, by turning the attention of the public from the real nature and causes of the distress under which they laboured.

CHAPTER XI.

Statement of the Nature and Extent of the Disturbances which recently prevailed in Ireland—Measures adopted by Government in consequence thereof.

ALTHOUGH Ireland suffered under the operation of the same causes as Britain,—her trade and commerce having declined even to a greater degree than in the sister kingdoms, in consequence of her

her staple trade of provisions being almost entirely dependent on the demands of war; and her harvest having been at least equally unproductive;—yet she was comparatively quiet: so that the singular spectacle was exhibited of a violent and general spirit of insubordination, disaffection and tumult, existing in England and Scotland, and of Ireland being held forth as an example to them.

This state of quiet was ascribed in parliament to the measures of government. And as it may be instructive to learn what those measures were, as well as to ascertain from what evils Ireland was thus rescued, we shall in this chapter lay before our readers the following official paper: its importance and historical character have induced us to insert it here rather than among the other state papers.

“A statement of the nature and extent of the disturbances which have recently prevailed in Ireland, and the measures which have been adopted by the government of that country in consequence thereof.—To the right honourable viscount Sidmouth.

“*Dublin Castle, 5th June 1816.*

“My lord—I have had the honour of receiving your lordship’s letter of the 27th day of April, inclosing an address from the house of commons to his royal highness the prince regent, praying that his royal highness will be graciously pleased to direct that there be laid before the house a statement of the nature and extent of the disturbances which have recently prevailed in Ireland, and of the measures which have been adopted by the government of that country in consequence thereof; and I proceed to obey the commands which your lordship has signified to me in that letter, that I

should enable his royal highness to comply with the address of the house of commons.

“Though I have, as your lordship is well aware, apprized you from time to time of such events connected with the internal interests of Ireland as have been most worthy of notice, and of the measures which I have adopted with a view to restore and maintain the public peace, it may be satisfactory that I should (instead of referring your lordship to the detail of my separate letters) embody the substance of them in this general dispatch.

“It is not, I presume, wished that I should extend the statement which is required from me beyond the period at which I assumed the administration of the affairs of this country; and I shall therefore only shortly and generally refer to events which occurred during the government of my predecessor, or to the measures to which he had recourse.

“The insurrection act was passed by the legislature in the year 1807: it was not enforced on any occasion during the three years for which it was at that time enacted; and the state of Ireland was considered to be such in the year 1810, as not to render necessary the continuance of this act, and indeed to admit of its repeal a very short period before that to which its duration was limited by law.

“In the early part, however, of January, 1811, in consequence of the numerous outrages committed in the counties of Tipperary, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Limerick, by bodies of men who assembled in arms by night, administered unlawful oaths, prescribed laws respecting the payment of rents and tithes, plundered several houses of arms, in various instances attempted, and in some committed, murder; it was

considered expedient to issue a warrant for a special commission to be held in the counties before mentioned, and in the cities of Waterford, Kilkenny, and Limerick, for the trial of such of the offenders as had been apprehended. From the evidence adduced at the special commission, it appeared that many of the outrages to which I have referred were committed by two combinations, very widely extended among the lower orders of the Roman catholic population, which assumed the name of Caravats and Shanavests, respectively, and between which a violent animosity subsisted, the cause of which was not very satisfactorily accounted for. As feuds of the same kind, not growing out of religious differences, occasionally exist (though seldom to the extent to which this appears to have prevailed), I have inserted in the Appendix to this dispatch a portion of the evidence which was adduced on one of the trials, from which some information may be collected with respect to the origin and object of the combinations by which the peace of the country was at that time disturbed.

"In the county of Tipperary nine persons were tried; two for murder, and seven for attempts to murder; five were tried for robbery of arms; and twenty-two indicted and tried under the acts which generally bear the name of the Riot and Whiteboy acts, for assuming the name of Caravats, and appearing in arms: six were sentenced to death, 27 to transportation, whipping, and imprisonment; and three acquitted.

"In Waterford twelve persons were tried: seven for attempts to murder, one for stealing arms, and four for burglary and robbery: they were all found guilty, and sentenced to death.

"It was not thought necessary to proceed to Limerick in execution of the commission; and there were no trials of importance in Kilkenny.

"Notwithstanding, however, the number of convictions in the counties of Tipperary and Waterford at the special commission, and the severe examples which were made, they do not appear even in those counties to have produced any lasting effect, or to have materially checked the bad spirit which prevailed in them.

"In the early part of 1813, and during the whole of that year, many daring offences against the public peace were committed in these and in other counties, particularly Waterford, Westmeath, Roscommon, and the King's County, the nature of which sufficiently proved that illegal combinations, and the same systematic violence and disorder against which the special commission of 1811 had been directed, still existed.

"The offences against the public peace, committed in the counties which were the seats of disturbance, partook of the same general character: reports were constantly received of attacks on dwelling-houses for the purpose of procuring arms; and the frequency of these attacks, and the open and daring manner in which they were made, were sufficient proofs of the desire which generally prevailed amongst those concerned in the disturbances to collect large quantities of arms, and thus possess the means of prosecuting their ulterior objects with a better prospect of success. Several instances occurred, in which the houses of respectable individuals were attacked, even in the open day, by large bodies of armed men; and others, in which the military, acting

acting under the directions of magistrates, met with considerable resistance. It is worthy of remark, that in the many successful attacks which were made upon houses with the view of depriving the proprietors of their arms, it rarely occurred that any other species of property was molested by the assailants.

"The principal objects of hostility, or rather the principal sufferers on account of their inadequate means of defence, were those persons who, on the expiration of leases, had taken small farms at a higher rent than the late occupiers had offered; and all those who were suspected of a disposition to give information to magistrates against the disturbers of the peace, or to bear testimony against them in a court of justice, in the event of their apprehension and trial. In some counties, particularly in Westmeath and Roscommon, the most barbarous punishments were frequently inflicted upon the persons of those who had thus rendered themselves obnoxious, and upon the persons of their relatives*.

"From the general terror which these proceedings occasioned, it became almost impossible to procure satisfactory evidence against the guilty. It frequently happened that the sufferers from such atrocities as I have alluded to, when visited by a magistrate, would depose only generally to the facts of their having been perpetrated, and, not denying their knowledge of the offenders, would yet steadily refuse to disclose their names, or describe their persons, from the fear of future additional injury to themselves or their relatives. Even where the parties

offending were deposed against and apprehended, there was frequently the greatest difficulty in effecting their conviction, from the intimidation of witnesses, and in some cases of jurors.

"I fear few instances can be found of late, in the counties which I have mentioned, in which it has been possible for witnesses, having given evidence in favour of the crown, on any trial connected with the disturbance of the peace, to remain secure in their usual places of abode.

"In the latter end of the year 1813, a meeting of the magistracy of the county of Westmeath took place, at which eighteen of that body attended. They addressed a memorial to me respecting the state of that county, which bears date the 29th of November: they represented that frequent outrages were committed; that oaths of increased malignity had been administered; that three persons had been convicted on charges of administering and taking an oath, one of the obligations of which was 'to assist the French and Buonaparte;' and that the witness upon whose evidence that conviction had taken place had been recently murdered, under circumstances which were alone sufficient to prove the alarming state of that county. The memorial concluded with an earnest prayer, that a proposition might be made to the legislature for the revival of the insurrection act.

"From evidence adduced on the trial of six persons concerned in the murder alluded to in this memorial (five of whom were capitally convicted), it was proved that the murder was committed by a party

* It is well known, that one of the combinations existing in these and other neighbouring counties derived the name of Carders from the nature of the torture with which the objects of its vengeance were visited, and which consisted in the laceration of their bodies with a wool-card, or some similar instrument.

of eighteen men selected from a larger body, who assembled in divisions of twelve each from three separate parishes, for the purpose of planning and perpetrating this murder. I may also add, that nine persons were shortly afterwards convicted on the same charges, with respect to the oath on which the convictions mentioned in the memorial of the magistrates took place.

"Similar meetings of the magistrates of Waterford and of the King's County took place about the same time; and I received from both representations of the disturbed state of their respective counties, and an earnest application for an increase to the military force stationed in them. In the memorial which I received from the King's County, which bore the signature of sixteen magistrates, it was stated, 'that alarming disturbances existed in that county, and the adjacent parts of Westmeath; that almost every night houses were plundered of arms; that they considered stronger measures than those which could be resorted to under the existing laws absolutely necessary; and that the re-enactment and enforcement of the insurrection act would alone enable them to maintain tranquillity.'

"In the month of January 1814, I received from the governors and twenty-eight of the magistrates of the county of Westmeath a second memorial, urging the necessity of the immediate revival of the insurrection act. In this county three murders had been then recently committed within the short space of a month, two upon persons suspected of giving information against offenders.

"Your lordship will recollect, that in the early part of January 1814, I felt it incumbent upon me to call your attention to a representation

made to your lordship by his grace the duke of Richmond, in the month of August preceding, on the subject of the disturbed state of a considerable portion of the interior of this country, and expressed my deep regret, that notwithstanding the measures which had been adopted by the government, in concert with the commander of the forces, and the general vigilance and activity of the resident magistrates in those parts where the disturbances principally prevailed, no effectual progress had been made towards the restoration of tranquillity; that the same spirit of outrage and tendency to unlawful combination still existed in many parts of the counties of Westmeath, Roscommon, and the adjoining districts; and that the reports then recently received from the counties of Tipperary, Limerick, Kilkenny, and the King's County, had produced repeated instances of a daring and systematic violation of the law.

"I stated that the principal object of the misguided persons who were concerned in the outrages which had been committed, appeared to be the collection of arms, and the intimidation of all those who were likely to give information that might lead to their apprehension and conviction; that to such an extent had this system of intimidation been carried, that the most savage excesses had been committed without the possibility of apprehending those concerned in the perpetration of them, on account of the reluctance of the sufferers, from the fear of future injury, to give information against them.

"I added, that I could not ascertain, that the various combinations which existed in different parts of the country proposed to themselves any definite object of a political nature; nor was there any evidence at all conclusive, that they acted under the immediate

immediate guidance of leaders of weight, either in point of talents or property; and that although there had appeared symptoms of concert and co-operation in some parts, still I had no reason to believe that there was any general understanding between the combinations existing in the different counties.

"I stated, that it was impossible, however, that such combinations, although they might not have any plan well digested and arranged, and were not in pursuit of any common object, could be considered otherwise than as highly dangerous; that they afforded a proof of a very general disposition among the lower orders, in those districts in which they prevailed, to attempt by force and intimidation the redress of what they considered to be their local grievances; they excited the utmost alarm among the peaceable and well disposed for the safety of their persons and property; and if suffered to gain strength and consistency, they would become instruments which the designing and disaffected might readily employ in the furtherance of their political views, should some better opportunity occur for the prosecution of them.

"I represented to your lordship, that the state of the existing laws which regarded the preservation of the public peace, and the expediency of extending the powers of the government and of the magistracy, were subjects to which, in all probability, it would be my duty to call the attention of your lordship before the approaching meeting of parliament, and that in the mean time I should depend upon a vigorous exertion of the powers with which I was then vested, and upon the co-operation of the military force, for the means of counteracting the spirit of outrage which pre-

vailed in many parts of the country, and of preventing its extension to others.

"In consequence of the continuance and increase of the disturbances referred to in the letter which I have quoted above, it was determined to submit to parliament the expediency of extending the powers of the government and of the magistracy; and accordingly in the month of March, in the session of 1814, a bill was introduced, the object of which was to provide for the better execution of the laws in Ireland, by enabling the lord lieutenant in council to proclaim any district to be in a state of disturbance, and to station in it an establishment of constables proportioned to the extent of the district, acting under the immediate superintendence of a magistrate appointed by the lord-lieutenant. It was provided by the bill, that the salaries of the magistrates and constables, and the general expenses attendant on the execution of the act, should be defrayed by a presentment of the grand jury, to be levied on the district proclaimed to be in a state of disturbance: this bill passed into a law; and, at a latter period of the session, the act which had been previously passed in 1807, which generally bears the name of The Insurrection Act, was introduced, and, after being slightly modified, received the sanction of the legislature.

"The first instance in which I had occasion to apply the powers thus committed to me by the first of the acts above referred to, occurred in the county of Tipperary. Early in the month of July 1814, I had received a memorial from a meeting of magistrates and gentlemen, held in pursuance of a public notice, requesting, in consequence of the recent murder of Mr. Long a magis-
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trate of the county, and other alarming outrages, that the district of Ardmoyle, in the barony of Middlethird, in which the murder was committed, might be proclaimed. As the acts above mentioned had not then received the royal assent, I directed that the magistrates should be informed, that there was no law then in force by which that district could be proclaimed; but that I relied upon their exertions to bring the offenders to punishment, and was ready to co-operate in their endeavours with the full assistance of the civil and military powers.

"In the month of September the resolutions of a general meeting of magistrates of the county of Tipperary, convened at Cashel, for the purpose of taking the state of the country into consideration, were transmitted to me, praying, that in consequence of the numerous murders and other outrages committed in the barony of Middlethird, it might be proclaimed under the provisions of the act 54 Geo. III. c. 131. which enables the lord-lieutenant to assign an extraordinary police establishment to a disturbed district.

"As I felt strongly the necessity of establishing a regular police in a county in which the ordinary civil power was proved to be entirely inadequate to the repression of the disorders which had long prevailed in it, the barony of Middlethird was proclaimed in council, on the 6th of September, to be in a state of disturbance, and a magistrate who had long been confidentially employed by the government was appointed the superintending magistrate, with an establishment of 90 constables.

"In two other districts of the county of Tipperary*, similar police esta-

blishments have been subsequently placed, on the application of the magistrates of the county. Your lordship is aware, that the officers attached to these establishments possess no powers whatever in enforcing the execution of the laws beyond the ordinary powers of magistrates and constables nominated in the usual manner; and I have already observed, that the expense incurred by their appointment is borne by the district in which they act.

"I shall now proceed to mention the several instances in which applications have been made by the magistrates for the enforcement of the insurrection act, and the measures which have been in consequence adopted.

"In the month of November 1814 I received a memorial from the governors and fourteen of the magistrates of the county of Westmeath, stating, that the recent outrages committed in that county proved a continuance of the same lawless conspiracy which had existed for some time past, and which rendered the lives and properties of every person in the disturbed district insecure; and praying for the enforcement of the insurrection act in certain districts of that county.

"With this memorial I did not comply, still indulging a hope that the continued exertions of the magistracy, aided by a considerable military force which had been detached into this county, would preclude the necessity of resorting to any extraordinary exercise of authority.

"On the 23d of March 1815, a meeting of twenty-eight magistrates of the same county took place, summoned by the clerk of the peace, in

The baronies of Kilnemanagh and Eliogarty, and the barony of Clanwilliam.

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the mode pointed out by the insurrection act; and a memorial was addressed to the lords justices, who administered the government during my absence for a few weeks in England. The magistrates observed, that the ordinary powers intrusted to them were totally inadequate to ensure that security which every subject has a right to derive from the laws of his country; that the punishment of criminals led only to the murder or banishment of those who had given information against them, and that protection was only to be found in the vicinity of the military posts; they concluded by calling upon the lords justices to enforce the insurrection act in several baronies* of the county of Westmeath.

"On the 18th of April, a memorial, concluding with a similar prayer, was received from twenty-one magistrates of the county of Clare: they mentioned, that houses were frequently plundered of the arms contained in them by disorderly persons, who came from parts of the county remote from that in which the offence was committed, mounted on horses seized from the owners for the occasion; and that other outrages of the same character were committed in two baronies† of the county which they wished to have proclaimed.

"In the same month an application to the same effect was received from a meeting of 30 magistrates of the county of Limerick, contained in a memorial, representing the continuance of disturbance in certain di-

stricts of that county‡ which were specified; and from — magistrates of the county of Meath, who urged the necessity of enforcing the insurrection act in certain baronies of that county in which disturbance was alleged to prevail§. The lords justices did not enforce the insurrection act, in any instance, in consequence of these memorials; but required the magistrates by whom they had been preferred to send depositions on oath of the several outrages which had been committed in their respective counties. Depositions on oath were accordingly transmitted, in consequence of this requisition, by the several gentlemen who had presided at the meetings of the magistrates.

"Immediately on my return to Ireland, I took into consideration the several applications which I have before mentioned; and though I found in them strong proofs of the spirit of disturbance and lawless combination, which the magistrates had complained of; yet being naturally reluctant to have recourse to measures of extreme rigour, till all hopes of producing tranquillity by other means should have failed, I conveyed to the magistrates my intention still to postpone the enforcement of the insurrection act.

"The first instance in which I deemed it expedient to call into operation the provisions of this law occurred in the county of Tipperary. A meeting of the magistrates of this county took place on the 22d of December 1815, for the purpose of taking the state of it into consideration; and I received from

* *Baronies of Kilkenny West, Kilkenny East, Rathcondra, Moycashel, and parts of the barony of Kilkenny, &c.*

† *Limerick, &c.*

‡ *The baronies of Pubblebrien, Coshma, Kenry, with the exception of some parishes, parts of the barony of Lower Connellan, Costlea, and Small County.*

§ *Demifore, Upper and Lower Kells, and some adjoining parts.*

that

that meeting, at which 40 magistrates attended, an unanimous application, that six baronies of the county might be proclaimed under the insurrection act. This application was accompanied by 58 depositions on oath, respecting various outrages committed, for the most part, with the view of procuring arms.

"I did not hesitate to give immediate effect to this application.

"The provisions of the act, which enabled me to appoint an extraordinary establishment of police, had been in operation in one district of the county* upwards of a year, and in a second† about four months. The exertions of that police had been unremitting, and many daring offenders had been apprehended. Among the resident magistrates great unanimity and cordiality had for some time past prevailed, and to many of them the utmost credit is due for the zeal and activity with which they discharged their duties. The combined efforts, however, of the magistracy and of the police, aided by a very considerable military force, were insufficient to contend with that lawless spirit and audacity in the commission of crime, which placed in continual hazard the lives and properties of the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants.

"No less than four attacks had been made within a short period, by considerable bodies of armed men, upon the coaches conveying the mails through this county, although they were accompanied by a military escort; on these occasions some of the dragoons were killed, and other persons wounded.

"In the barony of Kilnemanagh, a

house had been hired as a temporary barrack for the accommodation of a military party, which, with the house adjoining it, was entirely destroyed in the month of September by a very large body of men in arms, provided with various instruments of attack. A written notice was left, stating that it was resolved to destroy in the same manner any house taken by the government for a similar purpose.

"Fortunately for the peace of the country, thirteen persons, together with their leader in this attack (the son of a farmer of considerable property), were capitally convicted at the special commission subsequently held in this county in the month of January 1816.

"The weekly reports made to government by the magistrates superintending the police establishments, mentioned repeated instances wherein the houses of respectable inhabitants had been attacked (in some cases in the day time), and the occupiers compelled to deliver up their arms. Several murders had been committed, particularly upon persons employed in the collection or valuation of tithes. One person thus occupied, though accompanied by eight armed men for his protection, was killed in the day-time, and his party disarmed, within a short distance of the city of Casbel.

"In the early part of the month of September, in consequence of the repeated acts of outrage which were committed in the counties of Tipperary and Limerick, and the violent and open manner in which the law was set at defiance, I directed a large additional military force, under the command of lieutenant-

‡ The barony of Middlethird.

† The baronies of Kilnemanagh and Eliogarty.

general Meyrick, to march into these counties, with the view of aiding the civil power, and giving that confidence to the respectable and well-disposed inhabitants, which might induce them to remain in the country, and co-operate with the government in attempting to maintain tranquillity.

"On receiving, on the 25th of September, the memorial which I have above alluded to, proceeding from an unanimous meeting of forty magistrates, I lost not a moment in issuing a proclamation, with the advice of the privy council, declaring six of the baronies of the county of Tipperary* to be in a state of disturbance, and subjecting them to the provisions of the insurrection act.

"Another barony † of the county was, in a few days afterwards, included in this proclamation, on the application of the magistrates.

"In the course of the month of October, another memorial was presented to me from thirteen magistrates of the county of Tipperary, assembled at an extraordinary session of the peace, expressing their opinion, that four additional baronies‡, not included in the proclamations, were in a state of disturbance, and praying that they also might be proclaimed.

"Not having had sufficient reason to think that the baronies last mentioned were in such a state of disturbance as to call for the application of any extraordinary measure, I directed the clerk of the peace to be called upon to furnish the sworn informations of outrages committed,

upon which the allegations of disturbance rested.

"After a consideration of the documents with which I was furnished, I did not think the necessity for a compliance with the memorial I have last mentioned sufficiently established. I entertained a confident hope, that if the act was effectual in the baronies in which it had been recently enforced, its influence would be felt in those immediately adjoining them.

"At the latter end of September, I received from forty-seven magistrates of the county of Limerick assembled at a special sessions on the 26th, a representation that the entire of that county was in a state of disturbance, occasioned by a very general confederacy among the lower orders, and praying that the county might be proclaimed under the insurrection act. A memorial was also received, concluding with the same prayer, from the magistrates of the county of the city of Limerick.

"Having had sufficient evidence that the ordinary operation of the law was inadequate to maintain tranquillity in this county, and that it was in a state of serious disorder, it was proclaimed in council under the provisions of the insurrection act on the 30th of September; and the county of the city, with the exception of such parishes as are within the city, was proclaimed on the 3d of October.

"In consequence of the number of prisoners in the gaol of the county of Limerick, I deemed it expedient to issue a warrant for a special com-

* The six baronies were those of Middlethird, Kilnemanagh, Eliogarty, Sewardagh, Compey, Clanwilliam, and the eastern barony of Iffa and Offa.

† That of Iffa and Offa West.

‡ Upper and Lower Ormond, Ikerrin, and Ownay and Arra.

mission,

mission, for the purpose of bringing the offenders to trial.

"In the early part of November it gave me great satisfaction to be enabled to inform your lordship, that since the insurrection act had been in force in the counties of Tipperary and Limerick, comparatively few crimes in violation of the public peace had been committed in these counties, and that they had enjoyed a state of tranquillity to which they had been unaccustomed for some time past: that those provisions of the insurrection act which give facilities to the magistrates to recover arms from persons who are not entitled by law to possess them, had operated very beneficially; and I felt it due to the magistrates residing in the disturbed districts, to report to your lordship the great unanimity with which they had acted, and the strong disposition they had shown to give effect by their personal exertions to the measures of government. At this period I received addresses from each of the grand juries of the county and city of Limerick, assembled at the special commission then about to terminate, expressing their satisfaction with the measures which had been adopted for the suppression of disturbance, and conveying an assurance that they had been attended with success.

"Notwithstanding the intimation which I had so recently conveyed to your lordship, that the state of the county of Tipperary was improved, at least there had been of late fewer violations of the public peace,—towards the latter end of the month of November, Mr. William Baker, a gentleman of considerable fortune, and of the highest character and respectability, was assassinated on his return home from the special sessions at Cashel, where he had

been discharging his duty as a magistrate. The circumstances under which this murder was committed, and which were proved in evidence on the trial of two persons concerned in it, are strongly indicative of that depravity and sanguinary disposition of which this county had presented so many lamentable proofs. It appeared that in the month of September a house in the neighbourhood of Mr. Baker's residence had been attacked by an armed body of men, and, after considerable resistance on the part of the inhabitants, had been burned. Mr. Baker had exerted himself with great activity and success in detecting and committing to prison the perpetrators of this outrage; and in consequence of his exertions a conspiracy to murder him was formed in the early part of November. The murder was committed on the 27th of November in the day-time, by a party of five persons. It appeared that in consequence of an order which had been issued (it has not been traced from whom), several persons (many of them from considerable distances) assembled on that day and the evening preceding, upon the different roads by which it was possible for Mr. Baker to return from Cashel, and were stationed in small detachments in different houses and places of concealment, for the purpose of intercepting him; that Mr. Baker was watched the whole day by persons appointed for the purpose; that his departure from Cashel was communicated by signals; and that when the shots were fired which deprived him of his life, a shout of triumph was raised by a number of people who had assembled in the neighbourhood evidently to witness this barbarous murder.

"On the 2d of December I issued a proclamation in council, offering a reward

a reward of 5,000*l.* for the discovery of the person by whom the murder was committed. I shortly afterwards received an address, signed by 76 magistrates of the county of Tipperary, assembled at a special sessions of the peace on the 13th of December, expressing the strongest acknowledgements for the prompt administration of the powers confided to the executive government, and assuring me, that notwithstanding the recent murder of Mr. Baker, and the manifest intention of those concerned in it to intimidate the magistrates from the execution of their duty, they were determined to co-operate with the government in endeavouring to maintain tranquillity, and not to relax their exertions from the apprehension of personal danger. They concluded by praying that a superintending magistrate and police establishment might be placed in the barony in which the murder of Mr Baker had been perpetrated.

"I gave immediate effect to the wishes of the magistrates thus conveyed; and a chief magistrate of police, with 50 constables, was placed in the barony of Clanwilliam. On the 28th of December a warrant was issued for a special commission to be held in the county of Tipperary.

"In order that I might not interrupt a connected account of the measures which I was compelled to adopt in the counties of Tipperary and Limerick, I omitted to state, that in the month of November, a memorial, signed by several magistrates of the King's County assembled at Clare on the 22d of November, was laid before me, represent-

ing that various acts of violence, viz. the robbery of arms, the infliction of torture, the assembling in arms by night, and the administration of unlawful oaths, were committed in a small district of that county*, and praying that it might be declared in a state of disturbance under the insurrection acts.

"I had previously received a memorial from a numerous meeting of the magistrates of Westmeath, assembled at Moate on the 2d November, stating, that the character of the disturbances which had so long prevailed in that county remained the same; that they were of opinion, that the ordinary powers intrusted to the magistracy were totally inadequate to ensure security to the inhabitants; and unanimously praying, that the provisions of the insurrection act might be put in force in two baronies of that county † without delay.

"Having had convincing proofs, that in the districts pointed out by the magistrates of the King's County and Westmeath (and which are contiguous districts) a very turbulent disposition had long prevailed, many instances having occurred (some of which are enumerated in a former part of this dispatch) in which illegal oaths had been administered, in which houses had been plundered of arms, and witnesses and others suspected of aiding the administration of justice, had been murdered or most cruelly treated; and having long witnessed the unceasing but ineffectual exertions on the part of many of the magistrates in the most disturbed parts of those counties, I determined to accede to their application, and with the advice of the

* The barony of Kilcoursy, and the parishes of Durrow, Rahan, Lemanahan, Clonmacnoise, and Wherry.

† Clonlunan and Moycashel.

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privy council, subjected the contiguous districts of the two counties to the operation of the insurrection act, by a proclamation which bears date the 24th November.

"In the course of the present year, the insurrection act has not been enforced in any new instance. In the month of March, in consequence of a memorial from 27 magistrates of the county of Louth, a special magistrate, with 50 constables, was appointed, for the purpose of assisting them to maintain the peace in four baronies* of that county.

"Various acts of outrage were committed in these baronies about this period. In the course of one week, 11 houses in the neighbourhood of Dundalk were plundered of arms. The house and offices of a farmer, who had prosecuted some persons by whom he had been robbed and nearly murdered, were wilfully set on fire and consumed. A party of armed persons, reported to be not less than 200 in number, attacked the house of another individual, and entered it, after meeting with considerable resistance: after wounding very severely the owner and two other inhabitants of the house, they compelled him to deliver his arms, and to take an oath that he would give up his farm.

"In the month of April in the present year, a similar police establishment was also appointed in three baronies† of the county of Clare, on a representation received from 20 magistrates of that county. For a considerable time past, certain districts in that county had been in an unsettled state; but in the course of the preceding year I had been informed by the magistrates, that the

examples made under the insurrection act in the counties of Tipperary and Limerick had produced a very beneficial effect in the county of Clare. In the months, however, of February and March of the present year, offences of the same general character with those which I have before described were very frequently committed. Nightly meetings of large numbers of the lower orders took place: in one district, in the course of the month of March, several houses were wilfully burned, and threatening notices were posted up, directed against the letting of lands to others than the old proprietors, and against the payment of rents, except under certain prescribed regulations.

"I have enumerated all the several instances in which I have, with the advice of the privy council, enforced the provisions of either of those acts of the legislature which passed in the session of 1814. It will appear, from the detail into which I have entered, that the insurrection act has been enforced in the county of Limerick, the county of the city of Limerick, in several baronies of the county of Tipperary, two baronies of the county of Westmeath, and in a district of the King's County: and that in certain districts of three counties, Tipperary, Louth, and Clare, special magistrates and constables have been placed, having the ordinary powers given to civil officers, and the expenses consequent on their appointment being levied from the district within which they act.

"I shall now state to your lordship the general result of the measures which have been thus adopted for

* Upper and Lower Dundalk, Ardee and Louth.

† Clondarlan, Ibrachan, and Moyarta.

the preservation of the public peace, in aid of the ordinary operation of the law ; and it gives me great satisfaction to be enabled to assure you, that tranquillity has been completely restored in some of the districts which were the seat of disturbance ; and that in three of those districts in which the insurrection act was enforced in the course of last year, it has, in consequence of the improved state of them, been withdrawn since the commencement of the present year.

" In the month of February last, I received from the magistrates of the King's County a memorial, expressing their acknowledgements for the additional powers which had been given to them under the insurrection act, and for the judicious distribution of the military force ; stating the good effect to the peace of the county which had resulted from those measures, and giving their opinion, that the additional powers intrusted to them might be safely withdrawn.

" From the magistrates of the city of Limerick, assembled at an extraordinary sessions of the peace on the 15th day of April last, a memorial was transmitted, stating their opinion that the circumstances which induced them to apply for the provision of the 54th of the King to be put in force in the county of the city of Limerick no longer existed.

" I have also received a memorial from the magistrates of the county of Westmeath, assembled at a special session of the peace held last month, expressing the deep sense which they entertain of the benefit which their county has experienced from the measures which had been adopted ; attributing the tranquillity they now enjoy to the successful operations of the provisions of the insurrection act ; and adding their wish, that the powers with which it invested them

might be withdrawn, and the ordinary course of law restored.

" I gave immediate effect to their several applications ; and the proclamations enforcing the insurrection act in certain districts of the county of Westmeath, King's County, and the county of the city of Limerick, have been severally revoked by the privy council. The only counties, therefore, in which that act now remains in operation are the counties of Tipperary and Limerick.

" I have annexed to this dispatch a report of the proceedings of the special commission held for the county and city of Limerick in the month of November 1815, and in the county of Tipperary in the month of February 1816 ; and a return of persons tried at the special session under the insurrection act, for offences against the provision of that act. I have added also a statement of the proceedings at the several assizes in the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, and Lent assizes of the year 1816, so far as relates to committals and convictions for criminal acts connected with the disturbance of the public peace in the following counties : Westmeath, Tipperary, Limerick, King's County, Queen's County, Longford, Louth, Clare, Roscommon, and Waterford.

" There may appear to your lordship a great disparity in some cases between the number of committals and the number of convictions ; and persons unacquainted with the internal state of this country may infer that committals too frequently take place without sufficient evidence of guilt against the parties apprehended. No such conclusions, however (I mean so far as relates to the general practice of the magistracy to commit suspected persons on slight and insufficient ground), ought to be drawn. The frequent instances

X 2 which.

which have come to my knowledge, wherein prosecutors and witnesses have been intimidated by the menaces of the friends of the parties deposed against; the experience I have had of the danger to which they, and even their relations, are exposed; of the necessity which in almost every case occurs, that they should quit the place of their birth and residence; of the odium which universally attaches to the name of an informer; compel me to consider the disproportion between the number of committals and convictions in many districts, rather as a proof of the disordered state of society, and of the impediments in the way of the administration of justice, than as a proof of undue precipitancy, on the part of the magistracy, in committing on the suspicion of criminality. I may be allowed here to add, that the danger attendant on the giving of information or evidence was so notorious, and so much impeded the conviction of the guilty at no remote period, that the legislature found it necessary, with the view of deterring from the murder of witnesses, and of preventing the impunity of the parties against whom those witnesses had deposed, to enact, that if any person having given information upon oath of any offence against the laws should be murdered, or forcibly carried away, before the trial of the person deposed against, such information on oath should be admitted as evidence on the trial.

"It has been necessary in the disturbed counties, (in most instances of persons having given information on oath, or intending to give evidence upon trial,) on account of the serious danger to which such persons are exposed, to remove them to places of security previous to the trials, and ultimately to provide for their removal from their usual abodes. In many cases the wit-

nesses for the crown have, at their own request, been kept a considerable period previously to the trial in the gaol of the county, as affording them the best means of protection; in other cases they have been protected in barracks, or brought to Dublin, where, however, occasionally, they have not been safe from the hostility of the friends of the parties apprehended.

"I have not thought it necessary to mention the numerous applications which have been, and continue to be made, for military assistance in aid of the civil power, by magistrates and others. I never recommend the commander of the forces to accede to those applications, without the strongest evidence of their necessity; and in almost every case, the military officer in command of the district from which the requisition proceeds, is directed to inquire personally into the grounds on which it is made. I ought not, however, to omit to mention, that a very considerable military force is employed in giving assistance to the officers of revenue in the suppression of illicit distillation, which prevails to a great extent in several of the northern and western counties of this kingdom. In consequence of an order of the house of commons, made in the month of February in the present year, a return had been made of the troops at that time employed on this service, which I have annexed to this dispatch, and which will give full information with respect to the number of men employed, the detachments into which they are divided, and the stations at which they are placed.

"I am, with great truth and regard,
my lord, your lordship's most
obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "WHITWORTH.
"The Vicount Sidmouth, &c."

CHAP.

CHAPTER XII.

*Naval and Military Transactions of Great Britain, during the Year 1816—
Expedition against Algiers—Nepanlese War.*

PERHAPS there is no circumstance that created more general and deep astonishment and indignation, in the minds of all who reflected even in the most superficial manner on political events, than the tame and disgraceful forbearance with which all the European powers, without exception, sat down under the barbarous and unprovoked aggravations and plunders of the piratical governments on the northern coasts of Africa. To account for this forbearance, on any known principles of policy or wisdom, seemed impossible. That these States might be crushed even by one of the first-rate European powers, seemed a point of little doubt: that a confederacy of three or four of the principal of the European powers could effectually crush them, seemed certain.

In some respects, Britain was called upon to execute this office in favour of suffering civilization and humanity. She was mistress of the ocean; she had already stepped forth against the tyranny and oppression of France, which, though on a much larger scale, and productive of much more dreadful consequences, was undoubtedly not more unprovoked than had been in every case the oppression of the Barbary powers. In this view Britain seemed called upon to come forth in all the vengeance of her maritime power; and as she was so powerful by sea, the enterprise seemed much easier to her than to any other European state.—On the

other hand, the Barbary States seldom or never molested her ships or subjects; they rather paid to them a respect, which proved that they were unwilling to provoke the vengeance of the mistress of the ocean. But this respect was in some measure purchased: at least we condescended to ward off the attacks of the Barbary States by presents and negotiations; and a tax was even levied on all ships going to the Mediterranean, or even passing within those limits which generally bounded the depredations of the corsairs, for the express purpose of defraying any expense to which the British government might be put, in order to keep quiet, either by force or by presents, these pests of civilized society.

As long as the British government was engaged in the French revolutionary war, there was no time or means to undertake an expedition against the Barbary States; but as soon as peace was restored, they resolved to attend to this subject. Accordingly lord Exmouth was sent out with an adequate force, to demand, in the first place, the liberation of all the Christian slaves; and then to negotiate on behalf of the minor powers in the Mediterranean treaties of peace and amity, leaving the great maritime powers to defend themselves, as they had hitherto done, against any insult to their respective flags. The fleet proceeded first to Tunis, and thence to Tripoli. Here the expedition was completely successful; the release of

X 3 every

every Christian slave was procured : treaties were concluded ; and a declaration was obtained that no Christian slave should in future be made by either of these powers ; but that the prisoners taken should be treated, and exchanged, in the manner usual with European states.

The fleet then returned to Algiers, for the purpose, as was understood, of obtaining a revision of the treaty which the dey had made with America respecting the sale of prizes in his ports. The dey replied to this question, that the treaty he had recently made with that nation was at an end ; that if they chose not to abide by the old one, he would agree to no other. Lord Exmouth then proposed to the dey a treaty similar to that made at Tunis and Tripoli, for doing away with slavery altogether. The dey represented that it was impossible to entirely abolish the system that had so long subsisted—that it was the commerce of the country, and that a change which would be so detrimental to the interests of every Turk and Moor, it would require considerable time to bring their minds to submit to. The Divan and the military (Turks), he was persuaded, would never renounce the trade. Lord Exmouth, having urged his demands with all his wonted energy and perseverance in vain, departed from the interview with a determination to commence hostilities. The dey, therefore, ordered the British consul (Mr. Macdonald) to be confined, and all the English vessels at Oran to be seized.

The next day the squadron got under way, for the purpose of going into the Mole, to destroy the Algerine naval force ; but a violent gale came on, which continued until four o'clock in the afternoon, and then it would have been too late to take a favourable position alongside

the batteries. The ships anchored again. His lordship then dispatched a letter to the dey, demanding that the consul should be released, and sent off to the fleet. The dey refused to give him up, saying, he owed him 500,000 dollars ; when that sum was paid, he should depart. The dey, when he parted from lord Exmouth, said, though he should be prepared for hostilities, he would not fire the first shot. Upon the whole, as far as the question bore upon his own feelings and interest, he appeared disposed to do away with slavery.

The next day the dey sent off to lord Exmouth a proposal, that he was willing to conclude a perpetual peace ; but that part of the negotiation which referred to the abolition of slavery should stand over for six months, that he might be enabled to obtain the advice and sanction of the grand seignior upon the question. Lord Exmouth agreed, except that the time of suspension should be *three* instead of six months. This being mutually decided, the Tagus frigate, captain Deans Dundas, was appointed to take the dey's ambassador to Constantinople. The use of that ship had, at the first visit, been granted to the dey, to convey his presents to the grand seignior, as he had not sent any since he was chosen to the regency. Lord Exmouth then exchanged the usual civilities with the dey, and departed with his fleet for England, leaving the Tagus for the service appointed.

When lord Exmouth returned to England, the nation were not satisfied : they very generally expressed their surprise, that the dey of Algiers should have been allowed delay, while terms were expected from the deys of Tunis and Tripoli, and anticipated either a refusal on his part, or a speedy renewal of his piratical depredations. This proved to

to be the case. Scarcely was lord Exmouth returned to England, when the Algerines committed depredations and cruelties, not only upon the subjects of other European powers, but also upon some English subjects: it seemed therefore that he was not intimidated, either by the appearance of an American squadron which had been sent across the Atlantic for the express purpose of chastising him, and by which he had been obliged to enter into a treaty with the United States, or by the appearance of a squadron from Britain—a power still more formidable, both from her greater vicinity and her superior maritime strength. The cry in Britain, on learning these fresh outrages, was therefore almost universal; not only for war against Algiers, but for the immediate and utter annihilation of that power. There were some who were disposed to doubt not only the practicability of destroying Algiers, or even effectually preventing the continuance of her piracies, but even the policy of these measures. The arguments in support of these doubts are ably given in the number of the Quarterly Review for April 1816. The principal of these we shall extract; as they not only state the question forcibly, but also throw considerable light on our connexion with, and dependence upon, the Barbary powers.

In discussing this question, we may narrow the grounds, by inquiring—

1. Can England, consistently with sound policy and good faith, join in the 'league' for putting down the Barbary powers?

2. Would the cause of humanity be benefited by the extermination of those powers?

3. Is their extermination practicable? and if so, How is Northern Africa to be disposed of?

1. It has always been deemed an object of the first importance for England to maintain a commanding attitude in the Mediterranean; and for this very reason it has also been the constant endeavour of France and Spain to expel us altogether from that quarter. The great exertions that have been made, the millions that have been expended, the public anxiety that has been felt by the people of England for the preservation of the barren rock of Gibraltar, had no object beyond the means which its possession afforded us, of asserting and maintaining our naval superiority in the Mediterranean. The negotiations which took place at the treaty of Amiens respecting Malta, and which ended in our retaining possession of that island, had no other object. But Malta and Gibraltar depend for their subsistence on external sources of supply; and those, in time of war, when our fleets are large and garrisons numerous, must not be distant. To look to England alone for a supply of food for 30,000 seamen and soldiers, exclusive of the inhabitants, would be most dangerous, and might be fatal both to the garrisons and to the fleet. We will admit, however, for argument's sake, the possibility of a regular and ample supply being sent out from England; still, a plague to which Malta is subject, and an endemic sickness which frequently visits Gibraltar, might render those supplies unavailable.

The places whence provisions are usually drawn, in time of war, are the Black Sea, the Archipelago, Egypt, and the Barbary States. The first three resources failed us more than once in the course of the late long and arduous struggle, and must always be liable to interruption from war or the plague; but the States of Barbary failed us only

when they were themselves suffering under the calamity of famine. Rarely has any of them shown an unwillingness to afford us supplies of cattle and corn, or to furnish our ships of war with fresh provisions, free of all duties, whenever they called at any of their ports. Even when at war with Turkey, to which the three states bordering on the Mediterranean are, nominally at least, pashalicks, they never once attempted to shut their ports against us. Our treaties with them are of longer standing than with any other power, the date of the first with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, being that of 1662, and with Morocco 1721; yet these treaties, generally speaking, have been held sacred by them. Among other advantages which Great Britain derives from these treaties, it is stipulated, 'that no subject of his majesty shall be bought or sold or made a slave, not even if taken on board a vessel at enmity with those states, provided he be a passenger; that all British vessels may freely pass the seas without any search, hindrance, or molestation, on producing a pass from the lords commissioners of the admiralty; that neither the goods shall be seized, nor the men made slaves, belonging to shipwrecked vessels; and that our ships of war shall receive provisions at the several ports, free of duty:—if, at any time, any of those stipulations have been violated by the unruly and piratical subjects of those states, immediate reparation has always been made. The British consuls residing at their ports have invariably been respected above those of any other power; though we have heard, indeed, that one of our consuls at Tangier once wrote to the British admiral commanding at Gibraltar, requesting that a longer flag staff might be

sent him to erect before his door, and stating that the consular influence in the dominions of Morocco depended chiefly on the length of his pole.

2. Whether the cause of humanity would be benefited by direct hostilities on our part, and whether we should be justified on that ground in joining the 'holy league,' is a part of the question in which we cannot hesitate to give our decided negative.

There can be no doubt, however, that the Christian slaves are subject to much harsh treatment, and especially in Algiers; but no Englishman has been made a slave; and before we go out of the way to seek for objects of misery abroad, it would be wise and humane to relieve those which we have at home.

The greatest number of slaves, taken by the Barbary powers of late years, consists of Sardinians, Neapolitans, and Sicilians; who, on their part, be it remembered, make slaves of the Africans whenever they can take them. An exchange of prisoners is seldom effected; for the Moors, though they hold themselves far superior to Christians, generally demand two, and sometimes four or five Mahomedans for one Christian; their great object being, in fact, to obtain money for their ransom. It is thus in the power of the government to which the unfortunate captives belong, or of their friends, almost at any time, to procure their release; and it is obviously the interest of those who hold them, to preserve rather than destroy them.

If, however, the treatment of Christian prisoners, or slaves, were more harsh than it is, what has England to do with it, that she must stand foremost as the avenging power, and sacrifice her seamen to evince her humanity towards Sardinians,

dinians, Sicilians, and Neapolitans? But—the question is widely altered, if, as it would seem, the treaties recently made in behalf of these people have been violated: if the dey of Algiers has not only refused to follow the example of the other two states, in renouncing the practice of making Christian slaves, but in the very moment that he was signing the most solemn treaties, ‘in the name of God Almighty,’ treacherously sent off his orders for the massacre of Bona, then indeed England has been insulted, and we can understand the nature of the armament said to be preparing for the Mediterranean. The question then is no longer whether England shall waste her blood and treasure in an idle crusade, for the benefit of foreigners; she is imperatively called upon to avenge the insult offered to her own flag; and *alone* we trust she will avenge it. The flag which has maintained its superiority in the Mediterranean against the fleets of France and Spain requires no assistance to humble the Barbary powers.

The Algerines have mortars and stone shot of immense calibre and weight and Turks and renegadoes to manage them; some of them men of rank and talent, who, having disgraced the one and misapplied the other, have been forced to fly to the shores of Africa from the offended laws of their own country. With all this, we are not apprehensive about the result of an English squadron before Algiers, though the history of the attempts made against it is not very encouraging. Charles V. having taken the Goleta before Tunis, and released 20,000 slaves, next tried his hand on Algiers, and after the loss of as many of his men as he had released slaves at Tunis, was glad to make peace on any

terms. Of the formidable army employed on this expedition, ‘many,’ says his elegant historian, ‘perished in the battle, more in the retreat, and the remainder returned into Spain covered with infamy.’ He might have added to his list of disasters, that 15 ships of war, 140 transports, and 8000 men were destroyed by the elements. Philip II. was equally unfortunate in his attempts on Algiers.

The most that could be hoped for is the destruction of the town and the fleet: but Algiers is not so easily destroyed; the flat-roofed houses are all built of stone, almost without a stick of wood, and without furniture; and every house is as good a fortress as those of Rosetta and Buenos Ayres—names too disastrous to be soon forgotten. But were it possible to lay it in ashes, even that would not make much impression on its rulers; and the suffering but resigned Mussulman would resolve it all into the ‘will of God!’ When the French bombarded Mogadore, and afterwards sent to make peace, the first question asked by the emperor of the ambassador was, how much money the expedition had cost them?—and on being informed, he observed to the ambassador, that for half that sum he would have levelled the town to its foundations!

So says Keatinge—but the story was first told of the dey of Algiers, when Louis XIV. threatened to lay that place in ashes. Tell him, says the Dey, to send me half the money: it would cost, and I will do it for him more effectually.—When the cabinet of James I. determined to show our naval prowess, by an attack on Algiers, that able and intelligent statesman sir William Monson vehemently opposed it, as a rash and ill-founded expedition; urging

urging that, instead of raising the reputation of the British arms, it would only contribute to render them ridiculous. Sir Robert Mansel, however, was sent with a squadron, and did nothing; after him, a fleet went for the same purpose, under Lord Willoughby, and another under the earl of Denbigh, both of which were equally unsuccessful.

The success of Blake (who never failed) in burning the Tunisian fleet at the Goleta, was as detrimental to our Mediterranean commerce, as the failure of Mansel. The irritation produced by the attack increased the number of row-boats, more destructive and more certain of their prey than large rigged vessels. In fact, the Mediterranean swarmed with them, and they were not over scrupulous in their disposal of the prisoners. In 1683, when the French admiral Du Quesne bombarded Algiers, all the French prisoners in the place were butchered, and the dey committed the inhuman and atrocious act of binding the French consul to the mouth of a mortar, and firing him off against the bombarding squadron. The balance of the account therefore has not been in favour of humanity, after any of the attacks on Algiers, whether successful or otherwise.

3. Let us however suppose a 'holy alliance' was formed, and that by its efforts all the towns on the sea-coast were tumbled down on the heads of their unoffending inhabitants; what is the next step to be taken by these combined friends of humanity and religion?

Difficulties every way occur; nor do we pretend to suggest the means of removing them; but we cannot avoid thinking that the concessions already obtained by lord Exmouth from two of the powers will ultimately

lead to a better order of things. If, as it would appear, the Turkish rabble are so dissatisfied with the declaratory abolition of piracy by the bey of Tunis that they are abandoning the country, and carrying off the shipping; if the two sovereigns of Tripoli and Tunis, who are natives, will employ their own people in offices of trust, and raise their armies out of the Moorish population; if the grand seignior should be required to absolve them from their mere nominal allegiance, and never more interfere with their concerns; in short, if they could be constituted independent governments, under native princes, there is every reason to believe they would gradually subside into more industrious, commercial, and peaceable communities: and the first step towards this desirable end would be that of prevailing on them to dismiss every Turk and renegade from their employ. The two states above mentioned would be too happy to accede to this; and if the dey of Algiers should hold out, let him be treated, as he deserves to be, without mercy. Under such an arrangement we verily believe we should hear no more of their piracies than we have done of late years of the Sallee rovers, once so formidable to all the commercial nations of Europe.

The British government, however, resolved to attempt the reducing the dey of Algiers to such terms as, if acted upon, would prevent his future depredations. Accordingly, lord Exmouth was dispatched with a fleet of seven sail of the line, frigates, gun-boats, &c. Those who were acquainted with the natural and artificial defences of Algiers, and with the determined courage of the new dey,—for the old dey had been massacred in consequence

sequence of the treaty he had concluded with lord Exmouth,—were not very sanguine with respect to the issue of this expedition. They asked why a larger force was not sent ;—at peace with all the world, we certainly had plenty of ships to spare ; and in every point of view, it would be better to send as many as would be able to achieve all that was to be done, in a speedy and effectual manner, and without any interval of doubt as to the issue, than barely as many ships as might accomplish the object. If we failed, what a triumph for the Barbarians ! We must then, either be at more expense of blood and treasure, effectually to crush them, or sit down tamely under the most aggravated insults and depredations. Government, however, it is to be supposed, as well as lord Exmouth, thought the force quite adequate. It was adequate. The enterprise was successful ;—the particulars of it are detailed by lord Exmouth in a manner and style highly creditable to his feelings and his talents, in the following official dispatch, which we are sure our readers would not wish us to alter or abridge in a single particular.

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, Aug. 28.

Sir,—In all the vicissitudes of a long life of public service, no circumstance has ever produced on my mind such impressions of gratitude and joy as the event of yesterday. To have been one of the humble instruments, in the hands of Divine Providence, for bringing to reason a ferocious government, and destroying for ever the insufferable and horrid system of Christian slavery, can never cease to be a source of delight, and a heart-felt comfort to every individual happy enough to be employed in it. I may, I hope,

be permitted, under such impressions, to offer my sincere congratulations to their lordships on the complete success which attended the gallant efforts of his majesty's fleet in their attack upon Algiers of yesterday ; and the happy result produced from it on this day by the signature of peace.—Thus has a provoked war of two days' existence been attended by a complete victory, and closed by a renewed peace for England and her ally, the king of the Netherlands, on conditions dictated by the firmness and wisdom of his majesty's government, and commanded by the vigour of their measures.—My thanks are justly due for the honour and confidence his majesty's ministers have been pleased to repose on my zeal on this highly important occasion. The means were by them made adequate to my own wishes, and the rapidity of their measures speaks for themselves. Not more than one hundred days since, I left Algiers with the British fleet, unsuspecting and ignorant of the atrocities which had been committed at Bona ; that fleet on its arrival in England was necessarily disbanded, and another, with proportionate resources, created and equipped ; and although impeded in its progress by calms and adverse winds, has poured the vengeance of an insulted nation, in chastising the cruelties of a ferocious government, with a promptitude beyond example, and highly honourable to the national character, eager to resent oppression or cruelty whenever practised upon those under their protection. Would to God that in the attainment of this object I had not deeply to lament the severe loss of so many gallant officers and men ! They have profusely bled in a contest which has been peculiarly marked by
proofs

proofs of such devoted heroism as would rouse every noble feeling, did I dare indulge in relating them. Their lordships will already have been informed, by his majesty's sloop *Jasper*, of my proceedings up to the 14th instant, on which day I broke ground from Gibraltar, after a vexatious detention, by a foul wind, of four days.—The fleet, complete in all its points, with the addition of five gun-boats fitted at Gibraltar, departed in the highest spirits, and with the most favourable prospect of reaching the port of their destination in three days; but an adverse wind destroyed the expectation of an early arrival, which was the more anxiously looked for by myself, in consequence of hearing, the day I sailed from Gibraltar, that a large army had been assembled, and that very considerable additional works were throwing up, not only on both flanks of the city, but also immediately about the entrance of the Mole: from this I was apprehensive that my intention of making that point my principal object of attack, had been discovered to the dey by the same means he had heard of the expedition. This intelligence was, on the following night, greatly confirmed by the *Prometheus*, which I had dispatched to Algiers some time before, to endeavour to get away the consul. Captain Dashwood had with difficulty succeeded in bringing away, disguised in midshipman's uniform, his wife and daughter, leaving a boat to bring off their infant child, coming down in a basket with the surgeon, who thought he had composed it; but it unhappily cried in the gate-way, and in consequence the surgeon, three midshipmen, in all eighteen persons, were seized and confined as slaves in the usual dungeons. The child

was sent off next morning by the dey, and as a solitary instance of his humanity, it ought to be recorded by me.—Captain Dashwood further confirmed, that about 40,000 men had been brought down from the interior, and all the Janissaries called in from distant garrisons, and that they were indefatigably employed in their batteries, gun-boats, &c. and every where strengthening the sea-defences.—The dey informed captain Dashwood he knew perfectly well the armament was destined for Algiers, and asked him if it was true; he replied, if he had such information, he knew as much as he did, and probably from the same source—the public prints. The ships were all in port, and between 40 and 50 gun and mortar-boats ready, with several more in forward repair. The dey had closely confined the consul, and refused either to give him up, or promise his personal safety; nor would he hear a word respecting the officers and men seized in the boats of the *Prometheus*.—From the continuance of adverse winds and calms, the land to the westward of Algiers was not made before the 26th, and the next morning at day-break the fleet was advanced in sight of the city, though not so near as I had intended. As the ships were becalmed, I embraced this opportunity of dispatching a boat, under cover of the Severn, with a flag of truce, and the demands I had to make, in the name of his royal highness the prince regent, on the dey of Algiers (of which the accompanying are copies), directing the officer to wait two or three hours for the dey's answer, at which time, if no reply was sent, he was to return to the flag-ship. He was met near the Mole by the captain of the port, who, on being told the answer was expected,

expected in one hour, replied, that it was impossible. The officer then said he would wait two or three hours. He then observed, two hours was quite sufficient.—The fleet at this time, by the springing-up of the sea-breeze, had reached the bay, and were preparing the boats and flotilla for service, until near two o'clock; when observing my officer was returning with the signal flying that no answer had been received, after a delay of upwards of three hours, I instantly made the signal to know if the ships were all ready; which being answered in the affirmative, the Queen Charlotte bore up, followed up by the fleet, for their appointed stations; the flag, leading in the prescribed order, was anchored in the entrance of the Mole, at about 50 yards distance. At this moment not a gun had been fired, and I began to suspect a full compliance with the terms which had been so many hours in their hands. At this period of profound silence, a shot was fired at us from the Mole, and two at the ships to the northward then following: this was promptly returned by the Queen Charlotte, who was then lashing to the mainmast of a brig, fast to the shore in the mouth of the Mole, and which we had steered for, as the guide to our position. Thus commenced a fire as animated and well supported as, I believe, was ever witnessed, from a quarter before three until nine, without intermission, and which did not cease altogether until half-past eleven. The ships immediately following me were admirably and coolly taking their stations, with a precision even beyond my most sanguine hope; and never did the British flag receive, on any occasion, more zealous and honourable support. To look further on the line than imme-

diately round me was perfectly impossible, but so well grounded was my confidence in the gallant officers I had the honour to command, that my mind was left perfectly free to attend to other objects; and I knew them in their stations only by the destructive effect of their fire upon the walls and batteries to which they were opposed.—I had about this time the satisfaction of seeing vice-admiral Van Capellan's flag in the station I had assigned to him, and soon after, at intervals, the remainder of his frigates, keeping up a well-supported fire on the flanking batteries he had offered to cover us from, as it had not been in my power, for want of room, to bring him in the front of the Mole. About sun-set I received a message from rear-admiral Milne, conveying to me the severe loss the *Impregnable* was sustaining, having then 150 killed and wounded, and requesting I would, if possible, send him a frigate to divert some of the fire he was under. The *Glasgow*, near me, immediately weighed; but the wind had been driven away by the cannonade, and she was obliged to anchor again, having obtained rather a better position than before. I had at this time sent orders to the explosion-vessel, under the charge of lieutenant Fleming and Mr. Parker, by captain Reade, of the engineers, to bring her into the Mole; but the rear-admiral having thought she would do him essential service if exploded under the battery in his front, I sent orders to this vessel to that effect, which were executed. I desired also the rear-admiral might be informed, that many of the ships being now in flames, and certain of the destruction of the whole, I considered I had executed the most important part of my instructions, and should make every preparation for

for withdrawing the ships, and desired he would do so as soon as possible with his division.—There were awful moments during the conflict, which I cannot now attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us; and I had long resisted the eager entreaties of several around me to make the attempt upon the outer frigate, distant about 100 yards; which at length I gave into, and major Gossett, by my side, who had been eager to land his corps of miners, pressed me most anxiously for permission to accompany lieutenant Richards in this ship's barge. The frigate was instantly boarded, and in ten minutes in a perfect blaze. A gallant young midshipman, in rocket-boat No. 8, although forbidden, was led by his ardent spirit to follow in support of the barge, in which he was desperately wounded, his brother officer killed, and nine of his crew. The barge, by rowing more rapidly, had suffered less, and lost but two.—The enemy's batteries around my division were about ten o'clock silenced, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation; and the fire of the ships was reserved as much as possible, to save powder and reply to a few guns now and then bearing upon us, although a fort on the upper angle of the city, on which our guns could not be brought to bear, continued to annoy the ships by shot and shells during the whole time.—Providence at this interval gave to my anxious wishes the usual land-wind common in this bay, and my expectations were completed. We were all hands employed in warping and towing off, and by the help of the light air, the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shells, about two in the morning, after 12 hours' incessant labour.—The flotilla of

mortar, gun, and rocket-boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared, to the full extent of their power, in the honours of this day, and performed good service; it was by their fire all the ships in the port (with the exception of the outer frigate) were in flames, which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, store-houses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest no pen can describe.—The sloops of war, which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, performed not only that duty well, but embraced every opportunity of firing through the intervals, and were constantly in motion. The shells from the bombs were admirably well thrown by the royal marine artillery; and although thrown directly across and over us, not an accident, that I know of, occurred to any ship.—The whole was conducted in perfect silence, and such a thing as a cheer I never heard in any part of the line; and that the guns were well worked and directed, will be seen for many years to come, and remembered by these barbarians for ever.—The conducting this ship to her station by the masters of the fleet and ship, excited the praise of all. The former has been my companion in arms for more than 20 years. Having thus detailed, although but imperfectly, the progress of this short service, I venture to hope, that the humble and devoted services of myself and the officers and men of every description I have the honour to command, will be received by his royal highness the prince regent with his accustomed grace. The approbation of our services by our sovereign, and the good opinion of our country, will, I venture to affirm, be

be received by us all with the highest satisfaction.—If I attempted to name to their lordships the numerous officers who, in such a conflict, have been at different periods more conspicuous than their companions, I should do injustice to many; and I trust there is no officer in the fleet I have the honour to command, who will doubt the grateful feelings I shall ever cherish for their unbounded and unlimited support. Not an officer nor man confined his exertions within the precise limits of their own duty; all were eager to attempt services which I found more difficult to restrain than excite; and no where was this feeling more conspicuous than in my own captain, and those officers immediately about my person. My gratitude and thanks are due to all under my command, as well as to vice-admiral Capellan, and the officers of the squadron of his majesty the king of the Netherlands; and I trust they will believe that the recollection of their services will never cease but with my life. In no instance have I ever seen more energy and zeal; from the youngest midshipman to the highest rank, all seemed animated by one soul, and of which I shall with delight bear testimony to their lordships, whenever that testimony can be useful.—I have confided this dispatch to rear-admiral Milne, my second in command, from whom I have received, during the whole service intrusted to me, the most cordial and honourable support. He is perfectly informed of every transaction of the fleet, from the earliest period of my command, and is fully competent to give their lordships satisfaction on any points which I may have overlooked, or have not time to state. I trust I have obtained from him his es-

teem and regard, and I regret I had not sooner been known to him.—The necessary papers, together with the defects of the ships, and the return of killed and wounded, accompany this dispatch, and I am happy to say, captains Ekins and Coode are doing well, as also the whole of the wounded. By accounts from the shore, I understand, the enemy's loss in killed and wounded is between 6 and 7000 men. In recommending my officers and fleet to their lordships' protection and favour, I have the honour to be, &c.

EXMOUTH.

On the 28th of August treaties of peace were signed by the dey with his majesty the king of Britain, and with his majesty the king of the Netherlands. On the same day was also signed an additional article, in which the dey states that in consideration of the deep interest manifested by the prince regent of England for the termination of Christian slavery, the dey, in token of his sincere desire to maintain inviolable his friendly relations with Great Britain, and to manifest his high respect to the other powers of Europe, declares, that in any future war with them, the prisoners should be treated with humanity, until regularly exchanged, according to European practice;—at the termination of hostilities to be restored to their respective countries, and the practice of condemning prisoners to slavery to be for ever abolished. By the treaty itself the dey was bound to give up immediately all the prisoners he had, and to refund the money he had received for ransoms. Accordingly by the 28th of August, no fewer than 1083 slaves were restored to liberty, and the refunded ransoms amounted to 382,500 dollars. The slaves were sent back to their respective countries,

tries; and the money was also transmitted to the states by whom it had been paid.

After the treaties and the additional article had been signed, lord Exmouth ascertained that two Spaniards, the one a merchant the other the vice-consul of that nation, had not been released but were still held by the dey in very severe custody, on pretence that they were prisoners for debt.

The inquiries which his lordship felt himself called upon to make into these cases satisfied him that the confinement of the vice-consul was groundless and unjustifiable, and he therefore thought himself authorized to demand his release, under the articles of agreement for the deliverance of all Christian prisoners.

It appeared that the merchant was confined for an alleged debt, on the score of a contract with the Algerine government; but the circumstances under which the contract was stated to have been forced on the individual, and the great severity of the confinement which he had suffered, determined his lordship to make an effort in his favour also.

This his lordship did, by requesting his release from the dey, offering himself to guaranty to the dey the payment of any sum of money which the merchant should be found to owe his highness.

The dey having rejected this demand and offer, his lordship, still unwilling to have recourse to extremities, and the renewal of hostilities, proposed that the Spaniards should be released from irons, and the miserable dungeons in which they were confined; and that they should be placed in the custody of the Spanish consul, or, at least, that the consul should be permitted to afford them such assistance and ac-

commodation as was suitable to their rank in life.

These propositions the dey also positively refused; and lord Exmouth then felt, that the private and pecuniary nature of the transactions for which these persons were confined must be considered as a pretence for the continuance of a cruel and oppressive system of slavery, the total and *bona fide* abolition of which his instructions directed him to insist upon.

He therefore acquainted the dey, that his highness having rejected all the fair and equitable conditions proposed to him on this point, his lordship had determined to insist on the unconditional release of the two Spaniards. He therefore desired an answer, yes or no; and, in the event of the latter, stated, that he would immediately recommence hostilities: and his lordship made preparations for that purpose.

These measures had the desired effect; and the two persons were released from a long and severe captivity: so that no Christian prisoner remained at Algiers at his lordship's departure, which took place on the evening of the 3d of September, with all the ships under his orders.

Thus terminated this memorable expedition, not memorable so much for the glory which resulted from it,—and yet in respect of glory, it may be compared with most of the maritime engagements of the French revolutionary wars, when we regard the force employed against Algiers, and the obstacles and determined defence they encountered,—but memorable because it was carried on for the sole and exclusive benefit of the human species—a war, in which the lives lost bore no proportion to the number of human beings rescued from a state ten thousand times worse than death.

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It is an expedition to which all the sons of Britain to the latest period may refer with satisfaction and triumph, whatever may be their political sentiments—however they may differ on the justice or necessity of other wars: It is an expedition which ought to do away most thoroughly the imputation cast upon this country, even by those whom she has been protecting, and at the very moment of protecting them—that in all her wars her sole object is her own interest or aggrandizement;—for, with respect to the war against Algiers, Britain had certainly less interest than any other European state. And after the victories of Trafalgar and Waterloo,—by the former of which she gained the empire of the ocean, and by the latter proved her generals and soldiers were worthy countrymen of her admirals and seamen,—what need had she of aggrandizement?

In our former volume we very briefly noticed the war which the British government in India had been carrying on against the Nepaulese. We shall now attend to it more particularly; both because its details are now better known, and because that war was succeeded by another with the same people. It may be proper to premise some information respecting the situation and the resources, &c. of the country which they inhabit.

Nepaul, including its tributary provinces, is one of the most extensive independent sovereignties in India; comprehending nearly the whole of northern Hindostan. With respect to its contiguity to the British possessions, along its whole southern frontier it is bounded by Bengal, Bahar, Oude and Delhi, with the exception of about sixty miles which belong to the nabob of Oude. And on the west, it borders on the

1816.

British province of Lahore. Nearly the whole of this country, with the exception of the valley of Nepaul proper, is very hilly; and the defence of the Nepaulese lies principally in their hills. The Nepaul artillery is very bad. Matchlocks, bows and arrows, and hatchet swords are the common weapons used. The regular forces are armed with musquets of which few are fit for actual service; the private soldiers are brave and very hardy, but their discipline is indifferent.

There seems to have been but little intercourse between the Nepaulese and the British government in India till the year 1792, when a treaty was entered into principally of a commercial nature. In October 1801 a political treaty was concluded, by which the friends and enemies of the one state were to have the same relation to those of the other, and arrangements were made for the amicable adjustment of any dispute respecting boundaries. In order to carry into effect the different objects contained in this treaty, the governor-general and the rajah of Nepaul agreed each to depute a confidential person to reside as envoy with the other; who were instructed to abstain from all interference with the interior administration of the country to which they were delegated, or any intercourse with its disaffected subjects.

In consequence of the encroachments of the rajah of Nepaul, the governor-general the earl of Moira deemed it necessary to commence hostilities against him:—the war was in some respects of a very different character from any of our former wars in India. The Nepaulese were soon found to possess more enterprise and activity than any other of the Indian nations: they were favoured by the nature of their

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country, and they knew how to take advantage of their fastnesses and strong passes. But notwithstanding these circumstances they were unable to cope against British officers and troops:—they fought bravely, but they fought in vain; and on the 2d of December 1815 a treaty of peace was concluded between the East India company and the rajah of Nepaul. The chief, or rather the only, object of this treaty is territorial cession on the part of the rajah to the company, which the governor-general deemed necessary, to secure their possessions from future encroachments, and to consolidate their power. The dispossessed chiefs were to be pensioned during their lives by the East India company.

Scarcely, however, had our troops been withdrawn from the Nepaulese territory, when the rajah not only refused to carry the treaty into execution, but gave undoubted proofs that he intended to commit further encroachments. Under these circumstances there could be no alternative—it was absolutely necessary to recommence hostilities; and accordingly a considerable force under general Ochterlony was sent against the Nepaulese. This offi-

cer displayed in the planning his operations great judgement, ability, and military skill; and being supported by the bravery and discipline of the troops under his command, he was enabled to surmount difficulties of no ordinary magnitude, in possessing the first range of hills which protect the Nepaulese territory, and in defeating the bold and desperate efforts of the enemy to oppose his subsequent progress. In this second war there were several very difficult enterprises. Colonel Kelly, who commanded the first brigade, deemed it necessary to occupy a point near a storehouse of the enemy, the storehouse itself being at no great distance from a fort of great strength:—here the enemy fought most gallantly, but unsuccessfully. The fort was afterwards attacked, and was as bravely defended; but here also undisciplined valour could do little against at least equal valour, and much superior discipline and skill. These and similar successes at last convinced the rajah that further resistance to the British arms would be utterly unavailing; and he agreed to carry into execution the treaty which had been signed the year before.

CHAPTER XIII.

Affairs of France during the Year 1816—State of the Country—State of Parties—Ultra Royalists—Persecution of the Protestants—Proceedings of the Chamber of Deputies—on the Law of Amnesty—on the new Law of Elections—on the Liberty of the Press—Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies—Finance—State of Commerce.

NEXT in importance to the affairs of Britain, the affairs of France have generally been deemed of the most moment and interest.

And to this rank they are now perhaps as much as ever entitled; since on the repose or the turbulence and disquiet of France depends mainly the

the repose or the turbulence and disquiet of the rest of Europe, and especially of Britain.

The state of France during the year 1816 may be regarded generally in two points of view ;— either as acted upon by the scanty harvest, and diminished trade and commerce, which she shared in common with nearly all the rest of the nations of Europe, or as under the operation of causes and circumstances peculiar to herself.

The seasons in France during the summer and autumn months of this year were uncommonly unfavourable; in the vine districts scarcely any grapes arrived at maturity; and in the corn districts the produce was scanty and of very indifferent quality. And as France is, with respect to internal communication and commerce, and the mutual intercourse and dependence of one province upon another, nearly in the state in which Britain was about two centuries ago; we may well conceive to what an extreme distress those districts were subjected, in which the harvest was particularly defective. In Britain, all commodities soon find their level;—if there is an abundance in one corner of the island and a deficiency in another, part flows from the former to the latter, till the supply and the price in each are nearly equal. This, however, is not the case in France; at least not as in Britain, by the mere unprompted and unassisted efforts of individuals:—in France, the government must interfere, to produce or restore that equilibrium, which in Britain is produced or restored by the vigilant and active exertions of self-interest. Hence while in Britain, though much misery was felt from the scantiness of the crop and the falling off in our manufactures, yet, partly by mu-

tual intercourse, and partly by the spontaneous assistance of individuals, that misery was in some degree alleviated. It was not so in France: there the transit of corn from one district to another was slow and expensive; and of course the misery of the inhabitants, in some parts, was much greater than in any part of Britain. In the city of Paris, the government, anxious and feelingly alive to the absolute necessity of keeping it tranquil, the price of bread was artificially kept down by measures which a wise and a strong government would not have resorted to.

With regard to the political state of France; if rumour were believed, it was extremely critical,—nay, an immediate explosion was about to take place. In different districts, indeed, the partisans of Buonaparte, always active, vigilant, and intriguing, made up by these qualities for their want of numbers and importance; and during the earlier part of the year there were many plots and conspiracies, which, in the unsettled state of the country, at first were much magnified, and created great alarm, but on investigation were found to be of little moment or extent.

The state of parties in such a country as France is, and must continue to be, for some time, may easily be conceived. There were three grand divisions in the political world. In the first place, those who were generally denominated the ultra royalists. This party was not numerous in the nation; but they were numerous, strong and confident, in the two chambers; and they were supported by most if not all the blood royal. The disposition and the wishes of the king were very ambiguous: his feelings and his prejudices probably were on the

side of the ultra royalists ; but he certainly had the firmness and the good sense not to yield to his feelings and his prejudices, but to make them give way to the good of the nation. The ultra royalists were accused of a wish, and even of a plan, to bring all things back to the state in which they were prior to the revolution ; to render the king as absolute ; to reinstate the nobility in all their ancient privileges ; to restore to the church all their domains, rank and influence ; and even to wrest the property which had been seized and sold during the revolution from the present possessors, for the purpose of giving it to its ancient masters. In short, they were accused of a plan to subvert the constitution which the king had promised to support ; and not only to subvert it themselves, but also to persuade or oblige the king to sanction measures which would subvert it. Louis for a long time seemed wavering and doubtful whether he should rank the ultra royalists among his friends or his enemies. At last he adopted rigorous measures against them : he dissolved, as we shall afterwards notice, the chamber of deputies, in which they were very strong, and he dismissed Chateaubriand, one of their most active and zealous adherents, from his official situation. Had the party who opposed the ultra royalists rested there, perhaps they might have been pronounced not very blameable ; but when proceeded to use their influence, not only to dismiss Chateaubriand from the ministry, but also to suppress a work in which he defended his principles and views, they deserve the most severe reprobation. It may indeed be urged, in palliation of this proceeding, that this attack on the liberty of the press was the result not so much of their

disregard to it, as of the general faulty policy of France ; and that the ultra royalists, who denounced it in such strong terms, would not have been slow to have adopted a similar measure against any production hostile to themselves.

The defeat and disgrace of the ultra royalists seem to have been productive of one good consequence ; the protestants of the South of France were no longer persecuted. We are by no means disposed to believe that the persecution of them was either so cruel or carried to such an extent as was represented for the purposes of party ; and we believe that political differences as much as religious ones gave rise to these persecutions : but on the other hand, we do not think that the French government interfered in behalf of the protestants, either so soon or so effectually as they ought to have done. And when we recollect that the ultra royalists were supported by the duke and duchess of Angoulême, who, however grateful they may feel for the reception which they met with in Britain, are still too good catholics to permit their gratitude to get the better of their hatred of heretics ;—we cannot help suspecting that the persecution of the protestants was not regarded by the French court as so great a crime as they ought to have deemed it.

We have already adverted in our last volume to the discussions in the chambers on the law of amnesty. These discussions were long and violent : many alterations were made in the law, as at first proposed : at length, on the 15th of January, it was published in the *Gazette Officielle*, as follows.

Louis, by the grace of God, &c. We have proposed, the chambers have adopted, we have ordained, and do ordain as follows :—

Art.

Art. 1. A full and an entire amnesty is accorded to all those who directly or indirectly took part in the rebellion and usurpation of Napoleon Buonaparte, saving the exceptions hereinafter named.

2. The ordinance of the 26th of July will continue to be executed with respect to the individuals named in the first article of that ordinance.

3. The king can, in the space of two months from the promulgation of the present law, exile from France such of the individuals comprised in the 2d article of the said ordinance as he shall keep on it, and as shall not have been previously brought before the tribunals; and in that case such parties shall quit France within the time fixed for them, and shall not return without the express permission of his majesty, under pain of transportation.

The king may, in like manner, deprive them of all property and all pensions granted to them on grounds of favour.

4. The relatives of Napoleon Buonaparte in ascending and descending line—his uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces; his brothers, their wives, and their issue; his sisters and their husbands, are excluded for ever from the kingdom. All are bound to depart therefrom in the space of one month, under the penalties specified in the 91st article of the penal code. They cannot enjoy any civil right in France, nor possess any property whatsoever, any title or pension granted to them of favour; and they shall be bound to sell, within six months, all the property that they hold in France by purchase.

5. The present amnesty is not applicable to those persons against whom prosecutions have been directed, or against whom judgements

have been pronounced, prior to the promulgation of the present law; such prosecutions shall be continued and such judgements executed conformably to the laws.

6. Are not comprised in the present amnesty crimes or offences against individuals, at whatever period they may have been committed. The persons charged with such crimes may be always prosecuted according to the laws.

7. Those of the regicides, who, in contempt of a clemency almost boundless, voted for the Additional Act, or accepted offices or employments from the usurper, and who, by so doing, declared themselves irreconcilable enemies of France, and of the lawful government, are for ever excluded the realm, and are bound to quit it in the space of one month, under the pain of the punishment enacted by the 33d article of the penal code. They cannot possess any civil right in France, nor any property, title or pension granted to them of favour.

The present law, discussed, deliberated, and adopted by the chambers of peers and deputies, and sanctioned by us this day, shall be executed as a law of the state. We will, in consequence, that it be observed and maintained accordingly in all our kingdom, and in the lands and countries thereto belonging.

In furtherance whereof, we give it in command to all our courts, tribunals, prefects, administrative bodies, and others, that these presents they observe and maintain, cause to be observed and maintained, and in order to make them better known, cause them to be published and registered where occasion shall require; for such is our pleasure: and in order that the thing may be firm and permanent for ever, we have hereunto set our seal.

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Given

Given at Paris, at the castle of the Thuilleries, the 12th day of the month of January, in the year of grace 1816, and of our reign the 21st.

(Signed) LOUIS.

By the king (Signed) RICHELIEU.
Seen and sealed with the great seal.

The keeper of the seals of France,
(Signed) BARBE MARBOIS.

The next important question which came before the chamber, relates to the law of elections. By one party it was proposed that the chamber should be renewed by yearly portions: at last it was carried, 1st, That the chamber shall be renewed by an entire dissolution at the end of 75 years, if not dissolved before by the royal authority: 2d, That the age for eligibility as a deputy, shall be 35, if single, or 30, if married or a widower; and 3d, that the number of deputies shall be 402, in conformity with the ordinance of the 21st of May 1815. Under Buonaparte, the number of deputies for the present department of France was only 256. On these propositions it is unnecessary to offer any remarks, as we shall afterwards have to consider a new law of elections, which was proposed and adopted by the chamber, after the ultra royalists were abandoned by the king. We shall confine our remarks to one observation;—that the increase in the number of deputies, sanctioned by this law, was a direct violation of the charter; and though it will probably be deemed an amendment, yet, proceeding from the ultra royalist party, it was regarded with distrust and suspicion.

At last, on the 7th of September, the chamber having in all its proceedings evinced a determined hostility to moderation and a forgetfulness of the delicate circumstances in

which France was placed, the king published a royal ordinance, in which he declared that he judged it necessary to convoke anew the electoral colleges, in order to proceed to the election of a chamber of deputies. This declaration was stated in the ordinance to be for the sole purpose of reducing the chamber to the number determined by the charter, and of summoning thereto only men of the age of 40. But as these objects were at express variance with the plans of the ultra royalists, there can be no doubt that the real object of the dissolution of the chamber was to elect a new one, more conformable to the wishes of the king, and, as deemed, more conducive to the good of the nation.

During the period which intervened between the dissolution and the re-election of the deputies, every effort was made by the king's party and by the ultra royalists to secure the majority. The king's ministers are accused, and with justice, of using directly his name to influence the electors; but, as in the case of the suppression of Chateaubriand's pamphlet, they were accused by those who would have acted in the same manner themselves, and who blamed not the principle, but only the agents. When the elections terminated, it was ascertained that the ultra royalists would possess comparatively little influence in the chamber of deputies.

Of the proceedings of the new chamber before the termination of the year 1816, there are but very few which deserve our notice. In the sitting of November 26, M. Laine, who on the disgrace of the ultra royalists had been appointed minister of the interior, laid before the chamber a proposal for a new law of elections, of which the following is the plan.

Art.

Art. 1. Every Frenchman enjoying civil and political rights, aged 30 complete, and paying 300 fr. of direct tax, is entitled to take part in the election of deputies for the department where he has his political domicile.

2. To form the mass of taxes necessary to capacitate a man for being an elector or candidate, the direct taxes which any Frenchman may pay throughout the whole kingdom shall be reckoned. For the husband, those of the wife shall be counted, even though there be no community of goods: and for the father, the tax on the property of his sons being minors, of which he shall have the enjoyment.

3. The political domicile of every Frenchman is in the department where he has his real domicile. Nevertheless he may transfer it to any other department where he shall pay direct contributions, first giving six months previous notice to the prefect of the department where he has his actual domicile, and also to the prefect of the department whither he means to transfer it.

4. No one can exercise the rights of an elector in two departments.

5. The prefect shall draw up, in every department, a list of the electors, which shall be printed and authenticated. He shall appoint provisionally a council of prefecture on the reclamations which shall arise against the tenour of that list, without prejudice to a resort to law, which, however, shall not suspend the elections.

6. The difficulties relative to the enjoyment of the civil or political rights of the person reclaiming shall be definitively decided by the royal courts. Those which relate to his taxes or political domicile shall be decided by the council of state.

7. There is in each department

only one electoral college: it is composed of all the electors, of which it names directly the deputies to the chamber.

8. The electoral colleges are convoked by the king; they assemble in the chief town of the department, or in any other town of the department which the king appoints: they cannot employ themselves on any other matter but the election of the deputies; every discussion, every deliberation, are prohibited to them.

9. The electors meet in one single assembly in the departments where their number does not exceed 600. In those where there are more than 600, the electoral college is divided into sections, each containing not less than 300 electors. Each section concurs directly in the nomination of all the deputies which the electoral college has to choose.

10. The bureau of each electoral college is composed of a president nominated by the king, of the mayor of the town, or in his absence, of one of the adjuncts; of three scrutators, who are to be chosen out of the oldest of the electors then present; and of a secretary to be chosen out of the ten youngest. In the electoral colleges which are divided into sections, the bureau thus formed is attached to the first section of the college. The bureau of each of the other sections is composed of a vice-president, nominated by the king; of three scrutators, and a secretary, whom the vice-president chooses in the mode above prescribed.

11. The president and vice-presidents have alone the police of the electoral college, or of the sections of the colleges where they preside. There shall always be present in the bureau three at least of the members forming a part of it. The bureau decides provisionally all the difficulties which arise as to the operations

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of the college or the sections, saving the definitive decision of the chamber of deputies.

12. The session of the colleges lasts ten days at most : each sitting opens at 8 in the morning, and cannot be prolonged beyond 6 in the evening.

13. The electors vote by bulletin-lists, containing, at each round of the scrutiny, as many names as there are nominations to be made. There are to be only three rounds of scrutiny. No scrutiny can be closed, and its results examined, until 24 hours after it has been opened. The account of the result of the scrutiny of each section is certified and signed by the bureau. It is immediately carried by the vice-president to the bureau of the college, which makes, in presence of the vice-presidents of each section, the general summing up of the votes. The result of each round of the scrutiny is forthwith made public.

14. No one is elected at one of the first rounds of the scrutiny, unless he unites in his favour the quarter *plus* one of the votes of the whole of the members who compose the college.

15. After the two first rounds of scrutiny, if there still remain nominations to be made, the bureau of the college draws up and authenticates a list of the persons who on the second round obtained the greatest number of suffrages. It contains twice the number of names that are deputies still to be elected. The suffrages on the third round of scrutiny can only be given to those whose names stand on that list. The nominations are made by the plurality of expressed votes.

16. In all cases where there shall be an equality of votes, age shall decide the preference.

17. The prefects and the military commandants cannot be elected de-

puties for the departments where they exercise their functions.

18. When, pending the duration or during the recess of the sessions of chambers, the deputation of a department becomes incomplete, it is completed by the electoral college of the department to which it belongs.

19. The enactments of all anterior laws, decrees, and regulations, contrary to the present law, are abrogated.

20. All the formalities relative to the execution of the present law shall be regulated by ordinances of the king.

[This law was not carried till the beginning of the year 1817.]

In the sitting of the 7th of December, the minister of police laid before the chamber of deputies three projects of law. By the first, any person accused of plotting against the safety of the state may be arrested by an order of the president of the council and minister of police; and the prisoner, if he demands it, may have a secret examination before the king's attorney, and the king's attorney must report the case to the king's council, who shall decide thereon. By the second project, newspapers and periodical works cannot be published without the king's authority. And by the last project, it is proposed, that when a work shall be seized, the order and the minute of seizure shall, under pain of annulment, be notified within twenty-four hours to the party, who may within three days proceed in opposition: in case of opposition, the king's attorney is to use all diligence to decide, within one week, from the date of the opposition, on the seizure. After the delay of a week, if the seizure be not maintained by the tribunals, it becomes of no effect: all persons with whom the seized work may have been deposited, shall then be bound

bound to deliver the same to the proprietors.—The discussions on, and final fate of, these law projects do not fall within the transactions of this year.

The finances of France, as well as those of every other European country, are a subject at the present time of the most serious importance; they ought therefore to be treated in as clear and full a manner as possible. Unfortunately, the French ministers and politicians on financial subjects are not so luminous in their details, nor so sound in their general principles, as could be wished: they present however, occasionally, facts, which illustrate the financial state of the country; and these facts, as well as the more official financial plans and illustrations of the minister of finance, ought not to be overlooked.

This year a pamphlet was published at Paris by M. Ganilh, a political economist of some repute, entitled "General Considerations upon the Financial State of France in the year 1816."—In this work, the public expenditure for the year 1816 is calculated at 800 millions of francs. In this sum, however, he does not include a demandable arrear, amounting to more than 600 millions, but for which there are assets in the woods and property of the communes; nor are the debts to individuals whether natives or foreigners included. By the general revenue, he does not mean the produce of the contributions or taxes, but the annual value of the produce of the country;

and this he estimates at two milliards, 2,000,000,000; from this 800,000,000 are to be taken. Consequently on this plan every person who lives upon his net income only would have to pay two-fifths of his revenue. But according to M. Ganilh, the utmost amount which in the present state of things France ought to pay is as follows:

Contributions direct - - - -	200,000,000
Ditto on capital - - - - -	50,000,000
Ditto on articles of consumption, including salt and tobacco - - - - -	300,000,000
Ditto on woods, customs, and ports - - - - -	50,000,000
	<u>600,000,000</u>

In order to make up the deficiency, or 200,000,000, he proposes an income tax; and in his observations on this point he gives us some insight into the wealth of France. He states the extent of the population, who live upon their net produce or income, at seven millions; and reckoning five to each family, there will be 1,400,000 families. Of these, those who possess less income than 1000 francs are to be exempt: these amount to 1,200,000; consequently those families who will pay this tax amount only to 200,000. Those who possess 100,000 per annum, and upwards, are to pay one third of their income; from 100 to 50,000, one fourth; from 50 to 25,000, one fifth; from 25 to 10,000, one sixth; from 10 to 5000, one seventh; from 5 to 1000, one eighth. This will produce the sum of 255 millions, as follows:

From ten to eleven families in each department possess	
100,000 francs, about 1000 families - - - - -	33 millions
34 families in each department, in all 3000, whose joint incomes amount to about 200 millions - - -	50
5000 families, whose joint rents are 900 millions - - -	40
20,000 families, whose joint rents are 300 millions - - -	54
50,000 families, whose joint rents are 800 millions - - -	42
100,000 families, whose joint rents are 900 millions - - -	36
	<u>255 millions</u>

We have given these extracts from this pamphlet, not because the statements are quite accurate, but because, if they approach nearly to accuracy, which from the character of the author we have little doubt they do, they will enable us to form a comparison between the wealth of different classes of individuals in France and in England.

From this speculative view of the finances of France we now proceed to the official account of it. The whole annual charge upon this kingdom for the year 1816 was nearly 40 millions sterling, including nearly 12 millions for war contributions and the maintenance of foreign troops. In order to enable the country to bear this burden, the king gave up 10 millions of francs from his civil list; and a graduated reduction was made from all salaries, beginning as low as 500 francs—from one per cent. to 33 per cent. The savings thus made, it was calculated, would amount to nearly a million sterling. The expenses of the minister of justice were reduced from 17 to 15 million francs; of the minister of foreign affairs, from 6,830,000 to 6,500,000; of the minister of the interior, from 85,000,000 to 75,000,000,—the police, from 1,600,000 to 1,000,000.

In the sitting of the 14th of November the budget was presented; from which it appears that the expenditure for 1816 was about 840 millions of francs; and that the estimate for the year 1817 was nearly 1088 millions; while the ways and means only amounted to about 774 millions, leaving a deficit of about 314 millions, or above 13 millions sterling. The mode in which this deficiency was supplied will be noticed in our next volume.

The French ministry appear to have abandoned the plan of giving

annual *exposés* of the state of the kingdom. The minister of the interior, however, laid before the chamber of deputies the following account of the state of commerce.

The chambers of commerce have received with great acknowledgments the king's ordinance granting bounties for the seal and whale fishery. We may be certain this measure will give activity to our merchant marine.

The outfits for our colonies have been unhappily interrupted; an advantageous change is in preparation; our islands are about to be restored to their natural state, and French commerce will resume its course in this channel.

It begins to take a part in the supplying of the Brazils. Several cargoes have been dispatched thither. The Spaniards and Portuguese also come to our ports to take in lading for different parts of America.

The vessels of the United States visit us regularly, and take our wines and silks in exchange for the cotton and colonial produce which they bring us.

It is proper to cast our eye particularly on the port of Marseilles, because there every commerce connected with the Levant has its chief seat. On comparing the business of this port, it will be seen that during the fortunate period between the 15th of August 1814 and the 15th of March 1815 there entered Marseilles, monthly, 197 French vessels; and that from the first of August 1815 to the end of December there entered, monthly, 226 vessels. During the first period there entered 80 foreign vessels monthly, and 111 during the latter. Thus the trade of Marseilles increases in a marked manner.

The

The number of vessels which have cleared out from that port does not yet present the same result. During a month of the first period there left Marseilles 172 French and 72 foreign vessels: during a month of the second period, only 115 French and 44 of other nations. But it is obvious, that the vessels which arrive require time for unloading and taking goods in return, which accounts for the difference in the number of clearances during the last period. It can hardly be doubted, from the entries, that the clearances must soon exhibit a more satisfactory proportion.

Out of the above number of vessels, Marseilles sent to the Straits of the Levant 61 (of which 56 were French) in the seven months which preceded the usurpation of the 20th of March. It has sent 38 (of which 36 were French) in five months since the second return of his majesty. The decrease presented by this view is unimportant, when we consider that the trade had suffered so violent a shock.

Marseilles cleared out only 18 ships (of which seventeen were French) to the colonies, or to all America, during the first of the above-mentioned periods: it has cleared out 27 during the latter, and 10 foreign vessels have come thither to load for the same destination.

At the same time it has sent four French cargoes to Ostend and Antwerp. It had done nothing of this sort during the first period of the restoration.

It is unnecessary to state, that during the last usurpation the departures from the port of Marseilles were confined to foreign vessels, which fear precipitately drove from our coasts.

An interesting report from the chamber of commerce of Lyons, dated the 9th instant, gives a view of the state of business in that city in January and February. It will be thence seen, that it had experienced a moment of suspension, which is explainable from the following causes:—The Americans having in 1815 raised the price of silks by their numerous demands, and appearing to have overstocked their own market, their purchases were stopped. On the other hand, the orders from Germany were also suspended in the expectation of a fall of prices. This fall took place in January, upon which the buyers reappeared; and in February the labours of the manufacturer, and the sale of raw and organzine silk, began to be resumed.

The most important improvements have taken place in the situation of the manufactures of Avignon. The number of silk-loom activity during the 4th quarter of 1815 surpassed by more than 200 that of the preceding quarter; thus furnishing employment to 700 workmen who were previously destitute of it, and a manufacture extraordinary of more than 458 webs of different kinds.

Rouen has also presented in February last a very animated spectacle. Many foreigners have appeared there; our spun cottons have been much in demand. Superior sales to those in January have taken place: the same has been the case as to linen yarn;—in short, during the preceding month there has been an increase in the sales to the amount of 2,100 pieces in velveteens, cords, &c.

These various details indicate, if not a state of prosperity, at least that return to commercial activity and life which was remarked with satisfaction

satisfaction in the six last months of 1814 and in the beginning of 1815, still less for what it was in itself than for the hopes of daily increase which it entitled us to entertain.

Upon the whole, the state of France, during the year 1816, appears to be such as promises a gradual return of its inhabitants

to industrious and quiet pursuits, and to those feelings and principles the abandonment of which was one of the most fatal effects of the revolution, as it produced a relaxation of morals, and spread war and misery over the greatest part of Europe.

CHAPTER XIV.

Holland—Prussia—Austria—Sweden—Spain—United States of America—Spanish America—West Indies.

THERE is little variety, and not much interesting or important matter, connected with the history of any other of the European kingdoms except France, this year: they all suffered more or less under the pressure of a bad harvest, and declining manufactures and commerce.

In the kingdom of the Netherlands there was considerable difference of opinion respecting the policy and justice of allowing the exportation of grain. This subject—which the artificial system of commerce established in all states has rendered particularly abstruse and difficult of solution, but which would have been abundantly simple and easy if trade had every where been left free and unrestricted—was warmly and repeatedly discussed in the chambers of the Netherlands. There were two parties, whose interests, and consequently whose views and opinions on this point, were at the utmost variance. The people of Holland, at least the merchants and ship-owners there, were for the unlimited

exportation of corn; whereas the people of the Netherlands were decidedly averse to this measure. It was at last carried that the exportation of corn by land should be permitted; and even the exportation by sea seems to have been carried on, though under some restrictions and modifications. Another subject which excited considerable interest in the kingdom of the Netherlands was the non-introduction of British manufactured goods. This the popular feeling and interest strongly urged the inhabitants to enforce; and probably the resort of French refugees to Brussels had a considerable influence in turning the popular indignation against British manufactures. However, no legislative measure was enacted against them.

On the subject of the finance of the Netherlands, the following extract from the speech delivered by the minister of finance to the second chamber of the states-general, in their sitting of the 5th of November, will give sufficient information.

“High and mighty lords—It is under

under as favourable auspices as when I presented the budget for 1816, that I now again have the honour to appear before you for a similar purpose. The elevated price of our public funds is a proof of the high degree of confidence which our finances enjoy in public opinion: and the propositions which I have now to submit to you, in the name of the king, must increase that confidence.

"The law of the 11th of February last, which fixed the estimate of the wants of the state for the present year, stated them at 82 millions of florins. The law which I am charged to propose to you this day, for regulating the expenses of the year 1817, does not exceed the sum of 73,400,000 florins. [A florin is about 1s. 8d. sterling.] The estimates for the different heads of expense are as follow:

	Florins.
The king's household.....	2,600,000
Great state-bodies not forming part of any branch of administration.....	1,184,000
Department of the secretary of state.....	306,000
—of foreign affairs.....	856,780
—of justice.....	3,000,000
—of the interior.....	1,850,000
—of affairs of the Protestant and other worships, Catholic excepted.....	1,300,000
—of the Catholic worship.....	1,800,000
—of public education, the arts and sciences.....	1,200,000
—of finance, including the interest of the public debt.....	24,750,000
—of the navy.....	5,000,000
—of the army.....	23,000,000
—of dykes, canals, and public works.....	4,500,000
—of commerce and the colonies.....	1,239,457
Unforeseen expenses.....	813,763
Total.....	73,400,000

"In the greater part of these branches of expenditure diminutions have taken place since last year; in some of them very considerable ones: and there still remains sufficient security that with the specified sums the regular service of the country will be sufficiently covered.

"Four branches of expenditure have, however, undergone some increase. The increase of 90,000fl. in that of the reformed and other religious worships, and of 200,000fl. in that of the catholic worship, have originated from that tender regard for the situation of the clergy, of which his majesty has recently given

a proof, by granting a gratification of 30fl. to each of the ecclesiastics, to the number of 2,800, whose pensions were reduced a third by the former government, and who had reached the age of 60 years on the 1st of October last.

"The increase of 200,000fl. in the department of education, the arts and sciences, is necessary for the purpose of covering the expenses of the new colleges and athenaeums to be erected in the southern provinces, and to make further provision for the support of inferior schools.

"The increase in the department of finance and public debt has amounted

amounted from 23,550,000 to 24,750,000, although, in fact, the real disbursements of this department are principally increased by a sum of 400,000*fl.* to cover the expenses of the new coinage during the next year. The remainder of the increase has been occasioned by various expenses incurred by his majesty, for the purpose of introducing greater order and regularity into the details of this branch of the administration.

“Upon the whole, however, your excellencies will perceive, that the expenditure of the state for the ensuing year is diminished to the amount of 8,600,000*fl.* But his majesty is convinced that all the reductions and diminutions have been adopted which were practicable, consistently with the external relations and defence of the kingdom, and its internal administration and welfare. At the same time he will not omit this opportunity of repeating the assurance, that whatever means of reduction and retrenchment may be suggested by time and experience, shall be anxiously adopted and carried into effect.”

The minister then proceeded to take a view of the ways and means of providing for this expenditure. These were the land-tax, the tax on persons and moveables, on doors and windows, the indirect taxes on consumption, and the produce of the new tariff on imports and exports. He calculated that from all these sources “the income of the state for the ensuing year would amount to 73,700,000*fl.* thus sufficiently covering the expenditure.”

We need hardly remind our readers, that the principal instrument of the delivery of Germany from the power of Buonaparte was the people; and that of all the people of Germany, the Prussians

were the first, the most zealous, and the most active and persevering in their opposition to the French.

—Even at the period when their sovereign was in the power of Buonaparte—when he issued edicts, at his instigation, calling upon his subjects to assist the French,—even at this critical period the people of Prussia were unawed and steady in their hatred of and opposition to their oppressors. And their detestation of the French was not merely an animal instinctive hatred, like that of the Spaniards—it was not a hatred of French tyranny, merely because it was French,—but, added to the deep and dreadful injuries they had received from them, it was a hatred of all kinds of tyranny from whatever quarter proceeding. Such a people were not likely—as the Spaniards have done—to sit down quietly under the oppression of their own sovereign: the flame of liberty had been lighted up in their breasts, and it could not easily be extinguished. The king of Prussia and his ministers seem to have been sensible of this, and likewise of the debt of gratitude they owed to the people for their efforts against Buonaparte; and accordingly a free constitution was promised to Prussia: but hitherto it has not been granted.

Of Austria there is little to be told. Her finances have long been in a most dreadful state: the government paper—never issued on a good plan—was exposed to great depreciation from the events of the war. In order to make up for its depreciated value, the Austrian government issued larger quantities: but this, as might have been foreseen, increased the evil; for the depreciation became greater. Under these circumstances the government called in their paper, and exchanged

ed it for a new paper currency. But this, though it eased the government for the time, was no remedy for the evil. Just before the battle of Waterloo, the Austrian paper money was depreciated 400 per cent.; but as soon as the intelligence arrived of the total defeat of Buonaparte in this battle, the depreciation fell to 300 per cent. In the beginning of June 1816 there were four imperial patents, with regard to the finances, issued, of which the following is a summary:

The first, which ordains that no new paper money having a forced circulation shall be issued, and sets forth the mode in which the old paper money shall be extinguished, has the following introduction.

"The severe shocks which for the last twenty-five years assailed Europe, have compelled us, since the very commencement of our reign, to take part in uninterrupted desolating wars, which endangered the safety and independence of the empire—objects of inestimable value both to sovereigns and their people. Accordingly, for the maintenance of ours, we neither could nor might spare any efforts whatever.

"The development of the whole force of the state, however, occasioned expenses which far exceeded the means of the payers of taxes. We invoked the confidence of our people. Paper having the value of gold enabled us to meet the pressing wants of the state, and to maintain the dangerous conflict, of which the renowned termination has replaced the monarchy in possession of those provinces that were torn from it, and has anew confirmed their security and independence. Our first care has been to restore our disordered finances; and ever since the last negotiations

for peace we have been engaged in preparing the necessary means for attaining that end.

"The result has corresponded to our efforts; and we experience particular satisfaction on seeing ourselves placed in a situation to be able to take measures which shall conduct us to this object, without encroaching upon the rights and lawful claims of our faithful subjects.

"The measures which we have adopted are founded on the free co-operation of our good people; and we depend on their confidence, which will of itself attach to arrangements published by us, and which will be completely justified by their result."

After this introduction follow the enactments, of which the chief are as follow:

"In future, no paper-money having a forced value and circulation shall be created; nor shall any increase take place of the amount of what is already in circulation. Should extraordinary circumstances demand expenses beyond the ordinary resources of the state, the administration of the finance department shall take measures for covering the expenses by new resources and extraordinary means, without in any case introducing a paper-money having a forced circulation.

"The existing paper-money shall, 1st, be capable of being exchanged to the extent of two-sevenths for bank-notes of the new bank to be erected; which bank-notes shall at all times be exchangeable for convention money, to their full amount; and to the extent of five-sevenths for assignments on the state debts, bearing an annual interest of one per cent. in convention money; or 2dly, the said paper-money

money may be employed for the purpose of being placed as capital in the new bank; with this understanding, that for each share (the capital to consist of 50,000 shares) shall be advanced 2,000 florins in paper, and 200 florins in specie convention money. The advantage of the holders of the paper-money consists in the second alternative; 1st, in the enjoyment of the advantages which the bank holds out; and, 2dly, in the enjoyment of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest in convention money, which shall be paid on obligations which shall be issued by the bank for that purpose."

The second patent relates to the erection of the above-mentioned national bank, and contains in substance the following enactments:

"The bank, to which shall be given the name of the Privileged Austrian National Bank, shall commence its operations as soon as the number of shares thereto necessary shall be taken: until that period it shall, commencing with the 1st of July next, be brought into operation as a bank for the exchange of notes for shares, and shall be conducted by a provisional directory. For this purpose there shall be selected from among the deputation for the extinction of the paper money, and from the principal merchants, &c. eight provisional directors of the bank, whose business it shall be to make every preparation for its complete establishment. This provisional directory shall correspond immediately with the minister of finance, and shall in so far as relates to the extinction of notes, direct the bank, until a thousand shares have been taken, the amount of each of which must be 2,000fl. in paper money, and 200fl. in convention money.

"As soon as the number of

shares is complete, the bank shall become the property of the shareholders, and the operations for which it is destined, as a specially privileged establishment, shall commence. The said share-holders shall appoint, out of their number, a committee of 50 members, which, together with the provisional directors of the bank, and commissaries to be appointed by us, shall elect 12 members, who, with the said commissaries, shall draw up a complete system of regulations for the bank, to be submitted to our sanction.

"The bank shall be authorized to establish wherever it may be serviceable, throughout the whole extent of the monarchy, branch-banks; and no one besides these privileged banks shall be allowed to keep any bank of exchange.

"The bank shall issue notes to the bearer of 5, 10, 50, 100, 500, and 1,000 florins, which shall be paid on presentation in convention money; the said bank-notes being, however, declared to be a mode of payment recognised and favoured by law. However, in transactions between individuals, no one shall be compelled to receive them; but, on the other hand, they may be used in the payment of taxes and other payments to the state; they being to be accepted as ready money by all receivers of taxes.

"The paper money which is brought in for shares in the bank shall in no case be again issued; but shall, from time to time, be burned in presence of a deputation of the shareholders, and of commissioners appointed by us; the bank receiving from the administration of the finances obligations paying an interest of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which interest shall be divided as a premium among the shareholders.

"The

"The specie which shall be paid for the shares shall constitute the funds of a future bank of exchange, by means of which, bills of exchange and other commercial effects upon solid houses of business, as also bank-bills, shall be discounted. The bank, however, shall not lend upon mortgage until their operations for the extinction of the paper money and for exchange shall be in full activity, and unless they possess sufficient ready money for both these purposes.

"The bank shall consist of 50,000 shares, each of the before-mentioned amount, and shall continue to receive subscriptions until the number shall be complete, and shall alone have the right to prepare and issue bank-notes, for the payment of which they are responsible, besides the ready money to be found in the bank, all the mines of the monarchy," &c.

The third patent is a sort of corollary from the two preceding, and contains, as one of the means of restoring order in the money circulation, the separation and indication of certain revenues of the state, which are to be paid exclusively in bank-notes, or, for smaller sums, in what is called convention money. These revenues are, the import and export duties in all his majesty's hereditary states, the duties on law proceedings paid to the treasury, besides all the political and domain dues throughout the monarchy, the shop-tax introduced into the German provinces, the personal tax borne by his majesty's German subjects, and the imposts levied on Jews.

The 4th patent relates to the maintenance of the value of the small copper money in circulation, which is to be received in payments as convention money.

The kingdom of Sweden is so 1816.

cut off, as it were, from the rest of Europe, that it is easy for its sovereign, if he is so inclined, to keep out of the broils which agitate other states:—of this peculiar situation of Sweden, Bernadotte very wisely seems disposed to take advantage. He is sensible that he cannot be looked upon with a very satisfactory eye by the legitimate sovereigns of Europe; and that, besides, he afforded some grounds for suspicion by his conduct after the battle of Leipsic. Hence he is disposed to confine himself to his own concerns. And to this he is induced, also, by the reflection, that in Sweden there is yet a party against him, and that in Norway it is necessary to use the utmost delicacy and care, in order to render that kingdom quiet and contented under its change. As far as we can judge, he has succeeded in rendering himself popular in Norway, and is taking measures which ought to render him popular in Sweden.

Of Spain there is nothing to be told that is consolatory to the friend of freedom and humanity. It is indeed said, and we are afraid with too much truth, that the measures of Ferdinand are approved by the majority of the nation, and that the conduct of the Cortes and their adherents was not so liberal and so consistent with a love of liberty as it was supposed to be. But ought not this information only to increase the dejection of those who augured better things of Spain;—and does it not prove that they hated Bonaparte and the French, not tyranny?—The transactions of Ferdinand during the last year may be summed up in a few words: He has been repeatedly changing his ministers; endeavouring in vain to place his finances in a better condition; and been steady only in one thing—in

Z

which

which indeed he has been countenanced by all the sovereigns whom we assisted against France—viz. discouraging the importation and use of British manufacture.

From Spain we turn to a country of a very different character;—we mean the United States of America. They indeed have been suffering like the nations of Europe, from a declining trade; and we believe that they could not have supported the war with Britain much longer. This however did not arise from their poverty; but from their wealth being of a nature which cannot be rendered available by the government, to any great extent, for the purposes and wants of war. In a country like America, where the great mass of the people raise or make for themselves nearly all they want, taxation cannot be carried to a great extent; for taxation supposes and requires a state of society, in

which there is a constant and brisk interchange of commodities for money. If the taxes in America were to be collected in kind, they could easily be raised; but where are those people to get money for taxes, who scarcely ever find it necessary or easy to procure it for the interchange of commodities?

America too must recover sooner from her depressed state than the old countries of Europe: she possesses inexhaustible sources of wealth in her territories, and these sources are open to all classes and ranks of men; and the wealth derived from them is not swallowed up in taxation.

Hence, will arise, and has arisen, the prosperity of the United States.—That they are already fast recovering from the effects of the war, will appear from the following document, taken from the records of the Treasury department in the United States.

1. *Sketch of the appropriations and payment for 1816.*

1st. The demands on the treasury by acts of appropriation for the year 1816 amounted to	32,475,503 93
For the civil department, foreign intercourse, and miscellaneous expenses	3,540,770 18
For the military department, current expenditure	7,794,250 75
Arr.	8,935,373 00
	16,729,622 75
For the naval establishment	4,204,911
For the public debt (exclusively of the balance of the appropriations of the preceding year)	8,000,000
	32,475,503 93
2d. The payments made at the treasury on account of the above appropriation to the 1st of August 1816, amounted to the sum of	26,332,174 39
For the civil department, &c.	1,829,015 02
For the military department, current expenditure	4,235,236 75
Arr.	8,935,373 00
	13,170,608 75
For the naval department	1,977,788 50
For the public debt (adding to the appropriation of 1815, a part of the balance of the appropriation of 1815)	9,354,762 62
	26,332,174 89
Making an unexpended balance of the annual appropriation on the 1st of August 1816, of	6,143,129 04

This balance, however, is to be credited for the sum taken from the surplus of the appropriation of 1815, for the sinking fund (1,354,762 62), and the whole is ready to be paid, upon demand, at the treasury.

2. *Sketch of the actual receipts at the treasury for 1816.*

1st. The cash balance in the treasury (excluding, of course, the item of treasury notes) on the 1st of January 1816, was.....	6,298,652 26
2d. The receipts at the treasury from the customs, during the first seven months of 1816 (from the 1st of January to the 1st of August) without any allowance for debentures on drawback, which may be estimated at 1,829,564 33, amounted to.....	21,354,743 74
3d. The direct tax including the assumed quotas of New York, Ohio, South Carolina and Georgia, for the direct tax of 1816, has produced the sum of	3,713,963 68
4th. The internal duties have produced the sum of.....	3,864,000 00
5th. Postage and incidental receipts	127,025 38
6th. Sales of public lands (excluding the sum of 211,440 50, received in the Mississippi territory, and payable to Georgia)	676,710 40
Amount of receipts in revenue, from the 1st January to the 1st August 1816	36,035,995 46
7th. To which add the receipts from loans, by funding treasury notes, and from the issues of treasury notes, about.....	9,790,825 21
The estimated gross amount of receipts at the treasury, from the 1st of January to the 1st of August 1816, being.....	45,825,920 67
8th. But it is estimated that from the 1st of August to the 31st December 1816, the amount of receipts into the treasury will be about, ..	19,876,710 40
Making the gross annual receipts at the treasury, for the year 1816, about the sum of.....	65,702,631 87

3. *Sketch of the probable receipts, compared with the probable expenditures, of 1816.*

1st. The gross annual receipt at the treasury for the year 1816, as above stated, is estimated at the sum of.....	65,702,631 87
2d. The amount of the appropriation for the year 1816, as before stated, is the sum of	32,475,303 93
3d. But it is computed that the demands upon the treasury for 1816 will exceed the amount of the annual appropriation (the excess to be provided for by law) by the sum of.....	6,270,595 29
4th. And charging the whole of the unsatisfied appropriations of 1815 upon the funds accumulated in the treasury during the year 1816, the amount may be estimated at.....	7,972,277 86
Making the probable surplus of receipts beyond the probable demands on the treasury for 1816, the sum of	46,717,977 06
5th. But deducting from this surplus, the amount credited for loans and treasury notes as above stated, the sum of.....	38,934,653 09
The ultimate surplus of probable receipts, beyond the probable demands upon the treasury for the year 1816, subject to the disposal of Congress, may be estimated at the sum of.....	9,790,821 21
	29,183,831 88

In this sketch it is to be noted that there is no discrimination as to the time when the revenue *accrued*, and when it became *payable*; nor as to the system from which the revenue was derived, whether upon the war or the peace establishment; the main object being to show the probable receipts at the treasury from the 1st of January to the 31st of December 1816, as well as the probable expenditure during the same period.

4. Sketches of the product of the customs, from March 1815 to July 1816, both months inclusive.

FIRST.

1st. The aggregate of the duties received at the Custom-houses of the United States, during the above-specified period, may be estimated at the sum of . . .	28,271,143 50
2d. The aggregate of the debentures payable during the same period may be estimated at the sum of . . .	2,624,421 66
Leaving the product of the Customs from March 1815, to July 1816, both months inclusive, subject only to the expenses of collection, at the sum of . . .	25,646,721 84

SECOND.

1st. The aggregate of the duties received at the Custom-houses of the United States, from March to December 1815, both months inclusive, amounted to the sum of . . .	6,916,599 76
2d. The aggregate of the debentures payable during the last-mentioned period amounted to the sum of . . .	794,857 33
Leaving the amount of duties for the last-mentioned period, subject only to the expenses of collection, at the sum of . . .	6,121,542 43

THIRD.

1st. The aggregate of the duties received at all the Custom-houses of the United States from January to July 1816, both months inclusive, may be stated at the sum of . . .	21,354,743 74
2d. The aggregate of the debentures payable during the last-mentioned period amounts to the sum of . . .	1,829,564 23
Leaving the amount of duties for the last-mentioned period, subject only to the expenses of collection, at the sum of . . .	19,525,179 41

FOURTH.

A comparative view of the gross product of the customs in some of the principal districts (embracing all the districts producing more than 100,000 dollars) from March 1815 to July 1816, both months inclusive.

1. New York	9,926,188 30	5. Charleston	1,047,546 73
2. Philadelphia	5,085,206 65	6. New Orleans	732,083 13
3. Boston	3,579,130 77	7. Savannah	521,287 58
4. Baltimore	3,339,101 11	8. Norfolk	491,150 56

Soon after the war broke out between America and Britain, the United States turned their attention to manufactures, with a view of rendering themselves independent of Britain. But in this they were unwise and impolitic: for, in the first place, they do not possess the requisite capital and skill; and secondly, in the United States labour is too scarce and dear. Hence, as soon as peace was restored between the two countries, the manufactures of the United States sunk in a great measure before those of Britain. In consequence of this, a committee of commerce and manufactures was appointed by the house of representatives, which in February

made their report on the subject of the cotton manufacture particularly:—they concluded their report by recommending a duty on foreign cottons. In this they did not manifest much wisdom: for certainly it is the interest of the United States to direct its industry and capital to those kind of labours which will yield the best profits; and from agriculture and the carrying trade must those profits be sought.

Although, however, the report of the committee is objectionable in the recommendation with which it closes, yet it gives us some information respecting the manufactures of the United States, which we shall extract.

Prior

Prior to the years 1806 and 1807, establishments for manufacturing cotton wool had not been attempted, but in a few instances, and on a limited scale. Their rise and progress are attributable to embarrassments to which commerce was subjected, which embarrassments originated in causes not within the control of human prudence.

While commerce flourished, the trade which had been carried on with the continent of Europe, with the East Indies, and with the colonies of Spain and France, enriched our enterprising merchants, the benefits of which were sensibly felt by the agriculturists, whose wealth and industry were increased and extended. When external commerce was suspended, the capitalists throughout the union became solicitous to give activity to their capital. A portion of it, it is believed, was directed to the improvement of agriculture; and not an inconsiderable portion of it, as it appears, was likewise employed in

erecting establishments for manufacturing cotton wool. To make this statement as satisfactory as possible—to give it all the certainty that it is susceptible of attaining, the following facts are respectfully submitted to the consideration of the house. They show the rapid progress which has been made in a few years, and evidently the ability to carry them on with certainty of success, should a just and liberal policy regard them as objects deserving encouragement.

Bales of cotton manufactured in manufacturing establishments:

In the year 1800	500
1805	1,000
1810	10,000
1815	90,000

This statement the committee have no reason to doubt; nor have they any to question the truth of the following succinct statement of the capital which is employed, of the labour which it commands, and of the products of that labour:

Capital.....	40,000,000 dollars.
Males employed, from the age of 17 and upwards..	10,000
Women and female children.....	66,000
Boys under 17 years of age.....	24,000
Wages of one hundred thousand persons, averaging 150 dollars each.....	15,000,000
Cotton wool manufactured, 90,000 bales, amounting to.....	27,000,000 lbs.
Number of yards of cotton of various kinds....	81,000,000
Cost, per yard, averaging 30 cents.....	24,000,000 dollars.

The committee, keeping in view the interests of the nation, cannot refrain from stating, that cotton fabrics imported from India interfere not less with that encouragement to which agriculture is justly entitled, than they do with that which ought reasonably to be accorded to the manufacturers of cotton wool. The raw material of which they are made is the growth of India, and of a quality inferior to our own.

The fabrics themselves, in point of duration and use, are likewise inferior to the substantial fabrics of American manufacture. Although the India cotton fabrics can be sold for a lower price than the American, yet the difference in the texture is so much in favour of the American, that the latter may be safely considered as the cheapest.

The distance of most of the western states from the ocean, the exuberant riches of the soil, and the

the variety of its products, forcibly impress the mind of the committee with a belief, that all these causes conspire to encourage manufacturers, and to give an impetus and direction to such a disposition. Although the western states may be said to be in the gristle, in contemplation of that destiny to which they are hastening, yet the products of manufactures in these states are beyond every calculation that could reasonably be made; contrary to the opinion of many enlightened and virtuous men, who have supposed that the inducements of agriculture, and the superior advantages of that life, would suppress any disposition to that sort of industry. But theories, how ingeniously soever they may be constructed, how much soever they may be made to conform to the laws of symmetry and beauty, are no sooner brought into conflict with facts than they fall into ruins. In viewing their fragments, the mind is irresistibly led to render the homage due to the genius and taste of the architects, but cannot refrain from regretting the waste, to no purpose, of superior intellects. The western states prove the fallacy of such theories; they appear in their growth and expansion to be in advance of thought: while the political economist is drawing their portraits, their features change and enlarge with such rapidity, that his pencil in vain endeavours to catch their expressions, and to fix their physiognomy.

It is to their advantage to manufacture; because, by decreasing the bulk of the article, they at the same time increase their value by labour, bring them to market with less expense, and with the certainty of obtaining the best prices.

Those states, understanding their interest, will not be diverted from its pursuit. In the encouragement of manufactures, they find a stimulus for agriculture. The manufacturers of cotton, in making application to the national government for encouragement, have been induced to do so for many reasons. They know that their establishments are new, and in their infancy; and they have to encounter a competition with foreign establishments, that have arrived at maturity, that are supported by a large capital, and that have from the government every protection that can be required.

The stand that Archimedes wanted is given to the national and state governments, and labour-saving machinery tenders the levers—the power of bringing those resources into use.

This power imparts incalculable advantages to a nation whose population is not full. The United States require the use of this power, because they do not abound in population. The diminution of manual labour by means of machinery, in the cotton manufacture of Great Britain, was in the year 1810 as 200 to one.

Our manufacturers have already availed themselves of this power, and have profited by it. A little more experience in making machines, and in managing them with skill, will enable our manufacturers to supply more fabrics than are necessary for the home demand.

Competition will make the prices of the articles low, and the extension of the cotton manufactories will produce that competition.

One striking and important advantage, which labour-saving machines bestow, is this—that in all their operations they require few men,

men, as a reference to another part of this report will show. No apprehensions can then be seriously entertained that agriculture will be in danger of having its efficient labours withdrawn from its service.

On the contrary, the manufacturing establishments, increasing the demand for raw materials, will give to agriculture new life and expansion.

The committee, after having with great deference and respect presented to the house this important subject in various points of view, feel themselves constrained, before concluding this report, to offer a few more observations, which they consider as not less so with regard to the present and future prosperity of this nation.

The prospects of a large commerce are not flattering.

Every nation in times of peace will supply its own wants from its own resources, or from those of other nations.

When supplies are drawn from foreign countries, the intercourse which will ensue will furnish employment to the navigation only of the countries connected by their reciprocal wants.

Our concern does not arise from, nor can it be increased by, the limitation which our navigation and trade will have prescribed to them by the peace and apparent repose of Europe.

Our apprehensions arise from causes that cannot animate by their effects. Look wheresoever the eye can glance, and what are the objects that strike the vision? On the continent of Europe, industry, deprived of its motive and incitement, is paralysed; the accumulated wealth of ages, seized by the hand of military despotism, is appropriated to, and squandered on, objects of ambition;

the order of things unsettled, and confidence between man and man annihilated. Every moment is looked for with tremulous, anxious, and increased solicitude; hope languishes; and commercial enterprise stiffens with fear. The political horizon appears to be calm, but many of no ordinary sagacity think they behold signs portentous of a violent tempest, which will again rage and desolate that devoted region.

Should this prediction fail, no change for the better, under existing circumstances, can take place. Where despotism—military despotism—reigns, silence and fearful stillness must prevail.

Such is the prospect which continental Europe exhibits to the enterprise of American merchants.

Can it be possible for them to find in that region sources which will supply them with more than seventeen millions of dollars, the balance due for British manufactures imported:—this balance being over and above the value of all the exports to foreign countries from the United States? The view which is given to the dreary prospect of commercial advantages accruing to the United States by an intercourse with continental Europe is believed to be just. The statement made of the great balance in favour of Great Britain due from the United States is founded on matter of fact.

In the hands of Great Britain are gathered together and held many powers that they have not been accustomed hitherto to feel and to exercise.

No improper motives are intended to be imputed to that government; but does not experience teach a lesson that should never be forgotten—that governments, like individuals, are apt “to feel power, and forget

forget right?" It is not inconsistent with national decorum to become circumspect and prudent. May not the government of Great Britain be inclined, in analysing the basis of her political power, to consider and regard the United States as her rival, and to indulge an improper jealousy, the enemy of peace and repose?

Can it be politic, in any point of view, to make the United States dependent on any nation for supplies absolutely necessary for defence, for comfort, and for accommodation?

Will not the strength, the political energies of this nation be materially impaired at any time, but fatally so in those of difficulty and distress, by such defence?

Do not the suggestions of wisdom plainly show, that the security, the peace, and the happiness of this nation depend on opening and enlarging all our resources, and drawing from them whatever shall be required for public use or private accommodation?

The committee, from the views which they have taken, consider the situation of manufacturing establishments to be perilous. Some have decreased, and others have suspended business. A liberal encouragement will put them again in operation with increased powers; but should it be withheld, they will be prostrated. Thousands will be reduced to want and wretchedness. A capital of near sixty millions of dollars will become inactive, the greater part of which will be a dead loss to the manufacturers. Our improvidence may lead to fatal consequences; the powers, jealous of our growth and prosperity, will acquire the resources and strength which this government neglects to

improve. It requires no prophet to foretell the use that foreign powers will make of them. The committee, from the consideration which they have given to this subject, are deeply impressed with a conviction that the manufacturing establishments of cotton wool are of real utility to the agricultural interest, and that they contribute much to the prosperity of the union.

The affairs of Spanish America are still so involved in doubt and uncertainty, by the vague and contradictory statements which are given of the operations of the patriots by themselves and their opponents, that it would be worse than useless to attempt to come at the truth.

In consequence of the bill introduced into parliament for the registration of slaves in the West Indies, having been misrepresented there as a bill for their emancipation, an insurrection broke out among the negroes in the island of Barbadoes, on Easter Sunday. The most prompt measures, however, were taken for its suppression. So early as two o'clock on the following morning the island was placed under martial law, the militia and regular troops marched against the slaves, who were plundering and burning the plantations in the interior: the latter were soon dispersed, many killed on the spot, and a still greater number tried and executed. Thus the insurrection was quelled, but not till the slaves had committed great devastation. It ought to be stated, however, that a large proportion of them rallied round their masters, and contributed their efforts to reduce their misguided countrymen,

PRINCIPAL,

**PRINCIPAL
OCCURRENCES**

In the Year 1816.

1816.

(A)

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES, &c.

For the Year 1816.

"Windsor Castle, Jan. 5.

HIS majesty has enjoyed good bodily health, and has been generally tranquil during the last month; but his majesty's disorder is not abated." Signed H. Halford, W. Heberden, R. Willis, M. Baillie, J. Willis.

The public bulletins which have been issued for some months past, have all stated that his majesty's disorder remains undiminished; and we understand that it is the opinion of the medical gentlemen attending him, that nothing far short of a miracle can bring about a recovery from his afflicting malady. At times, we are happy to learn, he is tolerably composed. The number of persons specially appointed to attend him by the doctors is reduced from six to two, and his principal pages are admitted, and have been for some time, to attend him, as when he enjoyed good health.—His majesty dines at half-past one o'clock, and in general orders his dinner; he invariably has roast beef upon the table on Sundays. He dresses for dinner, wears his orders, &c. He occupies a suite of thirteen rooms (at least he and his attendants), which are situated on the north side of Windsor Castle, under the state rooms. Five of the thirteen rooms are wholly devoted to the personal use of the king. Dr. John Willis sleeps in the sixth room

adjoining, to be in readiness to attend his majesty. Dr. John attends the queen every morning after breakfast, about half-past ten o'clock, and reports to her the state of the afflicted monarch; the doctor afterwards proceeds to the princesses, and other branches of the royal family, who may happen to be at Windsor, and makes a similar report to them. In general her majesty returns with Dr. Willis through the state rooms down a private staircase, leading into the king's suite of rooms, appropriated to this special purpose. Sometimes she converses with her royal husband. The queen is the only person who is admitted to this peculiar privilege, except the medical gentlemen and his majesty's personal attendants. In case of Dr. John Willis's absence, Dr. Robert Willis, his brother, takes his place. The other medical gentlemen take it in rotation to be in close attendance upon the king. The suite of rooms which his majesty and his attendants occupy, have the advantage of very pure and excellent air, being on the north side of the terrace round the castle; and he used occasionally to walk on the terrace; but we understand he now declines it, owing to the bad state of his eyes, not being able to enjoy the views.—The lords and grooms of the king's bedchamber, his eque-

(A 2) ries,

ries, and other attendants, are occasionally in attendance at Windsor Castle, the same as if the king enjoyed good health.—Two king's messengers go from the secretary of state's office daily to Windsor, and return to London, as they have been accustomed to do for a number of years past. The messenger who arrives at noon brings a daily account of the state of the king's health to the prince regent and the members of the queen's council. His majesty has never been left since his afflicting malady, without one of the royal family being in the castle, and a member of the queen's council appointed under the regency act.

The Carlisle Patriot of January 6 contains long details of the damage done by floods over the north of England, and south of Scotland. The rivers Caldrew, Eden, Peterill, Line, Irthing, &c. &c. have overflowed or burst their banks. Two or three benighted travellers have lost their lives, some cattle have been swept away and drowned, whole districts inundated, and in many places the inhabitants of houses near the waters compelled to save themselves by taking refuge in the upper apartments, while those below were completely flooded.

A tremendous flood took place at Manchester, which rose three inches above the marks of the great flood in that town in 1768. Much property has been destroyed. A public house was undermined, and thrown down by the force of the water; but it having been expected, no person was hurt.

One of the most serious floods took place in the Tyne also that has happened since the great flood in 1777. Great damage was done to the small craft in the river. Two of the arches of Haydon bridge

have been destroyed. Great damage has also been done by this storm on the banks of the Wear and Tees.

On the 18th of December, whilst several young gentlemen were amusing themselves with skaiting upon Loch-end, Scotland, the ice gave way, and several of them were precipitated into the Loch. Lieutenant John Gourlay, royal navy, instantly fired with the hope of saving the lives of the unfortunates, plunged into the water, and having succeeded in recovering three of them, attempted, as a last effort, the fourth, (Robert, the son of bailie Haddaway, Leith); but, melancholy to relate, both sunk to rise no more. Every exertion was immediately made to discover the bodies, which unfortunately did not succeed for some time. At length both were found, and conveyed to the adjacent cot-houses; but, notwithstanding the professional exertions of a surgeon, who was on the spot shortly after the occurrence of the accident, every means which skill could suggest completely failed in restoring animation. Lieutenant John Gourlay, royal navy, was the only son of captain Gourlay, royal navy, Gayfield-square, and returned from the service of his country to the bosom of his friends only two months ago.

The barons of the exchequer having lately ordered certain repairs on the venerable ruins of the ancient abbey of Arbroath, the workmen employed in clearing out the rubbish from the north-west aisle of the abbey, on Saturday December 2, dug out a mutilated statue of a bishop or abbot in his robes. It is supposed that this statue had been originally placed in some niche in the west aisle; that it had fallen down when the abbey was destroyed,

ed, and that the head and hands (which parts have not yet been found) had been broken off in the fall. Both arms are elevated in a devotional attitude, and lift from the bottom a splendid robe or mantle, the workmanship of which is elegant and richly cut. This robe is attached to the shoulders by a gold lace collar or tippet; it covers both arms to the wrist, and, falling richly down in mantling folds, gives the whole figure a venerable air of pontifical dignity. The dress had been gilded with gold; but none of the gilding remains except a little in the deep folds of the robe, and the figured work of the lace. It is supposed that the statue, when entire, would have measured five feet nine inches in height. A pastoral staff had rested on the right foot, and reclined on the left shoulder. Several pieces of this staff have been found; and it is hoped that some more fragments of the statue may yet be discovered among the rubbish.

18.—This being the day appointed for a general thanksgiving, at ten o'clock a grand full dress parade of the guards took place in St. James's park, for the purpose of solemnly depositing the two eagles taken at Waterloo, in Whitehall chapel. The duke of York, a great number of military officers, and an immense assemblage of ladies and gentlemen, were present; and on the eagles being brought out, they were hailed by loud acclamations. The eagles were then placed in the centre of a guard of honour composed of grenadier guards, and marched off to the chapel, where they were deposited with due honours.—The three regiments of guards were on the parade so early as seven o'clock in the morning, and at nine were in-

spected by the commander-in-chief and the dukes of Kent and Gloucester.—The procession to the chapel was very grand. The band of the first regiment of guards led the van; then came on foot a detachment of the life-guards who were present at Waterloo. The eagles were borne by two serjeants of the first and second regiments. The three regiments of guards followed in succession.

25.—The anniversary of the birth of Burns the poet was celebrated at Edinburgh. Upwards of one hundred admirers of the bard were present. The chair was filled by Alexander Boswell, esq. of Auchinleck, supported by the hon. Wm. Maule, M.P. Among the persons of rank who were present, were the earl of Leven, the hon. captain Gordon, the hon. captain Napier, Mr. Forbes, M.P. &c. &c. And among those of literary eminence were Walter Scott, esq. Mr. Jeffery, &c. Many appropriate toasts were given in the course of the evening; and the entertainment went off with the utmost hilarity and eclat. It was resolved that the meeting should be in future triennial."

An ukase was issued at Petersburg on the 2d inst. for the expulsion of Jesuits from Russia, and the revocation of all such privileges as had been granted to the Roman catholic church since 1800. The reason is assigned by the emperor himself with a distinctness and patience which show that power does not harden him against a just sense of his moral responsibility. He relates, that the Jesuits were received in Russia when they had no protection elsewhere; and that, being permitted to apply themselves to the education of youth, they have abused the confidence they had gained,

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gained, endeavouring to trouble the Greek religion, and turning aside from its worship young people who had been intrusted to them. No one who has observed the conduct of the Jesuits in other countries can be surprised at this. It is the natural and inalienable genius of their order, to be either in open or secret hostility with every other church. It is even a sort of instinct; for they can scarcely restrain it at the moment when their chance of adding privileges to toleration depends upon their concealment of the uses to which they will apply them.

FEBRUARY.

1.—At an extraordinary general meeting of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. in the Adelphi, for the election of a president, in the room of the late duke of Norfolk; the duke of Sussex was nominated by the honourable W. Shirley, and seconded by D. Beaumont, esq.; and the earl of Liverpool, by Mr. Holmes and captain Bagnal, late of the marines. At the conclusion of the ballot, the numbers were;—for the duke of Sussex, 180; the earl of Liverpool, 24. The duke of Sussex was consequently declared duly elected.—His royal highness has frequently assisted in the deliberations of the Society; and his leisure, talents, and love of the arts peculiarly qualify him for the situation.

A coin bearing the image of Henry king of England, who first obtained the title of king of France, having on the obverse the inscription of *Villa Caksæ*, was a few days ago turned up by the plough in the parish of Glenholm in Scotland.

Nearly 2000 students have been enrolled this session in the University of Edinburgh, exclusive of those attending the Theology, Hebrew,

and Church History classes. The school of sacred music at this time reckons more than 250 pupils. They are taught upon the German plan, viz. by means of a large black board, on which the master writes his lessons with chalk.

12.—A most melancholy event took place yesterday morning near Mitchelstown, Ireland. A farmer of respectability in the neighbourhood, whose daughter was married the previous night, invited a number of his friends to the wedding.—After supper all the young people retired to a large barn, to dance. There was a fire in the barn, as the night was cold; and, after they had been dancing for some time, they wished to have the fire extinguished, when one of the young men went into the dwelling-house for some water, and seeing a large jug full of water as he supposed (but it proved to be spirits), brought it into the barn, and threw it on the fire. The barn immediately took fire, as it had no chimney; and before the door could be opened, a number of them were burned to ashes! and such as found their way out were miserably scorched. Sixteen have been already interred, and about twice that number are despaired of; among the latter number is the bride—the bridegroom is likely to recover.

PLYMOUTH BREAKWATER.

This great national work has at length surmounted all the obstacles opposed to its construction.—The order of the prince regent in council, giving directions for commencing the work, was issued January 23, 1811. The first stone was laid with every requisite ceremony on the prince regent's birth day, Aug. 12, 1812; but the progress of the work did not advance for some months, 16,045 tons only having been

been deposited at the end of that year. On the 31st of March 1813, the first masses of marble came dry at low water, spring tides; and at the end of that year, the quantity of marble deposited amounted to 187,240 tons. At the end of 1814, 426,723 tons had been deposited. During the winter of this year, and 1815, many severe gales blew directly into the Sound, as violently as any that had been ever felt; yet the Sound during that winter presented the unusual sight of about 40 sail of ships remaining at anchor in it, all of whom rode out the gales with great ease, and without damage. The Catwater and its entrance were, during the same critical season, full of shipping, amounting to 150 sail; and yet, though the Break-water was not completed, scarcely any damage was done; and it was entirely owing to the small part of the Break-water which was made, that most of the ships both in the Sound and in Catwater were not lost. On the prince regent's birth-day 1815 (making three years since the first stone was laid), 615,057 tons of marble had been deposited in blocks from half a ton to nine tons.—The extent of the marble quarries now open is nearly half a mile, in which range they are working with the aid of twenty-five cranes. The sight is truly sublime, and reflects great honour on the Admiralty, and on the individual whose mind can conduct so immense an undertaking, with so much œconomy and success. Fifty sail of vessels are employed in taking out the immense masses of marble, whose average cargoes amount to 50 tons; and the number of men employed on the service, under Mr. Whidbey, is 730.—The Breakwater stretches across the Shoel Rock; the length of the

whole, when finished, will be 1700 yards; its base 100 yards, and ten yards in breadth at the top or finished part. The average depth is 3½ feet at low water, spring tides. It slopes very much to seaward, and but little within, and is opposed to an immense sea, which extends from the Azore Islands to the Channel. It will cover a secure anchorage in the Sound for about 50 sail of the line.

16.—The ancient land-mark on the coast of Holderness, Owthorn Church old Spire, better known by the name of the Sister Churches, was destroyed by the tide, and fell to the ground with a tremendous crash, to the great alarm of the inhabitants of the village.

17.—Last week, two causes of very great importance to the inhabitants of Ossett and Gawthorpe were decided in the duchy court of Lancaster. The object of these causes was, to subject the inhabitants of those towns to the custom and necessity of grinding all the corn consumed by them in their dwelling-houses, at the Wakefield Mills; but the court, consisting of Mr. justice Bailey, Mr. Caron Richards, and the chancellor of the duchy, were unanimously of opinion that the inhabitants of those towns were not subject to the custom; and accordingly the suits, instituted by the representatives of the late sir T. Pilkington, baronet, against the inhabitants of the towns of Ossett and Gawthorpe, to make those inhabitants liable to such custom, were dismissed with costs.

19.—The bodies of 55 of the men and boys who lately lost their lives in the Heaton coal-pit, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by a blast of the pit, and its filling in consequence with water, were discovered in the far workings of the pit. They ap-

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pear to have all perished by starvation. They had got into a part of the pit where the water did not reach them, and had been many weeks employed in endeavouring to work their way into an old pit, by which they might have escaped. They are supposed to have failed in their attempt by the want of food to support them, as every horse in the pit was eaten to the bone. The unfortunate men had a water-mark fixed up, that they might observe if it fell. One man, supposed to have been set to watch it, was found dead at his post.

FRANCE.

In the Paris papers of the 21st inst. the most interesting article relates to a document which has been brought forward after twenty-four years' concealment. It is the will, a letter, and some hair of the late queen of France and of Louis XVI. They were found among the papers of the ex-conventualist Courtois, who is lately dead; and have been recognised as genuine by all the royal family. How they came into Courtois's possession is not stated. He voted for the death of Louis XVI. and was afterwards member of the council of ancients and of the tribunate. He was one of the richest proprietors in Paris.

The will of Marie Antoinette, queen of France, archduchess of Austria, widow of Louis XVI. is dated from the Conciergerie, Sept. 5, 1793. That princess designates, for the special executor of her intentions, the abbé Edgeworth de Frimont. After prudent advice given to the king Louis-Charles her son, whom she recommends to the generous cares of madame Elizabeth, she adds—"Though I would have wished the princess Marie Theresa, my daughter, to marry an archduke of Austria, her cousin by

the maternal side; yet, as it was the wish of the late king my husband that she should be united to the duke of Angoulême, the son of the count d'Artois (her uncle), I request my son (the king Louis-Charles) to fulfil this wish as soon as my daughter shall be in a state to accomplish it on her part."

Marie Antoinette, queen of France, afterwards thanks madame Elizabeth for the boundless friendship which she had shown her, and for the generous care she had bestowed on the children of Louis XVI. "If my son," the queen adds, "be destined to live on the throne, I request my sister to direct him, at least in the first measures of his administration. If he be condemned to pass in chains the mournful days of his childhood, and the still more bitter days of his youth, I claim from the goodness of my sister the assuaging of his sufferings."

It is impossible (says a Paris paper) to refrain from tears on reading this passage, which we have repeated as correctly as our recollection would permit. The feelings experienced could not be less profound, on seeing a queen of France bequeathing by will the only property which then remained at her disposal;—to her unfortunate family, a lock of her hair and of the hair of her royal consort; to the duke of Penthièvre, the portrait of his daughter the princess Lamballe: to her brother the emperor of Germany, the portrait of the duchess of Mecklenburg. She prays her sister madame Elizabeth to accept, as a pledge of remembrance, a copy of the *Travels* of the young Anacharsis, which she had received from M. de Frimont. To that worthy minister, as a testimony of her gratitude, she left only the trouble of executing as well as possible her last

last will; adding these words—
“Hearts formed like his need no
other recompense.”

The queen closes her testament by thanking madame Richard, the wife of the keeper of the prison, for the good conduct she had observed towards her, and madame Harel, who had served her with zeal. To the one she gave a portfolio and two crayon drawings; to the other, a purse with six louis. After making several other dispositions, which show the greatness of her soul, she asks pardon of those around her for the trouble she had given them, and sincerely pardons her persecutors. Her last thoughts is for the happiness of France.

PORTUGAL.

The prince regent of Portugal has issued a decree, raising his Brazilian territories to the political rank of a kingdom; and declaring his future title to be that of “Prince Regent of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the two Algarves, &c.”

MARCH.

3.—This evening, as Mr. John Holman, a farmer of Perran, Cornwall, was returning from a place of worship, across a common, to his own house, a heavy mist falling, he mistook his way, and fell into an exposed shaft of a mine 96 feet deep, besides 9 feet of water in the bottom; and, almost miraculously, reached the water without receiving any serious injury. Being an expert swimmer, he kept himself afloat during the night, occasionally relieving himself by clinging to the projecting points of rock in the sides of the shaft. The return of day-light, on Monday, enabled him to see a kind of ledge, on which he contrived to get, and on which he lay the whole of Monday, calling for assistance; but no person approached the place, and Monday night came on whilst

he continued in his perilous situation, where, overcome by fatigue, he fell asleep, and again fell into the water. The darkness of the night prevented his regaining his resting-place, and he had to support himself as before until Tuesday morning, when he regained the spot from which he fell. He had now become quite hoarse from cold and almost incessant calling for help; so that the only resource he had for drawing the attention of those whom, he supposed, would be sent to seek for him, was by throwing stones into the water. Tuesday night came without affording him any relief; but the terror of again falling into the water effectually prevented his sleeping. On Wednesday, however, the noise made by the stones which he continued to throw into the water, attracted the attention of some persons whom his distressed family had dispatched in search of his remains; and he was extricated from the dreadful abyss, without sustaining any serious confusion.

The prince regent has granted a large sum of money for the erection of a splendid monument to the memory of the cardinal duke of York, the last of the race of the Stuarts. It is to be placed in the basilica of the Vatican at Rome. Canova is to execute the monument.

The princess Charlotte, when on one of her aquatic excursions at Weymouth, wished to go on board the Leviathan; and, regardless of the rough sea, and the remonstrances of the bishop of Salisbury, proceeded in the captain's barge: when along-side, a chair was let down for her accommodation; but the princess refused to use it, saying, “I prefer going up in the manner that a seaman does. You, captain Nixon, will kindly follow me, taking care of my clothes; and when

when I am on deck, the chair may be let down for the other ladies and the bishop." No sooner said than done; her royal highness ascended with a facility that astonished the delighted crew of the Leviathan.

The Congo, accompanied by the Dorothy transport, has sailed on a voyage of discovery up the river Zair, or, as commonly termed, the Congo, into the heart of Southern Africa. The Congo is about 90 tons, schooner rigged, and draws about five feet water; she is fitted up entirely for the accommodation of officers and men, and for the reception of the objects of natural history which may be collected in her progress up the river. The gentlemen engaged on this interesting expedition, in the scientific department, are Mr. professor Smith of Christiana, botanist and geologist; Mr. Tudor, comparative anatomist; Mr. Cranch, collector of objects of natural history; and a gardener to collect plants and seeds for his majesty's gardens at Kew; besides Mr. Galway, a gentleman volunteer. There are also two fine blacks, natives of the kingdom of Congo, one of whom was born 800 miles up the Zair. The officers are captain Tuckey, commanding the expedition; lieutenant Hawkey; Mr. Fitzmaurice, master and surveyor; Mr. McKerrow, assistant-surgeon; two masters' mates, and a purser. In addition to the Congo, the transport takes out two double whale boats, so fixed together as to be able to carry 18 or 20 men each, and accommodate them under an awning, with three months' provisions. These boats are intended to be drawn up to the upper part of any rapids or cataracts that may occur to obstruct the passage of the Congo. Captain Tuckey was an early coadjutor of the late able navigator captain Flinders, on the

coast of New South Wales.—Another expedition has also sailed, under major Peddie, to explore the interior of Africa, and trace the course of the Niger.

NATIONAL LEGACY.

Among the remarkable liberalities of this period should not remain unnoticed the will of miss Anna Maria Reynolds, late of Cleveland-row, dated 3d of November 1801, by which she bequeathed to the lords of the Treasury all the residue of her effects, after payment of legacies and debts, to be applied by them to the use of the sinking fund, in such manner as should be directed by parliament. The will was regularly proved; and their lordships have received by transfers into their names 34,000*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* in 3 per cent. consols; 35,000*l.* in 5 per cent. navy annuities, and 300*l.* long annuities; in addition to which, the further sums of 5066*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* Old South Sea annuities, other part of the residue, has likewise been transferred to them.

The Indian juggler, who astonished the town a year or two back by his dangerous feat of passing a drawn sword down his stomach, has unfortunately fallen a sacrifice to his presumption, at an exhibition in Scotland; the sword, taking a wrong direction, wounded the ventricle of the stomach, and he died almost instantaneously.

Several Laplanders have lately arrived in London with their game, which has been sold by different poulterers in the city. These poor fellows expected when they left Gottenburg, that the packet would land them in London, and that they would have no duties to pay; whereas they have been obliged to pay upwards of 50*l.* for duties, besides ten guineas for freight from Harwich to London.—The state of preservation in which these birds were

were, is stated to be really surprising, after travelling upwards of 1000 miles. They are preserved by being hung up to freeze as soon as killed, and afterwards being packed in cases, lined with skins to keep out the air. This process so effectually preserves them, that when the packages are opened, the birds are found frozen quite hard: and those packages which are not opened will continue in this state for some weeks. The mode in which the small birds are dressed in Sweden, is by stewing them in cream with a little butter in it, after being larded, which, it is said, gives them a very excellent flavour: the large ones are roasted, and basted with cream, which is afterwards served up as sauce. These Laplanders wear a kind of great coat made of reindeer skin, with caps and gloves of the same, which gives them a very grotesque appearance.

THE BAZAAR.

The name bazaar is given in the East to places of great extent, divided into compartments for the different merchants. Those for the sale of fine and valuable commodities, (as jewellery, silks, watches, &c. &c.) are covered with lofty cieling or domes, admitting light from above. The bazaar of Tauris is of such an extent, that it has more than once afforded cover for thirty thousand men ranged in order of battle.—An establishment of this kind in London, which promises to prove highly beneficial to the public, has lately been opened in the extensive premises of Mr. Trotter of Soho square. The benevolent object in view is, to enable ingenious and meritorious individuals, whose narrow circumstances keep them in obscurity, and preclude the possibility of their exhibiting for sale, in shops of their own, the various productions of

their industry, to bring them fairly to market, and at the least possible expense. The premises are large, dry, commodious, well lighted, warmed, ventilated, and properly watched—expenses with which the temporary occupier has no further concern than what he may contribute in his small daily rent. The tenant will pay only according to the space and time he may occupy. Extensive and commodious counters are prepared, and these, with a proportionate space behind them, are to be let out, by the foot-length of counter, at the small daily rent of three pence per foot. The advantages of such an establishment to many industrious families, who have not means sufficient to enable them to tenant premises fit for public business, are obvious. When their little stock is sold off, their expenses terminate—the family prepares a new supply—they know where they may be again accommodated, and no other recommendation will be wanted but an irreplicable character.

In point of general accommodation, the collecting the various productions of art and ingenuity into one focus, and the civility and beneficial rivalry excited by such an assemblage, the new establishment will resemble those in the East; but here they cease to have any thing in common. To the great encouragement of female and domestic industry, by the singular accommodations which such an arrangement affords, great numbers are enabled to assemble under the same roof, to sell on their own account, and to act as agents for persons at a distance, whose united stock must form an attractive display of great variety, however small the share each individual may contribute to the whole;—and their combined and separate efforts to obtain

obtain the favours of the public and their respective friends, must create a powerful patronage—advantages which all equally enjoy, and such as will afford the industrious, even of the slenderest means, a reasonable hope to thrive; reduced tradesmen to recover their credit and connexions; beginners to form friends and habits before they venture upon more extensive speculations; and artists, artisans, and whole families employed at home, though infirm and resident in the country, securely and beneficially to vend the produce of their labour by proxy.

15.—A meeting was held at the Thatched House, for the purpose of establishing a savings bank in the western part of the metropolis, for the benefit of the labouring classes. The duke of Somerset was in the chair. Lord Spencer, Mr. Rose, Mr. Wilberforce, and several other gentlemen warmly supported the measure; and a subscription was opened for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the first formation of the bank.

On Sunday, 17th, about half-past 12 o'clock, a violent concussion of the earth was sensibly felt at Doncaster, and at Bawtry, Blyth, Carlton, Worksop, Sheffield, Chesterfield, Mansfield, Nottingham, Lincoln, Gainsborough, &c. In some of these places it caused great consternation and alarm among the inhabitants, by the shaking of buildings, pictures and other articles hanging on the walls. It was perceptibly felt in Lincoln, at about ten minutes before one in the day. The undulation appeared to be from west to east, and lasted from about a minute and a half to two minutes. The wind was at the time south-east, cold, with every appearance of rain. Pictures and other articles hanging on the walls were set in a swinging motion. Many persons

were so affected by it as to think they were taken with a sudden illness. A person who was dressing at the Spread Eagle inn, at the upper part of the house, was so much alarmed as to run down stairs. At Newark and the neighbouring villages the shock was distinctly felt, as well as at Leicester, Gumley, and Loughborough. At Gainsborough it occasioned great consternation. At some places the shock was exceedingly severe. At Newstead the ceiling of a dining-room fell down with a dreadful crash. The shock happened during divine service, and was felt so sensibly in the church at Mansfield, that the clergyman left his pulpit, and the frightened congregation hurried out of the church. Some of them got out at the windows, and many were hurt. The shock was also felt in Derby and its neighbourhood; but was very short duration. It was accompanied by a noise similar to that of a rising tempest, and caused the windows to shake violently, and the doors that were ajar to move. A glass lustre, which hung in a gentleman's breakfast-room in that town, was put in motion; and the chairs and tables were perceptibly shaken. At Shipley hall it caused the bells to ring; and the body of a mangle in one of the upper rooms moved on its rollers several feet. It was also perceived in the churches of All-Saints and St. Peter in Derby, and caused in the latter place a piece of plaster to fall from the roof into the body of the church. It extended about twenty miles east and west of Derby, and appeared to proceed in a direct line from north to south. It will be worthy the particular attention of geologists to recollect the precise date of this occurrence in the middle counties of England, because we apprehend that they will find it to coincide in
point

point of time with some more terrible earthquake elsewhere, and which may lead to important results in the investigation of the theory of the earth.

18.—As captain James Watson Harvey, of his majesty's royal navy, with his youngest brother and sister (two children of five and six years of age) was sailing in a boat on the large mill pond, at the powder-works, near the dwelling-house of their father at Battle, a strong gust of wind upset the boat in a great depth of water, when the captain (who was an excellent swimmer) succeeded in getting both his little companions in his arms, with whom he struggled for some time, as if determined to save or perish with them; and although within twenty yards of the pond bay, and in the sight of many of the workmen at the mills, at last sunk, with the children in his arms, never to rise again! It was upwards of three quarters of an hour before their bodies could be recovered, when every exertion and skill that could be used were applied in vain to re-animate them—the vital spark had fled, to the poignant and inconsolable grief of their parents, relatives, and friends. Captain Harvey was 23 years of age. Had he even left one of the children to perish, he might have saved himself and the other.

23.—A phenomenon occurred between 10 and 11 o'clock, at Lambourn, Berks. A medical gentleman and his servant were returning home, and were startled by a sudden and brilliant light, which rapidly crossed the heavens from south to north, and appeared to lose itself in the north, but not to decline towards the earth. When the light disappeared, a violent rumbling noise was heard from the north, and ap-

peared to diverge to the east and west: the last sound of it was heard in the west, like the bursting of large cannon. The noise exceeded thunder, and continued nearly five minutes. The heavens were beautifully clear and star-light, both before and after this occurrence. The phenomenon was witnessed by several persons in Oxford. Its appearance from thence was that of an immense ball of fire.

Of the alarming extent of illegal distillation in Ireland, and its ruinous effects, the following statement may afford an idea:—At Armagh assizes seventy-seven men were sentenced to imprisonment for having illegal stills; at Lifford assizes sixty for a like offence, besides fines on the county to the amount of 12,000*l*. At Derry assizes the trials for illegal distillation were numerous beyond all former experience. Ninety persons were convicted and imprisoned; and a great many were liberated for the present on bail, as the gaol was unable to contain them.

24.—This night a dreadful fire broke out between 11 and 12 o'clock, in the house of Mr. Macoa, at the west side of St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, which raged with unabated fury until the whole of the building was destroyed. There is much reason to apprehend some lives have been lost. An old gentlewoman, of the name of O'Neill, (a relative of the earl of O'Neill,) who was deprived of sight, is, among others, missing. It is said the fire broke out in her apartments. A Mrs. Hare, who also lodged in the house, is missing; and the proprietor of the house, Mr. Macoa, is not to be found. Mrs. Macoa was dreadfully scorched, but effected her escape by jumping out of the two-pair of stairs window. A servant

vant woman, who was far advanced in a state of pregnancy, also jumped out of the window, and is seriously injured.

FRANCE.

On the 22d ult. the king's ministers communicated to each chamber the following interesting letter, written by the queen of France to madame Elizabeth, half an hour after her return from the revolutionary tribunal, and five hours before her death. Information had been received of some documents being in the possession of Courtois, one of the regicides. The prefect was ordered to make a search, and this letter, with other documents, were the result. Both chambers replied to the communication from the king by numerous deputations.

"October 16, half-past four."

"I write to you, dear sister, for the last time; I have just been condemned, not to a shameful death, it is only so to the guilty, but to go and rejoin your brother, innocent as he was. I hope to show the same fortitude as he did in these last moments. I am calm as one is when one's conscience does not reproach us. I feel deep sorrow at abandoning my poor children—good and tender sister, you know I lived but for them and you—by your affection you have sacrificed every thing to be with us. In what a situation do I leave you! I learnt, by the pleadings in my case, that my daughter was separated from you.—Alas, poor child! I dare not write to her—she would not receive my letter. I know not whether this ever will reach you. Receive for them both my blessing. I hope one day, when they will be older, they will be able to rejoin you and enjoy all your tender care. Let them both reflect upon what I have never ceased to instil into

them, that the principles and exact execution of their duties are the first bases of life, and that affection and mutual confidence will constitute the happiness of it. Let my daughter feel that at the age she is, she ought always to assist her brother with the counsels which the greater experience she will have, and her affection, may suggest to her; let my son, in his turn, administer to his sister all the solicitude and services which affection can inspire; finally, let them feel that, in whatever position they may be, they can be truly happy but by their union. Let them take example by us. How often in our miseries has our affection afforded us consolation! In happiness we have double enjoyment when we can share it with a friend. And where can any be found more dear and more tender than in our own family? Let my son never forget the last words of his father, which I repeat expressly—Let him never seek to revenge our death! I have to speak to you of something very painful to my heart. I know how much pain this child has given you: forgive him, my dear sister; think of his age, how easy it is to make a child say what one pleases, and even what he does not understand. A day will come, I hope, when he only will feel more deeply the value of your goodness and tenderness for both. It remains for me to confide to you my last thoughts. I would have written them at the commencement of the process; but, besides that they would not suffer me to write, the mass of events has been so rapid, that I have not in reality had time. I die in the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion, in that of my father, in which I was brought up, and which I have always professed, having no spiritual consolation

consolation to expect—not knowing if there still exist any priests of our religion; and even the place where I am would expose them too much if once they entered it.—I sincerely ask pardon of God for all the faults I may have committed since I was born. I hope that in his goodness he will receive my last wishes, as well as those I have long put up, that he will receive my soul in his mercy and goodness. I ask pardon of all I know, and of you, sister, in particular, for all the pain I may, without meaning, have caused you. I forgive all my enemies the ill they have done me; I bid adieu to my aunts, and all my brothers and sisters, I had friends; the idea of being separated from them for ever, and their troubles, are one of the greatest griefs I have in dying. Let them know at least, that to my last moment I thought of them. Good and tender sister, farewell! May this letter reach you! Always think of me! I embrace you with all my heart, as well as my poor dear children. Oh, my God! what agony it is to quit them for ever! Adieu! adieu! And now I will resign myself wholly to my spiritual duties. As I am not free in my actions, they will bring me, perhaps, a priest; but I protest here that I will not say a word to him, and that I will treat him as a perfect stranger.”

Conformable to the original writings entirely in the hand-writing of the queen, Marie Antoinette.

The minister of police,

Comte de CAZES.

The remains of the duke d'Eng-hien have been discovered in the fosse of the castle of Vincennes, and re-interred with due solemnity.

The trial of rear-admiral Linois and colonel Boyer, for having espoused the cause of Buonaparte at

Guadaloupe after having promised to maintain the island for Louis XVIII. has ended. The admiral was unanimously acquitted. Boyer was as unanimously found guilty, and sentenced to suffer death, which sentence has, however, since been commuted to imprisonment for 20 years in a state fortress.

The king of France has issued an ordinance, directing that in every canton throughout France a committee shall be appointed to superintend a general education of all classes: the catholic schools to be superintended by the catholic clergy, and the protestants by the consistories and pastors of their own faith. This ordinance forms a striking contrast to the horrible plan announced by Buonaparte, in 1811, of putting an end to all but military schools. The law permitting the catholic clergy to receive voluntary gifts has been extended by the peers to the protestants also.

ITALY.

The imposition of a duty of 50 per cent. at Naples, contrary to the policy of Murat, has occasioned a change of the system of trade at Malta, that may be attended with beneficial consequences as soon as the quarantine in that kingdom with regard to the island shall have been withdrawn, which is now reduced to the short interval of seven days. The plan of the governor is, to exempt vessels of fifty tons, and below that burthen, from all port-charges in Malta, and to allow them to proceed to the Neapolitan harbours, where the vigilance of the government is not sufficient to carry into effect its own regulations for the collection of these exorbitant duties. It has been recommended to this cabinet, by that active and intelligent officer, general Maitland, to restrict the operations of the navigation

gation act, so far as it respects the Maltese trade in the Mediterranean; that is, that from Naples, and other situations, any description of shipping, besides British and native shipping, may bring produce to Malta with the advantages conceded to the latter; and from this depôt such commodities will be advantageously transmitted to Genoa, Leghorn, and elsewhere.

On the 19th February there was a grand convocation of cardinals at the Quirinal palace at Rome, at which His Holiness presided. The pope made the conclave acquainted with the result of the negotiations with the different courts with respect to the re-establishment of monasteries. Austria has positively refused their restoration in her Italian provinces, and Tuscany allows only the continuance of the existing convents, but on a footing displeasing to Rome. Spain alone is obedient to the head of the church, and a dignitary, of his own choice, is to proceed thither in company with Charles IV., that every thing may be regulated according to the wishes of the pontiff.

GERMANY.

A dreadful snow storm has recently done immense damage in Hungary. In the county of Beregh, 20,000 sheep are lost, and one farmer had 1200 fat oxen frozen to death.

RUSSIA.

The hereditary prince of Orange was married, on the 21st of February, at Petersburg, to the grand duchess Anne.

At the Russian capital we have to notice the failure of two very considerable native houses, the one for upwards of 5,000,000 of roubles. Their misfortunes are attri-

buted to an extensive monopoly of colonial produce, particularly sugar, for the disposal of which they have been enabled to find no advantageous market. The want of a tariff for the new year has occasioned the absence of the buyers from the interior, and the almost total stagnation of trade in all its branches.—The exchange was at 10½*d.* and was likely to be lower, on account of the cessation of exports.

TURKEY.

The Turkish province of Bosnia, which had hardly a million of inhabitants, has lately lost 500,000 persons by the plague.

APRIL.

A discovery very interesting to the Scottish antiquary has taken place in the abbey of Arbroath, viz. the finding the tomb of William the 93d king of Scotland, surnamed the Lion. His remains were discovered under a beautiful blue marble flag, on which was carved the effigy of the lion under his feet; and, from the size of the thigh bones, it is supposed his majesty must have been six feet and upwards in stature. The bones are stated to be not so much mouldered as might have been expected, having lain 602 years. William died at Stirling, and was buried in the abbey in 1214, in the 74th year of his age and 49th of his reign.

Silver medals are now distributing to the brave men who were present at the battle of Waterloo. They are to be worn on all occasions, and are about the size of a three-shilling bank token: on one side is a fine likeness of the regent; on the other Fame, with a wreath of victory; above the figure, "Wellington," under "Waterloo;" while

on the *exergue* is stamped the name of each man whose valour entitled him to this honourable distinction.

Among recent gazette appointments is that of serjeant Ewart, to an ensigncy in the 9d royal veteran battalion, in consideration of the bravery he displayed on the 18th of June. In the afternoon of that eventful day, the 92d regiment, reduced to 200, charged a column of the enemy, from 2000 to 3000 strong; they broke into the centre of the column, and the moment they pierced it, the Scotch greys dashed in to their support, when both these gallant corps cheered and huzzaed "Scotland for ever!" The enemy to a man were put to the sword, or made prisoners. The greys afterwards charged the second line, which amounted to 5,000 men: it was in the first that serjeant Ewart captured the French eagle: the affair is thus modestly detailed by himself: "I had a hard contest for it; the officer who carried it thrust for my groin; I parried it off, and cut him through the head; after which I was attacked by one of the lancers, who threw his lance at me, but missed the mark, by my throwing it off with my sword by my right side; then I cut him from the chin upwards, which went through his teeth. Next, I was attacked by a foot soldier, who, after firing, charged me with his bayonet, but I parried it off, and cut him through the head—so that finished the contest for the eagle."

A case has recently been decided by two of the judges of the court of King's Bench of some importance. It is, that attorneys' bills may be legally taxed; although they may have been paid. The case decided was on a settlement made by a client on his attorney's account, in December 1814. The client, 1816.

subsequently finding reason to suppose he had been overcharged, insisted on taxing the bill. This was opposed by the attorney, on the ground that it had been paid, and considered as finally settled. The judges, however, ruled in favour of the client.

FRANCE.

The trial of sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and captain Hutchinson, for having aided the escape of M. Lavalette, commenced at Paris on the 22d instant, and terminated on the 24th; when they were pronounced Guilty, and sentenced to three months imprisonment.

An ordonnance of the king restores the ancient French academy, the academy of Inscriptions, &c. instead of the revolutionary establishment called the institute. The members of this latter body, however, are distributed among the four academies, with some few exceptions and some few additions. Among the exceptions are Joseph and Lucien Bonaparte, Carnot, Monge, David, Sieyes, and Cambaceres.

An ordonnance has also been issued regulating anew the legion of honour, which is henceforth to be called the royal order of the legion of honour, and is to hold its annual festival on the 15th of July, the day of St. Henry.

SPAIN.

Letters from Spain announce an interesting piece of information—the detection of a conspiracy against the life of Ferdinand VII. The city of Madrid, say these letters, had been for some time past more than usually resorted to by discharged guerilla officers without pay, who were known not to be well affected to the king and government. From this circumstance alone, government, suspecting that

(B) some

some plot was in agitation, set about an inquiry for the means of its detection; when it was found that a conspiracy had been formed for the effecting of some great object, but which at the time did not appear. The government, by pursuing their inquiries further, ascertained the names of the conspirators, and immediately had them arrested. But the matter did not stop there; for many of the persons arrested had the torture inflicted upon them to extort the object of the conspiracy. From the declaration of some of the sufferers, it was ascertained, that the conspiracy had in view the extinction of the present king of Spain, and their royal highnesses his brothers, &c. Mr. Rechart was the first who underwent the torture. He confessed the object of the conspiracy, and implicated many persons of distinction hitherto not suspected. The torture was next given to Yandiola, who confessed nothing. General O'Donoghue was also destined to bear the torture; but from him the tormentors extorted no information beyond what they already knew. General Renovales, who was implicated, heard of the discovery of the conspiracy in time to escape; and the brother of Calatrava was equally fortunate. Many officers of rank, and subalterns, are implicated, and have been arrested. A few hours more, and the conspiracy would have succeeded.

General O'Donoghue has been set at liberty at Madrid, having been able to acquit himself of any connexion with the conspirators against Ferdinand and the royal family. He has, however, lost the use of his hands, his fingers having been all separately disjointed. The intendant of Valencia died during the operation of the torture.

ITALY.

A late decision of the pope, relative to the form of proceedings in the inquisition, has forbid the application of the *torture* to the accused. This decision has been officially communicated to the court of Spain, as a hint to follow the example.

GERMANY.

We learn, on the authority of the Piedmontese Gazette of the 9th instant, that her imperial majesty the empress of Austria, whose disorder it had been hoped was taking a favourable turn, suddenly became worse; and that news of her death, in the 29th year of her age, had been received from Verona.

AMERICA.

The commercial treaty between Great Britain and the United States has been at length confirmed by the senate and representatives of America. It had previously been carried into effect by the executive.

The remains of general Washington have been removed from Mount Vernon to the city of Washington, where it is proposed to erect a national monument to his memory.

"St. John's, Newfoundland, Feb. 24.

"A very alarming fire broke out here about a fortnight since, and the flames at one time laid us under serious apprehensions for the safety of our own and our friends' property in our care, but happily the fury of the conflagration was checked just in time to prevent the fire communicating with the stores that adjoin our premises. About 130 houses were consumed by the fire, thereby 1500 persons deprived of habitations at this wretched cold season of the year; the distress in this town

town is consequently very great indeed."

Another letter, same date.—"The custom-house and other public buildings have been saved by the greatest exertions. A more dreadful sight was never witnessed. During the awful conflagration a hurricane, accompanied with a hail storm, took place, which saved the wreck of the town. Huts are now erected for the miserable sufferers. A subscription has been raised, and the inhabitants cannot be too highly praised for the exertions they have made, taking in as many of the houseless poor as their houses would hold, and clothing them with their garments. This dreadful fire broke out at midnight of the 11th."

MAY.

Carlton-House, Thursday May 2.—

This evening at nine o'clock the solemnity of the marriage of her royal highness the princess Charlotte Augusta, daughter of his royal highness George Augustus Frederick prince of Wales, regent of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with his serene highness Leopold George Frederick, duke of Saxe, margrave of Meissen, landgrave of Thuringuen, prince of Cobourg of Saalfeld, was performed in the great crimson room at Carlton-House by his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of her majesty the queen, his royal highness the prince regent, their royal highnesses the dukes of York, Clarence, and Kent, their royal highnesses the princesses Augusta, Sophia, Elizabeth, and Mary, her royal highness the duchess of York, her highness the princess Sophia of Gloucester, their serene highnesses the duke and mademoiselle D'Orleans, the duke of Bour-

bon, the great officers of state, the ambassadors and ministers from foreign states; the officers of the household of her majesty the queen, of his royal highness the prince regent, and of the younger branches of the royal family, assisting at the ceremony. At the conclusion of the marriage service, the registry of the marriage was attested with the usual formalities, after which her majesty the queen, his royal highness the prince regent, the bride and bridegroom, with the rest of the royal family, retired to the royal closet. The bride and bridegroom soon after left Carlton-House for Oatlands, the seat of his royal highness the duke of York. Her majesty the queen, his royal highness the prince regent, and the rest of the royal family, passed into the great council chamber, where the great officers, nobility, foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction present, paid their compliments on the occasion. Immediately after the conclusion of the marriage, the Park and Tower guns were fired, and the evening concluded with other public demonstrations of joy throughout the metropolis.

A general order was issued from the Horse Guards, on the 10th inst., expressing the displeasure of the prince regent on the conduct of sir R. Wilson and captain Hutchinson, but declaring at the same time, that the punishment, to which they have subjected themselves, prevents his royal highness from treating them as they have deserved:—

"In the instance of major-general sir Robert Wilson (says the order) the prince regent thinks it necessary to express his high displeasure, that an officer of his standing in his majesty's service, holding the commission and receiving the pay of a major-general, should have been so

(B 2) unmindful

unmindful of what was due to his profession, as well as to the government under whose protection he had voluntarily placed himself, as to have engaged in a measure, the declared object of which was to counteract the laws, and defeat the public justice, of that country. Nor does his royal highness consider the means by which this measure was accomplished as less reprehensible than the act itself: for his royal highness cannot admit that any circumstance could justify a British officer in having obtained, under false pretences, passports in feigned names from the representative of his own sovereign, and in having made use of such passports for himself, and a subject of his most christian majesty, under sentence for high treason, disguised in a British uniform, not only to elude the vigilance of the French government, but to carry him in such disguise through the British lines.—While the prince regent cannot but consider it as a material aggravation of sir R. Wilson's offence, that, holding so high a rank in the army, he should have countenanced and encouraged an inferior officer to commit a decided and serious breach of military duty, his royal highness nevertheless thinks it equally necessary to express his high displeasure at the conduct of captain J. H. Hutchinson, for having been himself an active instrument in a transaction of so culpable a nature, more especially in a country in amity with his majesty, where the regiment, with which he was serving in the course of his military duty, formed part of an army which had been placed by the allied sovereigns under the command of the duke of Wellington, under circumstances which made it peculiarly incumbent upon every officer

of that army to abstain from any conduct which might obstruct the execution of the laws."

IRELAND.

15.—*Shanes Castle*, the ancient residence of the noble family of O'Neil, in the county of Antrim, has been destroyed. In the evening, when earl O'Neil and some friends were at dinner, one of the chimneys was discovered to be on fire, which burned until it approached near to the top, when the chimney burst, and the fire communicated with the timbers of the roof, and spread with such dreadful rapidity that the upper story was soon involved in one general conflagration. No exertions could stop the flames, and the venerable pile was reduced to a melancholy ruin. Nothing was saved but the title-deeds and valuable papers of his lordship's family, and his plate.

The Irish secretary, (Mr. Peel,) it will be recollected, declared some time since in the house of commons, that under the deplorable and alarming state of Ireland, an extensive system of education presented the *only* salutary means of civilizing the lower orders of people in that nation. It gives us the highest pleasure to hear, that about 300 Sunday schools have already been opened in different parts of Ireland, and that 30,000 children are in a way of receiving instruction therein; it is also added, that many of the Catholics show a willingness to accept the benefit of this sort of education.

23.—At a general court of proprietors of the bank of England, the governor stated that several conferences had taken place between the government and the bank on the subject of a further loan for the service of the year, the result

result of which was, that government had proposed to apply to parliament for its sanction to augment the capital of bank-stock to a sum not exceeding 15,000,000*l.*, on condition of the bank advancing for the public service a sum of 3,000,000*l.* for two years, at three per cent. per annum; government agreeing to receive the notes of the bank for all purposes of revenue, as was at present provided by the act. The governor (Mr. Harman) then read a letter from the chancellor of the exchequer, containing the proposals already alluded to; and stated that the court of directors had agreed to recommend to the court of proprietors the adoption of the following resolution:—"That this court do approve of the recommendation of the court of directors for advancing the sum of 3,000,000*l.* to government upon the terms proposed in the letter from the chancellor of the exchequer of the 1st instant, and for adding the sum of 2,910,600*l.* to the capital of bank-stock, making the whole capital 14,553,000*l.* the additional capital of 2,910,600*l.* to be apportioned amongst the proprietors at the rate of 25*l.* for every 100*l.* bank-stock which they shall this day respectively hold." The court was also called upon to authorize the court of directors to take the necessary measures for carrying into effect the said resolution, and for obtaining the sanction of parliament for that purpose.—After some observations from Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Grenfell, sir Thomas Turton, &c. the resolution was put, and carried unanimously.

The Gazette of May 25 contains a proclamation noticing that a great number of persons have, for some time past, unlawfully assembled themselves together in divers parts of the counties of Norfolk,

Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, and have circulated threatening letters and incendiary handbills, held nightly meetings, and set fire to several dwelling-houses, barns, out-buildings, and stacks of corn, and have destroyed cattle, corn, thrashing-machines, and other instruments of husbandry; and offering a reward of 100*l.* for every person who shall be convicted of any of the aforesaid penalties.—On Thursday, May 23, the main body of the insurgents were defeated at Littleport, near Ely, by the exertions of sir H. B. Dudley and the Rev. H. Law, magistrates, aided by captain Wortham's troop of yeomanry, a small detachment of the 1st dragoons commanded by captain Methuen, and a few of the disbanded militia, who were armed from the county depôt by lieutenant Woolert. The rioters soon began to fire upon the magistrates and the troops from barricaded houses near the river, when the latter were ordered to fire into them. The insurgents soon began to fly from every part of the town over the fens, and were pursued in every direction: two of them only were killed (one of them a ringleader) and a few wounded; upwards of 100 were taken prisoners to Ely. Some outrages have also been repressed at Norwich by the spirited exertions of the magistrates, and the steady conduct of the dragoon guards and the West Norfolk militia. Two of the rioters have been committed to gaol. Symptoms of disturbance have also shown themselves at Cambridge and in the neighbourhood of Manchester: but the vigilance of the magistrates, and the prompt assistance afforded by government, leave no apprehension of any serious consequence from these tumultuous assemblages.

(B 3) France.

FRANCE.

Count Vaublanc, the minister of the interior, has retired; and is succeeded by Laine, the president of the chamber of deputies; and Barbe Marbois is succeeded, as keeper of the seals and minister of justice, by the chancellor of France, Dambray.

The two chambers of parliament were on the 29th ult. suddenly prorogued till October next (before getting through the whole of the public business).

Among the trials before the court of justice at Paris, there is one which excites particular interest, as being connected with the private history of Bonaparte. On the 21st of June 1815, through his brother Joseph, he sent for a broker, and, by his means, got possession of 29,000*l.* sterling of the public money of France; for which he received drafts on a house in London, which drafts were paid while Bonaparte was on board the *Bellerophon*. The object seems to be to make the French broker refund the money.

ITALY.

The pope has declared to the king of the Netherlands, that the toleration of several religions is contrary to the principles of the Catholic church—the holy father thus supports the Belgian Catholic bishops in their opposition to the tolerant views of their sovereign.

JUNE.

4.—The new bridge over the Severn at Gloucester was opened to the public. The first stone of this noble arch was laid on the 17th of July last, and since that time, more than 6000 tons of stone have been used in its erection. The ascent on each side is gentle, and the view up the Westgate-street and of the surrounding country peculiarly beautiful.

13.—A numerous meeting assembled at the Mansion-house, on the invitation of the lord mayor, for the purpose of promoting the objects of the society for superseding the employment of climbing boys in sweeping chimneys. Mr. Tooke, the treasurer of the society, stated what had been already done to accomplish the purpose of the institution; and pointed out the advantage of a mechanical invention recommended by the society for sweeping chimneys. Sir Francis Burdett announced his intention of proposing a bill to parliament for preventing the employment of boys. A master chimney-sweep made an ingenious appeal to the meeting in vindication of his fellow-tradesmen from the charge of inhumanity, imputing the miseries of the wretched children employed in his trade, to the very nature of the business in which they were engaged. Various resolutions were agreed to, relating to the details of the society; and an exhibition was made of the proposed machine, which seemed admirably calculated for the intended purpose.

17.—This day, at 10 o'clock, the hon. Mr. justice Abbot, Mr. justice Burroughs, and Ed. Christian, esq. chief justice of the isle of Ely, arrived at Ely, and immediately repaired to the court-house, where they opened a special commission for the trial of the persons charged with having riotously assembled and committed various felonies at Littleport and Ely. The commission having been read, the judges proceeded to the cathedral, where divine service was performed, and a sermon preached by the rev. sir H. B. Dudley. The court re-assembled at one o'clock, and the preliminary business being concluded, and the grand jury sworn, Mr. justice

tice Abbot addressed them in a luminous speech on the nature of the offences to be presented to them. The grand jury then retired, and the court adjourned.—The calendar consisted of 82 persons. The trials were concluded on Friday; and on Saturday, June 22, judgement of death was passed on 24 prisoners, convicted of capital offences. Mr. justice Abbot then addressed them to the following effect: "Prisoners at the bar,—You stand here, 24 persons in number, a melancholy example to all who are here present, and to all your country, of the sad effects of indulging in those brutal and violent passions by which you all appear to have been actuated in the commission of the crimes of which you have been convicted. You seem to have thought, that by your own strength, and your own threats, you should not only be able to oppress and intimidate your peaceable neighbours, but even to resist the strong arm of the law itself. How vain that thought, your present situation shows. It was suggested abroad, that you had been induced to perpetrate these violent outrages by hard necessity and want; but, after attending closely and strictly to the whole tenour of the evidence, which has occupied the attention of the court for several days, there has not appeared in the condition, circumstances, or behaviour of any one of you, any reason to suppose that you were instigated by distress. By what motive, or under what mistaken advice or disposition, you began to act in the way you did, is best, and, perhaps, only known to God and your own consciences. The preservation not only of the good order and peace of society, the preservation of life itself, imperiously calls upon the court to de-

clare, that many of you must expect to undergo the full sentence of the law. It is some consolation to the court to be able to say, that in attending to and distinguishing the cases of each particular individual, we have found in many of them circumstances which will warrant us in giving to many of you a hope that your lives will be saved. The gentlemen of the jury have pointed out some of you to our attention, and in so doing they have acted with that merciful disposition and accurate discrimination which they have shown throughout the whole of your trials. Such of you whose lives may, perhaps, be saved by the crown—that power alone on earth who can save them—must not expect that you shall be dismissed from your offences without undergoing some severe punishment. Many of you must expect to be sent away for a greater or less portion of time, and a few even for the whole period of their lives, from that country whose peace they have thus disturbed, and which they have thus disgraced. Human justice, however it may be administered, as it is always in this country with mercy, requires that some of you should undergo the full sentence, in order that others should be deterred from following the example of your crimes." Mr. justice Abbot then severally addressed William Bea-miss the elder, George Crow, John Dennis, Isaac Harley, and Thomas South the younger; exhorting them to prepare for their sentence, and to apply themselves by penitence and prayer to obtain from Heaven the pardon of their crimes.—The prisoners were deeply affected with their situation, and were taken from the bar in an agony of grief.

The remainder of the prisoners having been put to the bar, Mr,

(B4) Gurney

Gurney stated, that he was instructed on the part of the crown not to prefer any prosecution against them. They were therefore immediately discharged by proclamation. The court then rose, and the special commission was concluded.

A copy of the treaty of marriage between the princess Charlotte of Wales and the prince of Cobourg has just been laid before parliament. It grants them jointly while living 60,000*l.* per annum, 10,000*l.* of which goes to her royal highness as pin money, independently of her husband's control. If she becomes a widow, she will have the whole 60,000*l.* If he becomes a widower, he will have 50,000*l.* The eldest child, being presumptive heir to the throne, must be educated as the king directs. The following article we copy at length :—

“ Art. V. It is understood and agreed that her royal highness princess Charlotte Augusta shall not, at any time, leave the United Kingdom, without the permission in writing, of his majesty, or of the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, and without her royal highness's own consent.—And in the event of her royal highness being absent from this country, in consequence of the permission of his majesty, or of the prince regent, or of her own consent, such residence abroad shall in no case be protracted beyond the term approved by his majesty, or the prince regent, and consented to by her royal highness. And it shall be competent for her royal highness to return to this country before the expiration of such term, either in consequence of directions for that purpose, in writing, from his majesty, or from the prince regent, or at her own pleasure.”

The treaty of marriage is signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the first lord of the treasury, the chancellor of the exchequer, the three secretaries of state, the president of the council, and on the part of the husband, by baron de Just.

The commissioners of woods and forests have finally determined to purchase Claremont, for the princess Charlotte and the prince of Saxe Cobourg, for 69,000*l.* The bargain was concluded at Esher, where surveyors on the part of the commissioners and of Charles Rose Ellis, esq. the proprietor, had been employed for several days before. Mr. Ellis, it is said, gave for the estate 53,000*l.* but his purchase included several valuable farms, which he still retains. In his fortunate bargain the house and grounds were estimated at less than half that sum : and they were on sale a few years since at the price of 36,000*l.* The park consists of 200 acres, ornamented with a profusion of stately timber ; and the illustrious couple are to have with it the manors of Esher and Milbourne, with a house on the edge of the park, which was occupied by the late Mr. justice Hardinge. Five of the farms immediately adjoining the park, being abundantly stocked with game, are to be leased by Mr. Ellis to the prince of Cobourg.

STATUE OF MR. FOX.

19.—This day a statue of the late Mr. Fox was erected in Bloomsbury-square. The work consists simply of a statue of Mr. Fox, of colossal dimensions, being to a scale of nine feet in height, executed in bronze, and elevated upon a pedestal of granite, surmounting a spacious base, formed of several steps or gradations. The whole is about

about 17 feet in height. Dignity and repose appear to have been the leading objects of the artist's ideas; he has adopted a sitting position, and habited the statue in the consular robe, the ample folds of which, passing over the body, and falling from the seat, give breadth and effect to the whole; the right arm is extended, the hand supporting Magna Charta; the left is in repose: the head is inclined rather forward, expressive of attention, firmness, and complacency: the likeness of Mr. Fox is perfect and striking. The inscription, which is in letters of bronze, is "Charles James Fox, erected M.DCCC.XVI." This statue, and the statue of the late duke of Bedford, by the same artist (Westmacott), at the other extremity of Bedford-place, form two grand and beautiful ornaments of the metropolis.

27.—The quadrangle of the New Penitentiary, at Milbank, is completed. The governor, with the task-masters and mistresses, &c. have taken possession of their apartments. The rooms in which the convicts will reside, are as comfortable as can be expected by individuals who have forfeited their claim to remain at large; they are about 12 feet by 6, lofty, with an arch. Each cell is furnished with an iron bedstead, a mattress, a coarse sheet, pair of blankets, bolster, and a rug; also a table with a drawer in it, and a chair. The windows are glazed inside, and iron rails or bars outside. The whole of them are warmed by means of flues placed in the passages, and proper measures are adopted to insure regular ventilation. The rooms all look towards the centre of a circle (which is divided by brick walls into court yards for exercise), where the principal task-

master resides, and commands a complete view of all that is doing. A chapel is also erecting, which, when the whole is completed, will form the centre of the building. Women are to act as turnkeys to the female prisoners, and all communication with the male convicts will be entirely prevented.—This morning, at three o'clock, 40 female convicts under sentence of transportation were brought in caravans, chained, from Newgate to Blackfriars-bridge, and there put on board a barge stationed for their reception, and conveyed by water to Milbank; when they were conducted by a strong party of the police into the yard allotted for them; after which, each was shown to her respective cell, which are all numbered. They are to be classed, and such as do not know how to read are to be taught; and are to go to chapel daily. They are to be kept to work: one-eighth of their earnings will be given to each prisoner on being discharged, but none during their imprisonment: one-third will be appropriated for their task-masters, as a remuneration for their trouble, and the remainder to pay the turnkeys, &c.

Waterloo Bridge, heretofore called the Strand Bridge.—In an act of parliament, just passed, the following clause has been introduced:—“Whereas the said bridge, when completed, will be a work of great stability and magnificence, and such works are adapted to transmit to posterity the remembrance of great and glorious achievements; and whereas the company of proprietors are desirous that a designation shall be given to the said bridge, which shall be a lasting record of the brilliant and decisive victory achieved by his majesty's forces, in conjunction with those of his allies, on the
18th

18th day of June 1815: Be it therefore further enacted, that, from and after the passing of this act, the said bridge shall be called and denominated 'The Waterloo Bridge,' and shall cease to be called by the name of the Strand Bridge; and the said company shall also, from and after the passing of this act, be called by the name and style of 'The Company of Proprietors of the Waterloo Bridge.'"

From the report of The national society for the education of the poor, whose anniversary meeting was held on the 31st of May at the central school, Baldwin's Gardens, it appears that during the last year 2000*l.* had been contributed towards the funds of the institution; that the central school is in the highest state of proficiency; that 85 masters and 72 mistresses have been trained in it during the year, for schools in the country; and that 217 schools have been benefited within the same period, either by the temporary or permanent assistance of these agents of the institution: that within the same period 192 schools, containing upwards of 17,000 children, have been received into union; and that considerable grants of money have been made in aid of the erection of schools, by which seasonable encouragement 50 school-rooms have been either built or enlarged; that the society's grand total of schools and children, under national instruction, now amounts, the former to 726, and the latter to 117,000; and that beyond our own coasts, in Ireland, British America, the Cape of Good Hope, and very recently in the presidency of Bombay, establishments have been formed for the diffusion of the system.

The report of The society for promoting Christian knowledge, read at its last anniversary meeting, gave

general satisfaction. So extensive have been its exertions, that not less than 1,200,000 books were distributed by it during the last year: of which 67,000 were prayer-books, and 64,000 bibles and testaments, exclusively of its family bible, of which 15,000 have been sold. Through these exertions, however, its disbursements have exceeded its receipts by 3,000*l.*

The British and Foreign Bible Society celebrated their twelfth anniversary, at Freemasons' Hall, with a very numerous and respectable attendance. The report was read only in parts, the transactions of the society throughout the world having become too numerous to be detailed at a public meeting. It appears that the copies of the scriptures issued in the last year are, 138,168 bibles, and 110,068 testaments; making a grand total, since the formation of the society, of one million, five hundred and fifty-seven thousand, nine hundred and seventy-three! The total receipts of the last year have been 92,866*l.*, and the expenditure 103,686*l.*

PARIS COURT OF ASSIZE.

The following extraordinary trial of a woman, named Caroline Leruth, was decided on the 14th instant. She was charged with having stabbed the *Sieur Delacour* with a sharp instrument, with an intention of putting him to death. It appeared from the confession of the woman, as well as that of *Delacour* himself, that this unfortunate man, being tired of his life, met the woman in the garden of the *Thuilleries*, entered into conversation with her, took her to dine with him, accompanied her afterwards to her lodging, communicated to her his desperate intention of committing suicide, and offered her a large sum of money

money to kill him; she refused to perpetrate the horrid deed, although she was in great distress; he made her drink a quantity of wine, in order to deprive her of her senses, with the hope that while in a state of intoxication she might be prevailed on to do the act; he gave her his note for 1000 francs, and his watch. He then took her along with him to the Boulevards, where she still persisted in refusing to put him to death. He then sat down by a tree, took hold of her hand, put a sharp knife into it, and forced her hand, together with the knife, against his belly, which the knife entered. These were the principal facts of the case. The jury found Caroline Leruth guilty of having wounded Delacour, and sentenced her to ten years' solitary confinement.

GERMANY.

A great inundation happened lately near Szegedin, in Hungary, which caused extraordinary damage: above 1500 houses in the town have fallen in, the foundations having been undermined by the water.

RUSSIA.

Moscow, the sacred city, has risen with so much splendour from its ruins, that on Palm Sunday, it is computed, there were more than 800 equipages on the promenade.

From a letter addressed by P. C. Tupper, esq. His Britannic majesty's consul-general at Barcelona, &c. and agent for Lloyd's, it appears that three Spanish vessels have arrived at Carthagea from Oran; the captains of which report, that on the 16th of May an English brig, loading at Oran, was seized by the Moors, and the captain and crew, with the English vice-consul, sent prisoners to Algiers. On the 17th or 18th two

Gibraltar vessels arrived at or near Oran, and shared the same fate. The Spaniards, informed the same thing was likely to happen to them, immediately left the place to the number of eleven vessels, leaving all their property behind them: the three vessels arrived at Carthagea are part of the eleven escaped as above said. The captains also report, that it was given out at Oran, that these measures had been adopted in consequence of orders received from Algiers.—This is another convincing proof, that these barbarians pay no respect to treaties, and shows the absolute necessity of the European powers uniting to crush the unprincipled robbers, and to extinguish their maritime means of annoyance; since lord Exmouth's negotiation has proved abortive.

The following is a copy of a letter from R. Oglander, esq. consul-general at Tunis:

"Sir,—Since your departure we have experienced another alarm in consequence of the revolt of the Turkish soldiery in the pay and service of this regency. Their first object, it appears, was, to effect a change in the government—or rather to destroy it altogether as it is at present established: with this view, they endeavoured to seize the bey and his eldest son for the purpose of killing them. At the same time they offered to elect the bey's brother as the bey, or chief person in the government, and the younger son as general of the camp. It is understood, that this proposal was made merely to obtain possession of their persons also; as the Turks had resolved, after a few days to destroy them; and then to elect among themselves a bey, as in Algiers, from their own body. In this object they totally failed; the bey's family among

among themselves having agreed, and rejected the offers made to them. A part of the Turks then put in execution their second plan, that of seizing the goletta and the corsairs then in the roads, ready for sea: here success completely attended their undertaking; and having on the 3d instant attacked and entered (at night) the goletta, they kept it till the next day twelve o'clock; when, after spiking the guns, and destroying some of the gunpowder, arms, &c. &c. they precipitately threw themselves on board five of the government corsairs (three schooners, a brig, and a zebec), and made all sail, as it is conceived, for the Levant, with a fair wind for that quarter. It is said here, that had it not been for the unexpected arrival of the Euphrates frigate, which greatly alarmed the Turks, they would certainly, before their departure, have destroyed the bey's fleet, arsenal, and the goleta—at least, such they announced to be their intention. I hope the people on board these vessels will, on their way to the Levant, commit no act of piracy.

"R. OGLANDER.

"Rear-ad. sir C. Penrose, Malta.

"P. S. Rassani-Morasi and the bey's two principal pachas have been carried to the Levant by the mutinous Turks."

The following authentic particulars have been communicated, in a letter dated June 8, to Lloyd's, of horrible atrocities committed at Bona, a small sea-port between Algiers and Tunis, produced, it is said, by the discontent at the treaty between lord Exmouth and the dey of Algiers.

"We informed you, on the 6th instant, of the horrid insurrection at Bona on the 23d ult. against the Christians, which we are sorry

to say is confirmed. It appears from private letters, that on Ascension-day about 700 marines belonging to the crews of the coral fishing-boats, under English and French colours, had landed that morning to go to church; when all on a sudden a great number of armed Turks and Bedouins entered the church, and began to kill and slaughter all those that were not lucky enough to effect their escape on board. It is said that the governor endeavoured to oppose with his force what resistance he could; and that Mr. Escudero, in endeavouring to appease the furious bands, was mortally wounded. The number of victims that have been cut off is not yet known.

AMERICA.

Letters from Philadelphia and Baltimore give a melancholy statement of the commercial distresses in those parts. Failures were daily taking place, and the greatest distrust existed among the merchants.

Letters from New York represent the markets in the United States as completely glutted with British goods; merchandise advantageously purchased in England lost 17 per cent. on the prime cost, besides additional charges of 45 per cent. So great is the stagnation of trade, that but very few of the merchant-vessels are employed.

The Barbadoes Mercury of the 30th April, and various letters of that date, brought accounts of a lamentable insurrection which had agitated that island. The plot broke out on Easter Sunday; but the most prompt measures were taken for its suppression. So early as two o'clock on the following morning the island was placed under martial law. The militia and troops

troops from the garrison instantly marched against the slaves, who, in large bodies, were plundering and burning the plantations in the interior. The latter were soon dispersed; many killed on the spot; and still greater numbers tried and executed, in virtue of orders issued by the president of the island. Notice was sent of these occurrences to general sir James Leith at Guadeloupe, who instantly embarked in a French schooner of war, and reached Barbadoes on the 24th of April; and on the 26th issued an address of exhortation to the disaffected, and of encouragement to the faithful part of the slave population. In this address he says, "It appearing that the late insurrection of slaves in the parishes of St. Philip, St. George, Christ Church, and St. John, was principally caused by the misrepresentation and instigation of ill-disposed persons, who have been endeavouring to induce a belief that the slaves were actually made free, but that their manumissions were improperly withheld from them; I think it my duty at once to remove all misconception on a subject of so great importance for the tranquillity of this colony, and for the well-being of the slaves themselves." The result of all these measures was, that on the 30th of April sir James was enabled to issue another proclamation, declaring the insurrection at an end. No less than twenty estates in one parish had sustained an almost entire destruction of houses and cane-fields; and the number of negroes killed and executed has been calculated at little short of a thousand. [Some private accounts state, that sixty-seven sugar estates were completely destroyed, and about two thousand of the negroes, &c. killed.] A very large proportion of the slaves, how-

ever, rallied round their masters, and contributed their efforts to reduce their misguided countrymen. The property destroyed is supposed by some to be of 150,000*l.* value; whilst others mention a much larger sum.

The white population of Barbadoes is considerably greater, in proportion to its size, than any other of the West India islands. The negroes of Barbadoes are as 4 to 1 of the white people; whilst in Jamaica they are as 11 to 1; in Antigua as 10 to 1; and at St. Kitt's nearly as 30 to 1;—and on an average throughout the whole of the West India islands, as 10 to 1 of the white population.

JULY.

13.—This evening a meeting of the inhabitants of Walthamstow and Leyton in Essex took place, for the purpose of promoting in those parishes the general use of machines to cleanse chimneys, instead of employing children to climb them. The notice summoning the inhabitants was signed by the rev. Edward Conyers (vicar of Walthamstow), rev. William Sparrow (curate), and rev. Charles Laprimaudaye (vicar of Leyton). The meeting was attended by several families of the neighbourhood; the number of persons present, including children, was about 80, or more, and the result was greatly favourable to the cause. The resolutions passed were—1. That, in consideration of the various complicated miseries to which children are liable who are employed to sweep chimneys, it is the opinion of this meeting that such practice should be abolished, and that it is expedient measures should be immediately taken in the parishes of Walthamstow and Leyton to promote

promote the use of machines for that purpose. 2. That this meeting views with pleasure the exertions lately made in London by the chief magistrate, and the society for superseding the necessity of climbing boys, &c. for the prevention of employing children to climb and sweep chimneys. 3. That a subscription be opened for defraying the expenses attending the endeavours to abolish the practice of employing children to climb chimneys in these parishes, and that a committee be now chosen for promoting the objects of this meeting. 4. That it be an instruction and recommendation to the committee, to take into their consideration the situation of any infant children who may, by the introduction and recommendation of the present measure, be thrown out of employment; and promote their future welfare, by first attending to their health, and afterwards to their future prospects in life. 5. That the resolutions passed this day be transmitted to the society for superseding the necessity of climbing-boys: and also that they be inserted in the papers of this county, and such others as the committee may think fit. 6. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for his polite attention to the business of the meeting.

17.—The town of Spilsby was visited by an awful thunder-storm. The rain, with hail, poured down in torrents for nearly two hours. At Aswardby, near Spilsby, Mrs. Ailsby, wife of Mr. Barkwith Ailsby, was instantly killed as she was taking bread from the oven; the electric fluid descended down the chimney, split the same below the roof of the house, broke the windows, and melted the lead. At East Keal, the peas and beans in

the garden of Mr. Parker, brick-maker, were literally torn up by the roots. It is supposed that the hail-stones lay more than 18 inches deep. On the same day, during a violent thunder-storm, the inhabitants of Wath, Yorkshire, were alarmed by the fall of an immense body of water (supposed from the breaking of a cloud) in the Schoof Field near that place; which making its way into the village with great velocity, carried every thing before it. Several acres of turnips, and many tons of earth, were completely swept from the neighbouring fields. A strong wall behind Mr. Turner's premises was forced down, and many of the houses were inundated to the depth of six feet.

18.—The Semaphor began working between the Admiralty and Chatham. The communications by this means very far surpass the Telegraph recently in use, both in celerity and perspicuity. One among the great advantages obtained, is, the distinctness of observing the apparatus from one station to another, which is accounted for from the late one being of a square form, and thereby holding the density of the atmosphere, and the present being simply an upright hollow mast. The telegraph, it is well known, consisted of six shutters, or flaps, and could not by any means produce one hundred combinations. So superior are the powers possessed by this machine, that with only two arms it produces not merely letters and words, but whole sentences, and upwards of two thousand different symbols.—The public are indebted to admiral sir Home Popham for the improvement and adoption of this important invention.

21.—A tremendous storm of thunder and lightning, with heavy rain,

rain, was experienced in Lancashire and the adjoining counties. The electric fluid struck a public-house near Tockholes, which it greatly damaged, and killed the landlord.—About three o'clock in the afternoon, at Longpark, after a considerable deal of thunder and lightning, a dense whitish cloud was observable, apparently about Barrock, which advanced with great rapidity, and, on its nearer approach, presented the appearance of the waves of the sea tumultuously rolling over each other. This phenomenon was doubtless occasioned by the hail composing the body of the cloud, and whirled along by the hurricane which enveloped it. On reaching Longpark, a scene of desolation commenced: within ten minutes a most tremendous volley of pieces of ice, some of them an inch in diameter, shattered the windows of the houses, tore up the turf, beat down the vegetable products of the earth, and did great and extensive damage. Mr. James had the whole of his crop of barley, oats, &c. completely cut down as with a scythe; more than half the produce of the inhabitants of the village is lost. The like destruction occurred in the neighbourhood, and a few houses were unroofed. At Whaldub about 14 acres of barley were entirely destroyed, besides other injuries. At Parkbroom, Walby, &c. the garden vegetables were nearly all destroyed. The same afternoon the hurricane visited Longtown and the neighbourhood. At Nethesby upwards of 700 panes of glass were broken in the hot-houses of sir James Graham, bart.; and sixty squares in the house were driven in with great violence by the hailstones. A particularly large tree at Kirkandrews-upon-Esk, and more

in the neighbourhood, were completely torn up by the roots. The country about Scaleby and Kirklington also experienced the severity of the storm to a violent degree. The good folks near Foldtown began to pray in earnest, thinking the Italian astronomer's predictions were about to be fulfilled.

The same day the town and neighbourhood of Stafford were visited by one of the heaviest hailstorms, with vivid lightning and loud peals of thunder, in the recollection of the oldest inhabitants. Great quantities of hay were carried off by the torrent, and much more has been entirely spoiled. A labourer of Mr. Lyçets of Shallowford lost his life in endeavouring to save some hay. This storm has done even greater damage in the town of Stone and the neighbourhood. The streets were in many parts four feet deep in water; and a small house was washed away by the flood. The vinery of H. Booth, esq. of Clayton, sustained considerable damage. In one garden on the Marsh every thing was crushed as if the roller had been passed over it. At Hatfield, J. Routledge was struck by the lightning, but is likely to recover: his horse was killed. The rain poured down in torrents for the space of nearly two hours.

On the 23d and 24th an immense fall of rain was experienced at Brown-hills, Norton, and Longdon, near Lichfield. In the former place, the heath on the waste lands and elevations was forced up by the roots. The thunder was heavy, accompanied by gusts of wind, and partial spouts of rain, as though poured from solid masses of water. At Norton, the thunder was the heaviest and most alarming ever known. At Longdon, the deluge had

had all the appearance of a water-spout; and the most frightful vestiges of its effects are traced through the whole neighbourhood. A servant of John Atkinson, esq. of Maple Hays, near Lichfield, was killed by the lightning on Thursday evening, the 25th, at Lemonsley. The thunder was tremendously heavy.

At the recent sale of Mr. Hope's pictures, the exquisite work of the "Woman taken in adultery," by Rubens, was purchased by J. P. Miles, esq. of Bristol, for 2000 guineas. The whole collection of pictures sold for about 15,000*l*.

In Glasgow, one of the curiosities shown to strangers, and one of the greatest curiosities in Britain, is a cow-house, set up on his own plan, by a Mr. Buchannan, an old but a very skilful and successful master-weaver. In this cow-house are kept constantly about 300 cows in the neatest, most clean, and healthy order. The house (one room) is a square building, the roof supported in the centre by iron pillars. The floor is boarded, washed clean, and sanded. Small long stages, about a foot above the floor, are erected, each containing perhaps twenty cows. These stages are just as wide as the cow is long, and behind the cow is a trough to carry away what falls from it. They are kept two and two together, are fed regularly with grass of some kind, and watered; women attend upon them and groom them as men do horses; but during the nine months they are in milk they never change their situation. They live upon about six square feet each: yet their skins are always sleek and silky, and they are fat and beautiful. The moment they become dry, they are sold to the butcher, for whom they are highly fit. The owner has a

man or two travelling about the country purchasing new ones coming into milk; the owner, too, keeps a farm, which the cows' manure enables him to dress well. In this way the business goes on like clock-work, it being but secondary to his weaving trade, and has gone on for eight years—no bustle, no confusion; and he sells his grass-milk for half the price the Londoners sell their nauseous mixture, though land is dearer around Glasgow than around London.

23.—This evening the ceremonial of the marriage of the princess Mary to the duke of Gloucester took place. The ministers of state, foreign ambassadors, and the rest of the company invited to witness the nuptial ceremony, began to arrive soon after seven at the Queen's palace, in the grand saloon of which a temporary altar was erected close to the throne; and the crimson velvet and gold lace of the hangings, together with a costly display of massy communion plate, presented a very magnificent spectacle. The palace was brilliantly illuminated, and the grand staircase had all the state arrangements usual on drawing-room days. The princess Sophia of Gloucester went in state. At twenty minutes past eight o'clock the duke of Gloucester arrived in state, with his suite, in two carriages. The duke and duchess of York followed immediately. At half-past eight the prince regent arrived, accompanied by the duke of Clarence and his attendants. At a quarter before nine prince Leopold arrived with his suite. Soon after, the arrangements in the grand saloon being completed, the lord chamberlain retired, and introduced the duke of Gloucester, and presented him to the altar. He then retired again, and, with the duke of Cambridge,

Cambridge, introduced the princess Mary; and the royal duke presented her royal highness to the prince regent. The formal document of the royal assent, signed with the great seal, being shown to the archbishop of Canterbury, that prelate assisted by the bishop of London proceeded to perform the solemn ceremony, and the prince regent gave away the princess in marriage to the duke of Gloucester. At about a quarter past nine the guns fired as a signal that the marriage was concluded; and the princess Mary, after giving her hand to be kissed by the female attendants of the queen and princesses, retired with her husband and the rest of the royal family to the private apartments of the queen. In the mean time a profusion of choice refreshments was served to the company, among whom the queen soon re-appeared, with most of her family, to receive their congratulations. At a quarter before ten o'clock, the bride having taken off her wedding-robes, and put on for her travelling-dress a white satin pelisse and bonnet, came leaning on the arm of the prince regent, followed by the duke of Cambridge, who both saluted their royal sister, and handed her into the travelling-chaise at the side door of the palace: the royal brothers then embraced the duke of Gloucester, who stepped into the carriage, and the new-married pair drove off to Bagshot, amidst the buzzes of an immense multitude, the band meanwhile playing *God save the King*. The pleasant old custom of distributing wedding cake was not forgotten on this auspicious occasion.

Long investigations have taken place at Bow-street, lately, to sift out a conspiracy of a novel and most atrocious description. Vaughan, 1816.

the Bow-street patrol, is charged with employing four others to entice young thieves to commit burglaries; and after arranging the plan, Vaughan lies in wait to apprehend them, in order that they may be brought to trial and convicted, and he and his accomplices share the 40*l.* per man conviction money. Two of the accomplices, named Drake and Mackay, have disclosed the particulars of several burglaries thus executed: others are expected to be developed.

CHEPSTOW BRIDGE.

31.—This elegant structure was opened with great ceremony this day. A very numerous company of magistrates and gentlemen afterwards dined together at the Beaufort Arms. The number of persons present at the ceremony was estimated at 4000, and it is supposed there could not have been less than 2500 upon the bridge at one time. The bridge consists of five arches, formed of cast iron, and raised upon stone piers, the two largest of which are 18 feet thick, 40 feet long, and 34 feet high; the two smaller ones are of the same height, 10 feet thick, and 33 feet long. The dimensions of the arches, which together occupy a space of 372 feet in length, are as follow: centre arch, span 112 feet; rise or versed sine, 13 feet; height from low-water mark, 58 feet: the two arches on each side of the centre, span 70 feet, and rise 10 feet 9 inches; the two small arches, span 34 feet, and rise 7 feet 3 inches. The extreme length of the bridge is 177 yards 1 foot; and the width is 20 feet in the clear, including footpaths on each side of 3 feet wide. The foundation stone was laid on the 13th April 1816, and the work has been completed in a period of less than
(C) fifteen

fifteen months and a half. The whole is a very considerable ornament to Chepstow, and reflects the highest credit upon the persons who conducted the business. The difficulty of the above undertaking may be judged from the rapidity and height of the tides; the flood-tide frequently running with a velocity of seven or eight knots an hour; and it has been known, in the course of the work, to have removed stones of a ton and a half weight. On the 28th of March 1815, the tide rose to a perpendicular height, from low water mark, of 51 feet 2 inches.

FRANCE.

The period of the imprisonment of sir Robert Wilson, captain Hutchinson, and Mr. Bruce, having expired, these gentlemen have been set at liberty. Captain Hutchinson immediately left Paris to rejoin his regiment, and the other two gentlemen may be expected in England within a week.

A company has been formed in Paris for supplying that city with water, in the manner in which it is conveyed to every house in London, and with iron pipes. The king of France has granted them an exclusive privilege for 99 years. The establishment, we are told, has been chiefly formed upon British capital. The order, it is said, will amount to a quantity, which, in one length, would exceed 300 miles; and not only are British capital and labour to be thus employed in the enterprise, but British skill also: our iron-works are to manufacture the pipes.

NETHERLANDS.

Some whimsical circumstances are related in the foreign papers, of the terror produced by the Bologna prophecy of the end of the world.

Amongst others, an affair that happened on the 11th at Ghent appears the most ludicrous:—The trumpets of a regiment of cavalry there having sounded, according to custom, about nine in the evening, and there happening to be a thunder-storm at the time, three-fourths of the inhabitants precipitately quitted their houses, and were found on their knees in the streets and public places, imagining they had heard the seventh trumpet spoken of in the Revelation, announcing the day of judgement; and some time elapsed before they could be tranquillized. At Liege also, on the same day, the people were terribly frightened, in consequence of an enormous mass of clouds appearing, or supposed to appear, in the shape of a huge mountain over the city.

SWITZERLAND.

The weather in several parts of the continent has been such, that in England we should rather rejoice at our exemption, than complain of our sufferings. From all parts of Europe there are accounts of the dreadful ravages of storm and tempest, of lightning, thunder, and rain. These ravages have not been partial; every kingdom has had its share in the dreadful visitation. Switzerland appears to have been more afflicted than any other country. The canton of Glaris is represented to be in the last degree of misery and want. The Birs and Birsig have broken their banks, carried away the bridges, and inundated large tracts. The canton of Basle is in a dreadful state. In the plains, the grain, and every other produce of the earth, is under water. In Germany the destruction is nearly as great. In Saxony, in the grand duchy of Wurtzburg, the husband-

husbandman is in utter despair. Turkey, Hungary, Italy, and the whole of the Eastern part of Europe, have suffered largely.

AMERICA.

The weather this year has been equally unseasonable almost every where. In America it has proved no less extraordinary than in Europe. There they have had snow about the middle of last month; in Albany and Bennington it had fallen to the depth of an inch and a half. In that vicinity much damage had been done by the frost. From New York it is stated, under date of the 15th of June, that the cold weather, and even frosts, continued: in the upper part of the state large icicles were pending, and the foliage of the forests was blasted by the frost.

In British manufactures, almost the only article of demand at New York was British fine cloths; and so great was the deficiency, that the price of a coat was ten guineas; hats of good quality were at ten dollars. Trade was not in such a state of total stagnation as it is in some situations of Europe; but the floating capital by which it was supported, is in a great measure withdrawn by the inordinate appetite to involve money in the new national bank, from shares in which all foreigners have been excluded. Notwithstanding this circumstance, a large capital has been engaged in the East India trade; and the small port of Salem alone has equipped 26 ships on this remote destination. In the whole, 115 vessels from republican ports are employed in that commerce, under most advantageous circumstances; and many of them are now at Amsterdam, Hamburg, and other European ports, with return cargoes. Great profits

had been derived from agriculture; and produce generally in America is very high. The flour, the growth of the United States, now obtains at Cadiz between ten and eleven dollars a barrel.

Martial law, at the last accounts, was still enforced at Barbadoes. Numbers of negroes had been shot and destroyed, and a great many more remained to be executed.

AUGUST.

1.—The new pier at Margate is at length completed. This useful and ornamental work has been accomplished under the direction of Daniel Jarvis, esq. who first proposed it, and by unwearied perseverance has brought the undertaking to a successful termination. The inhabitants have united to express their gratitude and esteem for his gratuitous services, by presenting to him an elegant service of plate.

The following is a description of the immense mortar, which was fixed on the 12th of August in St. James's-park, and of the circumstances relating to its transmission to England. During the war in the Peninsula, the city of Cadiz was bombarded from a distance previously supposed to be beyond the range of projectiles; a circumstance which attached so much consequence to the ordnance employed and left by marshal Soult on his retreat, as to induce the Spanish regency to send one of the mortars to the prince regent, intrusting it to rear-admiral Legge, who was instructed by the president, the duke del Infantado, to request it might be placed in one of the royal parks. His royal highness was pleased to accede to this request, and directed the mortar to be suitably placed on the parade of the Horse Guards, to record the glorious victory gained

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at Salamanca; the consequent liberation of the south of Spain, and in honour of the duke of Wellington, to whom both countries were indebted for it. His royal highness commanded the earl of Mulgrave to direct a carriage to be prepared for the purpose, in the royal carriage department at Woolwich.—Description of the carriage: An emblem has been selected (in allegorical allusion to the means by which the siege of Cadiz was terminated) from the labours of Hercules, who destroyed the monster Geryon, the tyrant of the Isle of Gades, thus figuratively describing the raising of the siege, and to illustrate the fame of the hero who had broken the enchantment of the

modern Geryon. Some liberties have been taken with the principal figure in substituting wings for the heads; the tails twist round to the vent in order to convey the scorpion fire. The heads of the tyrant's guardian dog are represented in the alternate state of activity and repose, to denote eternal watchfulness. The mortar is left as it was found, being mounted on its carriage at an elevation of 45 degrees, upon a bed of brass representing a rock on which the monster has alighted. Dimensions: Length of the bed, 9 feet 2 inches; breadth of ditto, 4 feet 6 inches; general height, 9 feet 10 inches; weight of the whole 16 tons.

INSCRIPTION ON THE SIDES OF THE BED.

Devictis à Wellington Duce prope Salamancam Gallis,
Solutaque exinde Gadium obediōne, hanc quam aspiciis
Basi superimpositam Bombardam, vi præditam adhuc inaudita,
Ad urbem portumque Gaditanum destruendum conflata,
Et à copiis turbatis relictam, Cortes Hispanici, pristinum haudquaquam
Beneficiorum obliti, summæ venerationis testimonio donaverunt
Georgio Illius, Brit. Princ.
Qui, in perpetuam rei memoriam, hoc loco ponendam, et his
Ornamentis decorandam, jussit.

To commemorate
the raising of the siege of Cadiz, in consequence of the
Glorious victory obtained by the
Duke of Wellington
over the French near Salamanca, on the 22d July 1812:
This Mortar, cast for the destruction of that great port,
with powers surpassing all others,
and abandoned by the besiegers on their retreat,
was presented as a token of respect and gratitude by the
Spanish Nation,
To His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

In the front of the bed are the crest and motto of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.—In the rear, "Constructed in the Royal Carriage Department, Earl of Mulgrave, Master General; A.D. 1814."

13.—This night, about fifteen or twenty minutes before eleven the inhabitants of the greater part of the North of Scotland were alarmed with a small shock of an earthquake, which did considerable da-

mage to many buildings. The shock appears to have extended over the counties of Ross, Inverness, Moray, Banff, Aberdeen, Kincardine, Forfar, Perth, and Fife; and was indistinctly felt in Edinburgh

burgh and Glasgow. Some of the accounts mention a second slight shock, a few minutes after the one generally felt. By all the accounts it appears that there has been no loss of lives, although considerable damage to property has been sustained, particularly in Inverness. A letter from Inverness, dated August 14, states that, notwithstanding the vast quantities of stones and bricks that have been thrown from immense heights, not one single person has received any hurt. It was not attended with any of those phenomena that have been said to accompany earthquakes. The day had been beautiful and serene, and still continues so; no agitation or rising was observable in the river; and though it has been frequently observed, that in countries subject to those awful visitations the mercury suddenly falls in the barometer, no alteration whatever in that respect took place.

22.—That stupendous undertaking, the tunnel of the Tavistock Canal, was, after thirteen years' incessant labour, *boled* with great accuracy. A line of communication has been thus opened between the Tavy and the Tamar. The whole length of driving through the hill is above a mile and a half, and, in some parts of it, more than 400 feet below the surface.

Curious Customs.—At Hatherleigh, a small town in the county of Devon, exist two remarkable customs:—one, that every morning and evening, soon after the church-clock has struck five and nine, a bell from the same steeple announces, by distinct strokes, the number of the day of the month, originally intended, perhaps, for the information of the unlearned villagers. [The same custom exists at Pembroke in South Wales, at

five in the morning, and eight in the evening.]—The other is, that after a funeral, the church bells ring a lively peal, as in other places after a wedding; and to this custom the parishioners are perfectly reconciled, by the consideration that the deceased is removed from a scene of trouble to a state of peace.

An important cause has been decided at the Salisbury assizes, lord Rivers plaintiff, and Thomas King, esq. and two others, defendants. The question for decision was, what were the boundaries of Cranbourne chase? His lordship is without dispute entitled to the ancient royalty of Cranbourne chase; and within that chase, however straitened or extended, his deer are entitled to run without molestation. It was contended on the part of his lordship, that the chase boundaries embraced parts of Dorset, Wilts, and Hants, including 500,000 acres of land, and more than 100 miles in circumference. On the other side it was insisted, that the limits of the chase only comprised part of the county of Dorset. The cause came on August 14; and on the 15th the jury gave a verdict for the defendant, thereby negating his lordship's claim.

FRANCE.

A very long letter, or memoir, from Fouché, duke of Otranto, to the duke of Wellington, has just been published in Germany. In this he states, that there were four parties in France at the time of the restoration of the Bourbons. One in favour of the legitimate sovereign; a second in favour of a foreign prince; a third for a regency governing in the name of young Bonaparte and his mother; and a fourth for the duke of Orleans. Fouché seems to think that the conduct

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duct of the existing government is not well calculated to subdue the spirit of these several parties, and reconcile them to the reign of the successful competitor for the throne. On the restoration of Louis XVIII. he recommended a system of moderation and forbearance, in which, he says, the duke of Wellington acquiesced; but he complains that it has not been adhered to, and that his voice was drowned by that of the passions.

SWITZERLAND.

The cantons of St. Gall and the Grison have received infinite injury from the overflowing of the Rhine. The road from Mayensfeld to Coire has been rendered impassable. The Lake of Bienne has also overflowed, and inundated a vast tract of country. In Burgundy the vines are in such a state, that the vintage is expected to be wholly unproductive. Ferial prayers have been put up in the different churches of Paris, to implore more genial weather.

RUSSIA.

The state of the weather presents a striking contrast on the continent of Europe. While Germany is devastated by inundations, and the churches of Paris are filled with suppliants praying the Almighty for dry weather, the city of St. Petersburg has, for a month past, suffered by drought, and prayers for rain have been offered up at Riga and Dantzic.

SEPTEMBER.

13. As a party of fourteen persons were returning in a boat from Wouldham to Chatham, it was upset in passing through Rochester bridge, and all of them perished. This distressing accident was occasioned by a piece of timber placed across the lock they intended to pass, which is under repair;—a notice

had been put on the bridge; but no means had been adopted to warn those who might approach by night. The sufferers were: Mr. Gilbert, who had on that day completed his 21st year; his sisters Miss G. and Mrs. Mills, together with the husband and infant child of the latter; and Miss Mawson, daughter of Mr. M. attorney, all of Chatham; Miss Brock and Miss Harding of Rochester; an infant child of Mrs. Alanson, of Sheerness, and the nurse-maid; three young ladies at school with Mrs. Mills; Thomas Lavar, waterman (who has left a wife and five children), and his apprentice boy.

28. At a common hall for electing one of the aldermen of the city of London to fill the situation of chief magistrate for the ensuing year; after the name of Mr. alderman Christopher Smith, next in rotation on the list of aldermen, had been put up, as well as those of the rest of the aldermen, the common serjeant announced that the choice of the livery had fallen upon Harvey Christian Combe, and upon the right hon. Matthew Wood, to be returned to the court of aldermen as fit and proper persons to serve the office. The sheriffs, officers, &c. immediately attended the court of aldermen to acquaint them with the decision; when, after they had deliberated, the recorder announced, that, the choice of the livery having been communicated to the lord mayor and court of aldermen, they coincided therein; but that Mr. alderman Christopher Smith had demanded a poll; which the court was, of course, willing to grant.—The poll immediately commenced, and was continued for seven days. And on the 8th of October, at a common hall, the common serjeant declared the numbers to be—for the lord

lord mayor, 2656; H. C. Combe, 2446; Christopher Smith, esq. 1055; and that the election of the livery had fallen upon the lord mayor and alderman Combe. The aldermen then retired for the purpose of exercising their privilege of choice as to the two gentlemen thus elected by the livery; and on their re-entrance, the recorder informed the livery that their election had fallen upon the present chief magistrate, the right hon. M. Wood.

Houghton Hall, the magnificent mansion of the marquis of Cholmondeley, has been purchased with the estates, for 350,000*l.* by Mr. Watson Taylor, who has also bought Mr. Hope's house in Cavendish-square for 20,000*l.*

Singular custom. On Whitsunday, at St. Briaval's in Gloucestershire, several baskets full of bread and cheese, cut into small squares of about an inch each, are brought into the church; and, immediately after divine service is ended, the churchwardens, or some other persons, take them into the galleries, whence their contents are thrown among the congregation, who have a grand scramble for them in the body of the church. This occasions as great a tumult and uproar as the amusements of a village wake; the inhabitants being always extremely anxious to attend worship on this day. This custom is holden for the purpose of preserving to the poor of St. Briaval's and Hervelsfield, the right of cutting and carrying away wood from 3,000 acres of coppice land, in Hudknolls and the Meend; and for which every housekeeper is assessed 2*d.* to buy the bread and cheese which are given away.

14.—The town of Yarmouth in Norfolk is bound by charter, granted by Henry III. to send to the sheriff

of Norwich every year 100 herrings to be baked in twenty-four parties which are to be delivered to the lord of the manor of East Carleton, who is to give a receipt for them, and then to carry them to the king; which ceremony was performed this day at Windsor, and delivered to the lord in waiting, who immediately forwarded them to the prince regent.

Wesleyan Methodists.—The 73d annual conference of the preachers in the connexion established by the late rev. John Westley, was held in London, July 29, 1816, and following days. From the minutes of the conference, lately published, we copy the following general recapitulation of the number of members in the society, and of the number of regular travelling preachers:

In Great Britain.....	191,680
In Ireland	28,542
In France	35
At Brussels	10
At Gibraltar.....	63
At Sierra Leone	129
At the Cape of Good Hope	42
In Ceylon.....	50
In the West Indies.....	18,098
Nova Scotia, &c.....	1,824

Number of members under the care of the British and Irish conferences .. 241,319

Number of members in America:

Whites..... 167,978

Coloured..... 43,187—211,165

Total number of members in the methodist societies throughout the world... 452,484.

There are 725 regular travelling preachers now stationed in Great Britain, 132 in Ireland, 96 on foreign missions, and 704 in the American methodist connexion.—

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Total

Total of travelling preachers not included in the preceding account, 1,657. The increase of members in Great Britain in the last year is stated to be nearly 10,000; in the West Indies 100.

In consequence of some error in the description of the property at the late sale of the Opera-house, that concern has been re-sold, and was purchased by Mr. Waters for 70,150*l.* being 29,150*l.* more than it produced on the former occasion. The property is held under two leases from the crown. There are 197 boxes in the whole: of which 68 are private property till July 1825; leaving 129 to be let annually towards the expense and support of the establishment, of which last number 104 are in the four principal tiers, and 25 in the tier adjoining the gallery. The boxes are estimated to be of the following value:—80 in the three lower tiers, of the annual value of 310 guineas each, 26,040*l.*; 24 in the fourth tier, at 200*l.* each, 4,800*l.* 25 in the gallery tier, 100*l.* each, 2,500*l.* Hence the annual subscriptions amount to 33,340*l.*; door receipts, per annum, on the average, above 11,000*l.* Total 44,340*l.* The expense of the 60 performances is 29,000*l.*; but, suppose an increase to 550*l.* per night, amounting to 33,000*l.*; then there is an annual surplus of 11,340*l.*; besides the rents arising from benefits given in the theatre, and in the concert-room, rents of selling refreshments, occasional profits upon masquerades, &c.

Brock, Pelham, and Power, three persons convicted of coining in the case of three poor Irishmen whom they inveigled into the unconscious commission of that crime, and had hoped to sacrifice for the sake of the blood-money, have received sen-

tence of death. They have thus fallen into the pit which they had dug for others. Their intended victims have been hospitably treated, and sent home.

FRANCE.

An instance of the attention which is given to English literature in France has lately occurred, in the royal academy of Rouen sending to Mr. Thomas Campbell a diploma of their Society, in consequence of a paper on the subject of his poetry, which was read to them by professor Vitalis.

The French papers contain a most afflicting account of the shipwreck of the *Meduse* French frigate, on her passage to take possession of the Cape de Verd Islands, in July last. Of 147 who were placed on a raft, 15 only remained to be taken on board a French corvette which came in sight, after twelve days of suffering not to be described without freezing the blood with horror. The survivors lived for many days upon the dead bodies of their fellow-sufferers; many of whom they killed on purpose!—Those who did not perish in this way, were thrown into the sea by their stronger comrades who survived. Mutinies, assassinations, and civil war, occurred daily during their miserable existence. They were constantly in a state of delirium from hunger and thirst!

ITALY.

An article from Naples, of the 6th ult. says, that a *Mandement* has lately been addressed to confessors, containing a list of the sins for which they are not to grant absolution, and which are reserved for the archbishop. Among other persons are those who wear tight breeches, the tailors that make them,

them, and the merchants that sell them. Ladies also are to be refused absolution who display their bosoms, or their arms naked above the elbow, or who wear tight petticoats, which offend modesty by showing the natural shape of the limbs.

SPAIN.

An article from Spain very gravely states, as an instance of extraordinary filial affection, that the infant Don Carlos has embroidered for his mother a girdle enriched with diamonds, valued at 60,000 piastres, in which the skilful hand of the king is said to have taken a part!

GERMANY.

Prince Blucher, on a journey lately to Mecklenburg, his native country, visited the tomb of his ancestors, and the house where he was born, and, previous to his departure, dined with the duke of Mecklenburg.—The thankfulness of the veteran to Providence for late events was strongly shown, in his reply to the prince for drinking his health—"I am now (said he) free and happy in the land where I was born, where I passed my boyish years, where the bones of my worthy forefathers rest. O God! Thou knowest how I have longed to pray by the side of their tomb before I myself drop into the grave. Thanks be to Thee that now I can and will do so. I wish for nothing more; I have already attained more than I deserve."

AMERICA.

The American papers give most shocking accounts of the distress and disappointments generally experienced by English manufacturers, and others, who have been induced to emigrate from their native land in great numbers, under the

hope of bettering their condition in America.—Private accounts are in unison with the above. It is stated in letters dated August 16, that 3000 emigrants at New York have applied to the consul there for a passage back again to Great Britain and Ireland; as they cannot find the means of living in that country. This is, to our indigent poor, an impressive lesson of the prudence of enduring their state of occasional adversity at home, instead of throwing away the little remnant of their property to purchase imaginary benefits from strangers, who seek only to convert to their own gain the last pittance of the adventurers; and whose system of carrying on the trade in European emigrants comprehends a rigour of treatment on the passage, and a consignment to labour and slavery for a long term of years.

OCTOBER.

20.—The Exeter mail-coach, on its way to London, was attacked this night at Winterslow hut, near Salisbury, in a most extraordinary manner. At the moment when the coachman pulled up to deliver his bags, one of the leaders was suddenly seized by a ferocious animal, which was perceived by the coachman and guard, by the light of the lamps, to be a huge lioness. The horses kicked and plunged violently, and it was with difficulty the coachman could prevent the carriage from being overturned. A large mastiff-dog came up, and attacked her fiercely, on which she quitted the horse, and turned upon him. The dog fled, but was pursued and killed by the lioness within about 40 yards of the place. It appears that the beast had escaped from a caravan that was standing on

on the road side, belonging to the proprietors of a menagerie, on their way to Salisbury fair. An alarm being given, the keepers pursued and hunted the lioness into a hovel under a granary; and secured her so effectually, by barricading the place, as to prevent her escape. The horse, when first attacked, fought with great spirit, and, if at liberty, would probably have beaten down his antagonist with his fore feet, but in plunging he embarrassed himself in the harness. The lioness had attacked him in front, and springing at his throat, had fastened the talons of her fore feet on each side of his neck, close to the head, while the talons of her hind feet were forced into his chest. In this situation she hung, while the blood was seen flying, as if a vein had been opened by a lancet. The expression of agony in the tears and moans of the horse was most piteous and affecting. He was the off leader, and as the mail drew up, stood exactly abreast of the caravan from which the lioness made the assault. Had the carriage been a little more advanced, she would probably have darted upon the coachman or guard. The coachman first proposed to alight and stab the lioness with a knife, but was prevented by the remonstrance of the guard, who observed, that he would expose himself to certain destruction, as the animal, feeling herself attacked, would turn upon him and tear him to pieces. The prudence of the advice has been clearly proved in the fate of the dog. It was the engagement between him and the lioness that offered time for the keepers to rally. But for that interference, the mischief at the mail would have been more considerable.

Lantarnam Abbey, Oct. 20.

20.—About two o'clock this morning an alarming fire broke out in Belvoir castle, the splendid seat of the duke of Rutland, near Grantham. It is said to have commenced in the carpenters' room, in the western wing, in which workmen had been employed during the preceding day, and thence communicated to the painters' apartment, where there was a considerable quantity of oil, turpentine, and other inflammables. The flames spread with great rapidity, and communicated to the centre; but an alarm having been given in time, the children and servants were removed from danger. Much alarm was entertained for the new building, as the flames forced their way up the grand staircase, and were with difficulty prevented from extending their ravages further. So near an approach had the fire once made to the new part of the castle, that the flames burst into the regent's gallery, which is 170 feet long, and is filled with the choicest productions of art. The grand staircase was destroyed; but the regent's gallery was happily saved, as the wind changed, and took the flames another way: every window, however, was broken to pieces, each pane of glass in which (of very great size and thickness) cost fifteen guineas. Great was the eagerness of the tenantry to preserve the furniture, and all attention as to its safe removal was disregarded; pictures, books, cabinets, statues, velvet hangings, and tapestry, with every description of costly and magnificent decorations, were thrown out of the windows, and scattered on the lawn.—The gold plate belonging to the chapel was melted; but the family plate was saved. The whole of the picture-gallery is de-

destroyed, and most, if not all, the fine family pictures, the whole of sir Joshua Reynolds's, and many others of great value. Amateurs will learn with regret, that the celebrated picture of "The Nativity" by sir J. Reynolds (for which his grace lately refused ten thousand guineas) is consumed—from the few historical or scriptural pieces this great master executed, the loss is irreparable.—The loss at a moderate computation cannot be less than 120,000*l.* as nothing was saved in the part which is destroyed. The duke (who, with the duchess, had been on a visit to the duchess-dowager at Cheveley), arrived at the castle about eleven on Saturday evening, and displayed a degree of firmness and greatness of mind on this trying occasion truly astonishing.—The Grantham troop of yeomanry cavalry arrived at the castle at four o'clock in the afternoon, and were of infinite service in protecting the valuable articles which lay scattered about in all directions; they remained in attendance the whole of Sunday, to prevent the admission of improper persons.—The premises were insured for 40,000*l.* (but 10,000*l.* of this was on the stables). The pictures alone are said to have been worth that sum. The duke of Rutland has expended at least two hundred thousand pounds upon Belvoir castle within the last five years; and it was estimated, before the fire took place, that twenty thousand pounds more would be required to complete the alterations and additions to this venerable residence.—Suspicion having arisen as to the cause of the fire, a letter from Grantham, dated November 1, says, "A strict investigation has been made at the castle by Mr. Beaumont, of the county fire office; and from the depositions taken on oath it appears, that the room used by the

carpenters had been entered, and found to be safe, some time after the fire had broken out. In this inquiry it was also discovered that the fire was seen to burst from two different places, which had no practicable communication, nearly at one time. It was further given in evidence, that, when the alarm was raised, the nearest inhabitants found as many as nine or ten strange men already in the castle, and an outer gate open, which the domestics declare they had previously locked, and had not opened. There is now no doubt that the fire was occasioned by a wilful act; and the prevailing opinion is, that it has been done by the Luddites.—These miscreants are now more than ever the terror of this part of the country. Threatening letters are daily received from them. This morning four men were detected in setting fire to some hay-stacks belonging to sir William Manners;—the fire was extinguished, but the incendiaries escaped."—An advertisement has been circulated in the newspapers, stating that though many articles saved from the fire have been returned, numerous others of different descriptions are still missing, particularly a painting by Poussin (subject, "Mary anointing the feet of Jesus"), about 3 feet 11 inches by 3 feet 2 inches, exclusive of the frame: requesting all persons having any such articles in their possession to return them, and offering a liberal reward to any person giving information where any such property may be secreted, and 100 guineas to the person whose information may lead to the conviction of any person secreting the painting above described.

The honourable Charles Noel, of Barham-court, in Kent, was lately convicted, on the information of the earl of Romney, of the singular offence

fence of having admitted persons in the neighbourhood, to the number of more than twenty, to attend divine service in his house with his family and domestics. The act of parliament for this offence is imperative; and Mr. Noel immediately paid the penalty, one half of which, after discharging the expenses of the prosecution, goes to the poor of the parish, the other to the informer.

Full 3000 acres of marsh and fen lands have recently been embanked, drained, and prepared for cultivation, near Liangsdock, in Cardigan-shire; and another embankment is begun, which will gain a still larger tract for husbandry.

Mr. Coke of Holkham was the purchaser, at Mr. Roscoe's sale at Liverpool, of the fine portrait of Leo the Tenth, for 500 guineas. The library sold for 5150*l.*; the prints 1880*l.*; and the drawings 788*l.*

That stupendous undertaking the Leeds and Liverpool canal is at length completed. It was commenced in 1770, runs through a stubborn hilly country 127 miles in length, and connects St. George's Channel with the German Ocean. A similar project is in contemplation in the West of England, to cut a canal across, and join the Bristol and English channels.

The new bridge over the Doon is now completed. Like the "auld brig," it is formed of one grand majestic arch. The arch of the old bridge is 72 feet wide and 46 high; that of the new is 80 feet wide and 50 feet high. The structure is rather more substantial than beautiful—more useful than ornamental. Still, however, it adds to the beauty of the surrounding scenery—scenery which struck the young fancy of our inspired bard, and which has received a charm from his poetic effusions. This additional beauty

is most apparent from the "key-stane" of the "auld brig," where Tam O'Shanter escaped from the fangs of the "hellish legion." From this point is seen the dark-rolling water beneath, a beautiful little island, seemingly in the centre of the circle of the arch, the new bridge itself, the woody bank in the back ground appearing both below and above the bridge, the continuation of the banks, still beautiful and diversified, and the cloud-capt mountains of Arran. The scenery on the other side has been often admired and described. The situation is about 200 yards below that of the old one, and the banks are nearly levelled down to the top of the arch. This is an infinite improvement to that part of the road.

20.—Vaughan, Brown, and Mackay, were tried at the Middlesex sessions, for conspiring to procure certain evil-disposed persons to break open and rob the house of Mrs. Macdonald, at Hoxton, with the intent to get them apprehended and convicted, and thereby obtain the rewards given by act of parliament upon such conviction. The witnesses produced were the persons whom they had instigated to commit the burglary. The jury found the prisoners guilty; and the court sentenced all three to be imprisoned five years; and Vaughan, in addition, to pay a fine of 80*l.*—At the Old Bailey sessions, Tuesday, September 24, one Dannelly was tried for committing, with other persons, a burglary on the premises of Mr. Poole, in Bloomsbury; and the above-mentioned Vaughan, for being accessory to the crime, and concealing Dannelly after he had committed it. The jury acquitted Dannelly of the burglary, but found him guilty of felony. They found Vaughan guilty, inasmuch as he had aided one of the robbers,

robbers. It was insisted that, Dannelly being acquitted of the burglary, Vaughan must be acquitted as a matter of course, being charged as an accessory to that offence. Mr. Baron Graham observed that he was charged not only with burglary, but with felony: the objection, however, should be moved in arrest of judgement. The verdict has since been confirmed.

29.—A fatal consequence of the disgraceful practice of pugilism occurred this day at Moulsey Hurst, where a contest took place between Turner and Curtis, and the latter, after obstinately struggling against every disadvantage one hour and 28 minutes, became disabled. He was put to bed in a deplorable state, and died in the evening from the violent blows he had received. A coroner's inquest have brought a verdict of manslaughter against Turner. He has since been tried at the Old Bailey, and found guilty of manslaughter. The jury, however, recommended him to mercy for his humanity in the contest, his sorrow for its issue, and his most excellent character.—If pugilists, and those who encourage them, are not wholly callous to human feeling, surely such a deplorable event must operate to the discontinuance of this savage practice.

FRANCE.

The envy of the French at the greatness of the victory which we have gained at Algiers, displays itself throughout their papers in every shape which it is possible for such a passion safely to assume, under circumstances like the present. Reports, all uniformly tending to depreciate the results of our expedition, dated from Italian cities or states, but evidently written at Paris, are continually inserted in them. They inform us, that the

Roman slaves were so comfortable at Algiers, that they had no desire to go home to their own country—nay, that one of them even hanged himself on the voyage! The chastisement given to the Dey is attributed to bribery, and not to the valour of the British arms. A fine flourishing speech is put into the mouth of the Dey, in which he assures his barbarous subjects that they have not been conquered; and they are represented as believing their chief, and following him, kissing his robes. The fortifications, we are also told, are rising from their ruins, and the utmost exertions are using to efface all traces of the bombardment of the town.—N. B. There is not one word of truth in all this.

The viscount 'Chateaubriand has lately published a pamphlet addressed to the king, on the subject of the dissolution of the Chamber, and its influence on the state of the political parties in France; censuring the measure, as hostile to the king's interests, and dangerous to the security of France. His majesty and his ministers were displeased with the author's freedom of remark; and 2000 copies of the work were seized at the printer's, under pretence of some omission in point of form in the publication. But this was a mere pretext; as on another edition of the work being published, the prescribed form having previously been observed, the whole impression was seized at the requisition of M. Bel-lart, the procureur-general of the royal court. M. Chateaubriand has also been degraded from his rank of state counsellor, by an ordonnance of the king.

PORTUGAL.

The king of Portugal's present of plate to the duke of Wellington has arrived

arrived in England: it consists of a table service for fifty-five persons, with a variety of vases and temples for a banquet, bearing most rich and superb allegorical representations of his grace's victories;—the silver alone cost 200,000*l*.

RUSSIA.

The Russian Academy has assigned a large sum for striking a series of medals, representing the most remarkable events in the late war between Russia and France, similar to the Napoleon medals in France, and a set of national medals now executing in England.

NOVEMBER.

19.—This morning the sun was visibly eclipsed. The eclipse commenced at 11 minutes past 8 o'clock in the morning; the middle at 17 minutes past 9, at which time rather more than three-fourths of the sun were obscured; and the eclipse terminated at 27 minutes past 10. The moon made her first impression on the sun's disk on the right hand. The morning was very favourable for observing the eclipse; and a thin mist enabled beholders to observe it without inconvenience with the naked eye.

21.—Lord Cochrane was brought up this morning, in the court of King's Bench, to receive sentence for having broken prison. After a long speech, in which he was frequently checked for introducing matter entirely irrelevant, he was sentenced to pay a fine of 100*l*.

23.—This day our venerable and revered sovereign has completed a reign of 56 years and 29 days, exceeding in duration any since the Norman conquest.

Henry III. reigned 56 years and 28 days.

Edward III. 50 years 5 months and 1 day.

Elizabeth, 44 years 4 months and 7 days.

He has likewise lived longer than any other monarch since that time, having on the 4th of June last attained 78 years; his grandfather, George II. the next oldest, only reached 77 years, and no other even the age of 70.

A new sort of road-way has been laid down at the foot of Blackfriars Bridge, on the Surrey side. It consists of cast-iron squares, in the form of paving-stones; gravel is laid upon the iron-work, which is intended to form a hard foundation.

A medical gentleman who has read the account of the dreadful effects of the oxide of copper on two servants of lord Rossmore, produced by eating fruit stewed in a copper pan, observes, that in his practice he has frequently witnessed, when mineral poisons, technically called oxide, whether of copper or arsenic, are taken inwardly, that one table-spoonful of powdered charcoal is a complete antidote, mixed with either honey, butter, or treacle, taken immediately; within two hours administer either an emetic or a cathartic: in this way the effect of the poison is prevented. By administering charcoal, a chemical decomposition takes place in the stomach; the oxygen unites with the carbon, and the copper or arsenic regains its metallic properties, in which state it is perfectly harmless.

The wealth of Mr. Watson Taylor, the purchaser of Houghton Hall, is stated to be immense. For that mansion, and a large quantity of land round it, he gave the marquis Cholmondeley three hundred and fifty thousand pounds; still, however, not purchasing the whole of the marquis's estate in Suffolk. Mr. Taylor, as we hear, is bound, by the

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the will of his ancestor, to expend seven hundred thousand pounds in landed estates; and besides the income which may arise from them he has ninety-five thousand pounds a year.

Amongst the losses by the calamitous fire at Belvoir Castle most to be lamented, is that of a mussy golden salver, composed of snuff-boxes and other tributary tokens of royal and public respect for the national services performed by the Rutland family, particularly those of the heroic marquis of Granby and the late duke of Rutland. This valuable combination bore a suitable inscription, expressive of the several causes and dates of these honourable donations.

The prince regent having a fine whole-length picture of the late duke of Rutland in his possession, painted by sir Joshua Reynolds, which he valued highly, no sooner heard of the loss of another picture of his grace, by the same artist, in the calamitous fire at Belvoir Castle, than he ordered his picture to be immediately sent down, with a letter requesting that he might have the gratification of thus restoring that family loss.

A dispute between Mr. Alley and Mr. Adolphus, which originated in the court in the Old Bailey during a late trial, has at length been brought to a termination, and without any fatal result. On November 13th Mr. Adolphus sent notice to Mr. Alley, that he would be ready to meet him at Calais as soon as ever he chose; the parties being bound over by the magistrates to preserve the peace within this kingdom. Mr. Alley accepted the challenge, and on the 14th set out for Dover, accompanied by captain Alley, his cousin and second: two of his intimate friends, M. Agar and

Mr. Bevil, also voluntarily accompanied him. They arrived at Calais on the 15th, some hours before Mr. Adolphus; and at two o'clock on the 16th, after the preliminary business was arranged by the seconds, the combatants met a short distance from the town, took their ground, and, on a signal being given, they both fired together. Mr. Alley was wounded in the right arm; and the ball from his pistol passed so close to his adversary, as almost to graze his head. Here the business terminated. An eminent surgeon being immediately sent for, extracted the ball from Mr. Alley's arm.

The subscriptions for the Spitalfields poor now exceed 40,000*l*. The committee are active in dispensing their charitable funds; they have taken measures for resuming the sale of rice, which the poverty of their finances had at one time obliged them to discontinue: a daily sale of 6000 quarts of soup, at one half-penny the quart, being one half the former charge, has also taken place.

FRANCE.

The occupiers of land in France pay their part of the contributions to the allies, by a tax of eight shillings and fourpence an acre per annum (British currency), in regular monthly instalments; and a considerable sum is raised by a small stamp duty upon all posting-bills, hand-bills, shop cards, &c.

GERMANY.

We have this month to announce the death of the king of Wirtemberg; at Stuttgart, on the morning of the 30th of October, in his 62d year. His death seems to have been very sudden; as letters from Stuttgart mention his having given audience

president Von
demanded the
the niece, the
the hereditary
burghausen. He
town prince,
the offspring

closed) should be secluded from the
gaze of the vulgar, than that the
progress of the conflagration should
be checked.

DECEMBER.

RIOTS IN THE METROPOLIS.

... union, lately married to
the duchess of Oldenburgh, who
was happily delivered of a princess
the day after the decease of her fa-
ther-in-law. The dowager queen
of Wirtemberg, it is expected, will
speedily return to England. Her
majesty has been long in a bad state
of health.

RUSSIA.

An official journal published in
the Russian language, at Peters-
burgh, lately contained an article
expatiating in the warmest terms
on the benefits that resulted to
states from the liberty of the press.
"The liberty of the press (says
the writer) is acknowledged by
all enlightened governments as
the most powerful spring for cre-
ating a public and national spirit.
To it England is indebted for that
noble energy, and enthusiasm for
the public good, which have dou-
bled her force and her power in the
critical circumstances in which Eu-
rope has been placed." These are
sentiments which Russia was unac-
customed to before the reign of
Alexander.

TURKEY.

A striking exemplification of the
strictness of Turkish etiquette is fur-
nished by the accounts from Con-
stantinople, respecting the fire at
the seraglio. It appears, that the
palace was suffered to burn for
three hours; it being thought of
more importance that the women,
who had fled in confusion from
their burning apartments into the
surrounding gardens (all the ave-
nues to which were in consequence

2.—The city of London has not
for many years exhibited such a
scene of outrage as that which took
place this day. The first symptoms
of riot appeared a little after the
execution of four unfortunate men
at the Old Bailey; when between
2 and 300 of the crowd went off
towards Smithfield: they were join-
ed by another mob, that came from
towards Finsbury-square, with a
cart full of men, about a score of
whom appeared to be sailors. This
party displayed three flags, two tri-
coloured. On one of the latter was
inscribed—"Nature, Truth, and
Justice."—"Feed the Hungry."—"Protect the Oppressed."—"Punish Crimes."—The other trico-
loured flag had no inscription. The
third flag, which was white, bore
the following inscription in red let-
ters—"The brave soldiers are our
brothers, treat them kindly." The
cart having arrived in Spasfields,
Mr. Watson, jun. addressed the
meeting in an inflammatory speech,
calling on the mob to join him.
The orator then leaped out of the
cart, with a flag in his hand. Lim-
brick, the Hatton-garden officer,
drew his cutlass, and collared him;
but the mob soon rescued him: he
succeeded in securing the flag.
A numerous mob then left the field,
carrying one of the flags with them,
and proceeded through Smithfield
to Skinner-street, where they stop-
ped opposite to the shop of Mr.
Beckwith, the gunsmith.—What
took place there, shall be told ac-
cording to Mr. Platt's deposition:
Mr.

Mr. Platt happened to be in the shop of Mr. Beckwith, speaking about the repair of the lock of his gun. A young man, with a pistol in his hand, entered the shop, crying out, "Arms! arms! I want arms!" He cocked his pistol, and presented it at Mr. Platt, who attempted to seize his arm, but failed. He then presented a pistol at Mr. Platt's belly, fired it, and the ball entered near the navel. He then attempted to strike Mr. Platt with the butt end of the pistol, but Mr. Platt seized him, and the pistol either fell to the ground, or was taken from him by Mr. Beckwith's man. Mr. Platt exclaimed, "This man must be secured!" and placing himself near the door, desired the person who had fired the pistol to retire into the back shop, or counting-house, into which Mr. Platt followed him. Mr. Platt said to him, "You have shot me."—"Oh!" exclaimed he, "I am a misled young man. I have been to Spa-fields. Send for a surgeon—I am a surgeon myself." And he desired a constable, who had now arrived, to empty his pockets to show his lancet. "These," said he, "will convince you I am a surgeon." He wrung his hands, bit his hat, and frequently exclaimed, "Oh! I am a misled young man!"—Mr. Platt asked him whether the pistol was loaded with a ball or slug? He answered, "I do not know." A person said in an angry tone, "You must know which it was loaded with—was it not a ball?" He said, "I believe it was."—Mr. Platt, the young man who fired the pistol, and several other persons, remained in the counting-house for nearly a quarter of an hour, when the mob broke into the shop, and Mr. Platt was obliged to make his escape over a wall at the back of the house. He went to the house of Mr. Barnard,

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a printer, where Mr. Beveridge, the surgeon in Newgate-street, first saw him, and took him to his country-house at Brixton.

The assassin had the assurance to take a brace of pistols that were on the counter, which he loaded on the spot, and marched off with a banditti in triumph, taking away with them about forty fowling-pieces, and several cases of pistols, besides powder, shot, and ball.

In consequence of the attack at Mr. Beckwith's, an alarm spread instantly about town, and the shops were shut up in every direction. The rioters proceeded along Newgate-street. Opposite to Messrs. Field and Robinson, cheesemongers, they fired through the windows, smashing a few panes, and wounding a boy in the face. As they proceeded along Cheapside, they loaded and discharged their pieces, and displayed various menacing gestures, as if to intimidate the spectators. Having arrived at the Royal Exchange, they entered that building in marching order. Here they were met by the lord mayor, alderman sir James Shaw, and a strong party of police. As soon as the greatest part of the rioters had passed through the north side, directions were given to close all the gates leading out of the Exchange, by which means three men with arms having on them the name of Beckwith were taken into custody. Sir J. Shaw seized the man with the colours, and one of the guns. The remainder of the insurgents became exceedingly furious on learning the capture of their comrades and their banners; and not being able to force the Exchange gates, they raised each other upon their shoulders, and fired over the top of the gates at the lord mayor and his party, whilst others fired under the gates.

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A fresh

A fresh force, however, arriving to his lordship's aid, the ruffians departed, throwing away several pistols. The rioters proceeded through Threadneedle-street. Bishopsgate-street, and Houndsditch, to the Minories. The gun-makers there had shut up their shops, and secured them on the inside: the leader, with the butt-end of his gun, broke in the fan-light above Mr. Brander's door, through which a sailor crawled, and by this means they all gained admittance. They carried off muskets, fowling-pieces, pistols, besides a 4-pound carronade and a brass swivel. They were about to depart from the Minories, when it was supposed that more arms, as well as powder, could be had at Mr. Rea's, the gunsmith, a few doors distant. They broke in the pannels of the doors and windows. Here they were joined by a man on horseback, who took the lead. A man, in appearance a countryman, armed with a pistol and a sword, led them from shop to shop. No powder was found here or at Mr. Brander's, and the rioters were obliged to leave the Minories in great disappointment. They carried off about 18 silver spoons, wearing apparel, and other moveables. They took from the premises of Mr. Rea two small brass field pieces on wheels, one of which was seized and lodged in the Mansion-house. The rioters next took the direction of Aldgate; but when at the top of the Minories the party divided, one half pursuing their way up to Houndsditch, and the other the road to Mile-end. Those who took the former route met a small party of the 9th dragoons, and instantly abandoned their heavy metal, and took to their heels; but the soldiers coming up with them, they surrendered their small arms without

much resistance. A ruffian who levelled a blunderbuss at one of the soldiers, happily missed his aim, and the ball entered the neck of the rider's horse. An attempt was made to secure him, but he was rescued. Several soldiers received slight blows of stones, &c. The troops bore these insults with a spirit of forbearance highly to their credit. The party which took the Whitechapel-road were also pursued; and those who escaped the cavalry were attacked by the butchers, and compelled to give up their arms, which the butchers express a wish to retain as proofs of their loyalty and courage.—During the riot in the Minories, a detachment of the ruffians advanced to Little Tower Gate, and harangued the soldiers, telling them that they were the protectors of the people, and not of the crown; that they were paid by the people, and not by the crown; and that now was the time to show their allegiance, to join the cause of the people, and they would each be rewarded with 100 guineas, and secure to themselves promotion. The orator mixed soon after in the crowd, and all trace of him was lost.

Soon after three, tranquillity was restored within the city. Two hundred of the guards were stationed at the Bank. The East London militia, the city light horse, the artillery company, &c. were under arms, and the civil power was aided by very many respectable house-keepers, who came forward as constables. The lord mayor's conduct exceeded all praise; it was astonishing to see with what rapidity he moved from one quarter of danger to the other. His lordship was most highly commended in his efforts by aldermen sir J. Shaw, Atkins, sir W. Curtis, &c.

West of Temple-bar there was

no

no disturbance until between four and five o'clock, subsequent to the breaking up of Mr. Hunt's meeting in Spa-fields. A detachment of his attendants made a halt in Oxford-street, in front of Blenheim-steps, where their number was soon increased to about 2000. On passing by Mr. Williams's, a fishmonger, they gave him three cheers, and turned into Oxford-market, where they separated into three divisions, each of which took different directions. One division went along Margaret-street, where they demolished all the railings at Nos. 63 and 64. Thence they proceeded to an eating-house in Wells-street, where a man genteelly dressed, and who stated himself to be their captain, addressed the landlord, and in a few minutes after bade the mob march forward, which they did without doing any damage. Their next route was Union-street, where, as soon as they came in front of the shop of Mr. Stevens, a baker, they began a dreadful havoc, and in one minute the whole of the glass, frames, &c. were completely beat in and entirely demolished. Every one then began to take the bread without ceremony. The next object of attack was an eating-house kept by Mr. Watkins, at No. 60, Tottenham-court-road, where the windows were immediately broken, and the shop entered by 20 or 30 persons, who began to take every thing they could lay their hands on: they took away about 40 hams, and all the rest of the meat which they could find. Another division commenced their operations between 6 and 7 o'clock in Holywell-street, Strand. They broke almost all the front windows of the Dog tavern, and carried off the exposed larder. Next they assailed the premises of an elderly man, a Mr. Gilbert, from

whom they took different articles of wearing apparel. Thence, in the same narrow street, they proceeded to a piece-broker's named Levi, where they helped themselves to whatever his second-hand assortment afforded them of great-coats, and under coats, waistcoats, and other convenient articles of dress. The rioters here, and in other quarters, upon the appearance of a few of the life guards or dragoons, took to their heels; and the rest of the night passed in tranquillity. There were strong symptoms of the disposition of the misled mob about Lambeth about 4 o'clock; but these were checked by the military marching over Westminster bridge, foot-guards and dragoons, followed up by more foot-guards and artillerymen, all with bayonets fixed or swords drawn. The effect was, to cause the would-be depredators to skulk into lanes and corners, and mutter the discontent which they were afraid openly to avow.

Mr. Platt is attended by Mr. A. Cooper. Confident hopes are entertained of his recovery, but the contents of the pistol have not yet been extracted. The ball, which perforated two coats, his waistcoat, and several folds of paper in his waistcoat pocket, carried with it all these substances into his body. A number of circumstances have transpired, which appear to establish the fact that the ruffian who wounded Mr. Platt was Mr. Watson jun. who harangued the rioters in Spa-fields, and marched off at their head to Skinner-street. He is supposed to have been one of the two men in company with Dr. Watson, his father, who was apprehended at Highgate on Monday night on suspicion as a footpad. Those who know Watson describe him to be a person rather short than otherwise

(D 2) with

with a thin visage, and generally dressed in a brown great-coat; precisely such is the appearance of the man who shot Mr. Platt. Two lancets marked W. are said to have been found in Mr. Beckwith's shop. During the time the ruffian was in the hands of the constable, his pocket-book and various papers were taken from him. Amongst the latter was a copy of a circular letter calling for subscriptions; there were other scraps of paper, with the names of the treasurer and secretary of the Spa-fields society. A young man answering Watson's description, and who gave his name and address Mr. Watson, Hyde-street, Bloomsbury, purchased four pistols on Saturday last, at Mr. Parker's in Holborn. These four pistols have been traced and identified. One of them was found on Watson sen. two were taken from Hooper, who was seized at the Exchange, and the fourth is discovered to have been the one with which Mr. Platt was shot. One of the notes with which Watson paid for the pistols, and on which his address is written, has been traced, and got back by Mr. Parker's shopman, who had paid it away. The note being thus found, an officer was dispatched to Hyde-street, Bloomsbury; and there discovered the residence of the two Watsons. The apartments were searched, and several papers were seized. Among them was a letter from Hunt the orator to Watson jun. on the subject of the Spa-fields meeting. Justice, however, demands that we should declare that there was nothing in this letter which could at all implicate Mr. Hunt with what took place in the city. It appeared to be an answer to letters written by Watson jun. to Mr. Hunt while he was in the

country. Watson and his son were seen together in the mob: the father has been identified as one of that part of the mob which passed through Skinner-street at the time of the assassination: he was also particularly active during the depredations in the Minories. There is little doubt, therefore, that the father and son both fled from town together; and the partner in their flight is supposed to have had as much reason to escape as themselves.

No trace has as yet been discovered of the route taken by the younger Watson. Five hundred pounds reward has been offered by Government, and 100*l.* by the City, for his apprehension.

Watson's apartment was filled with political lumber, in print and manuscript. There were found drafts of petitions to parliament, devices for flags, banners, and all the paraphernalia for organizing mobs. For some days previous to the last meeting Watson did not appear at his lodgings, and it is conjectured that he was busily employed night and day elsewhere in arranging with Hooper, Preston, and other chiefs of this contemptible though desperate plot, that plan of plunder and devastation which unfortunately succeeded to a certain extent.

J. Hooper, treasurer of the Spa-fields meeting, was one of the rioters taken by the lord mayor at the Exchange. Carter and Cashman, two other rioters, were taken at the same time. These three have been repeatedly examined before the lord mayor. Preston, the secretary to the Spa-fields meeting, has also been apprehended at his lodgings, and frequently examined. Cashman, Gambell, Hooper, Preston, and Simons, are committed for trial.

Gunnell,

Gunnell, a drayman, is remanded for another examination. As these infatuated men are to be tried by their country, we shall for the present abstain from detailing the circumstances that were developed at their several examinations. Preston took frequent opportunities to address the lord mayor, and assumed great official consequence, evidently seeking, by means of his inflammatory harangues, for the approbation of his deluded followers.

These scandalous acts of riot, above detailed, are we trust unlikely to alarm the metropolis and the country at large by their repetition. The objects of the desperadoes are now completely unmasked; and the investigations that have already taken place, will doubtless ensure the preservation of peace and order, should any further attempt be made.

MR. HUNT'S MEETING.

Soon after the body of the rioters, whose proceedings are detailed in the preceding article, marched off from Spa-fields, Mr. Hunt arrived in a handsome tandem, enjoying the applause that he excited. He alighted at Merlin's Cave, and made his appearance at the front window, and moved that Mr. W. Clark should take the chair. This being agreed to, Mr. C. entreated the assembly to suffer no spies or informers to excite them to riot. Mr. Hunt then stated the result of his interview with colonel McMahon, and read his correspondence with lord Sidmouth on the subject of their petition; and after a long and violent harangue, proposed some resolutions, and a petition to the house of commons, which he wished should know that the whole people of England were petitioning for their rights. Would they not all put their names to the petition?

(*Yes yes!*) But where were they to get parchment enough? He would subscribe his mite to buy parchment. He then moved his resolutions, which were verbatim the same as those he was foiled in carrying at the common hall. Mr. Haydon seconded them. The resolutions were then carried by acclamation; as was also a petition to parliament for reform, which was moved by Mr. Hunt, and seconded by Mr. Waddington. Mr. Hunt then moved that their fellow countryman in persecution, lord Cochrane, should be desired to present the petition to the house of commons. Mr. Green proposed that sir F. Burdett, who had always been the friend of the people, should, in conjunction with lord Cochrane, carry up the petition. After a great deal of tumult, the amendment was carried, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Hunt, and the meeting was adjourned to the second Monday after the assembling of parliament. Mr. Hunt then mounted his charger, and rode off to a hotel in Bouverie-street, followed by a great number of the populace.

FRANCE.

23.—What now forms the conversation of every *salon* at Paris, is the vehement dispute that took place after dinner at the British ambassador's, between M. Pasquier, president of the chamber of deputies, and the prince de Talleyrand. Among the English, lord Mansfield, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Canning, and lord Somerville (privy council), were present. Contrary to his usual discretion, he omitted no opportunity of satirizing the ministry, and the whole system of the government. The conversation at last became more direct; when M. de Talleyrand

(D 3)

leyrand declared, that the influence employed in the elections was an affront offered to the nation, and that the minister of the interior should be the only minister through whom the king should communicate his sentiments. M. Pasquier replied, that every minister was nominated by his majesty. The prince then attacked the functions of some of the most important, and concluded with observations reflecting on the sovereign himself—"I too enjoyed six months his confidence; but who can count on its duration?" M. Pasquier then called his carriage.—Next morning Talleyrand received the following note through the duke de Chatre:

"Sir,—In consequence of the public conversation which you held with the president of the chamber of deputies in the house of the ambassador of a foreign power, I inform you, that his majesty has ordered me to notify to you, that you need not again present yourself at court."

A Paris paper of the 16th inst. mentions, that ten estates in the departments of La Manche and Pas de Calais have been purchased by Englishmen, who purpose to settle in France: 42 families are also said to have settled in the Vaucluse.

SPAIN.

By accounts from Spain, it appears that Ferdinand has issued a decree; in effect entirely excluding the importation of all British cotton goods. East India cottons, such as nankeens, &c. are comprehended in this order.

The Spanish consul residing at Antwerp has notified to the merchants of that city an ordinance of his master, prohibiting the importation into his dominions of foreign cotton manufactures. The "fatal

influence which the sale of such goods" is said by the Spanish council of finance to have had on "the agriculture and commerce of the kingdom," is assigned in the preamble of the ordinance as the cause of its promulgation.

ITALY.

It was a short time since mentioned in a foreign journal, that there had been some serious quarrels at Messina between the English and American seamen in that port. It is now stated, that in consequence of a man of colour, belonging to the Java American frigate, having been found on board the *Ann*, captain Bell, of Malta, committing a theft, he was punished by the crew of the latter vessel. Three American officers met captain Bell on shore, grossly insulted him, and challenged him to set-to; which he accepted; and having beat two of them, their companions seized and cruelly assaulted him. The Sicilian government was appealed to; but no further result is stated than occasional disturbances.

RUSSIA.

The emperor of Russia has given liberty to the peasants of Esthonia, at the special desire of the nobles.

ASIA.

Advices have been received by government from China, to the end of July. Lord Amherst had arrived at Macao, after a tedious passage of nearly six months. On his arrival, he received the pleasing intelligence (as it was believed at the India house that he would not be very favourably received), that the emperor had signified his pleasure that the embassy should be received with every possible distinction.

AMERICA.

A large party of the French emigrants lately arrived in the United States

States have formed a company, for the purpose of joining in an establishment on the banks of the Mississippi.

It appears from the Halifax papers, that a destructive fire took place there on the 9th of October : its ravages were only stopped by taking down two or three houses before the flames had reached them. The property destroyed is valued at 30,000*l*. The governor has issued a proclamation, stating, that notwithstanding the activity of the garrison, there had been much plunder ; and that if any goods of the distrest inhabitants could be traced into the hands of the robbers, they should be deemed felons, and suffer death. The time allowed for restoration was two days from the date of the proclamation.

The Buenos Ayres, commodore Brown, who did so much mischief to the Spaniards in the Pacific Ocean, has been detained at Barbadoes, with his ship and cargo, in the following curious manner :—“The Hercules, commodore Brown, arrived at Barbadoes towards the end of September ; at the same time his majesty’s ship the Beaver, captain Stirling, came in from a cruise. The custom-house officers went on board the Hercules ; but not being able to read Spanish, or being otherwise deceived, they did not seize her, and sir James Leith ordered her to quit the island. By some circumstances captain Stirling’s suspicions were excited ; and on searching her papers he found out who she was, and Brown acknowledged he had abandoned the cause of Buenos Ayres, and was seeking a port to dispose of his cargo. The only commissions he had were, a commission for another vessel, and one to a person not on board. Captain Stirling therefore seized her under

the navigation laws, and carried her to the admiral at Antigua, who approved of what he had done. The Hercules mounts 22 guns, and has 56 men, with a valuable cargo of quicksilver, silks, steel, dry goods and spice, supposed to be worth a million of dollars, the produce of plundered towns and vessels in the Pacific Ocean. The lawyers have no doubt of her confiscation ; but there appears much doubt of what is to be done with admiral Brown and his crew, whether or not they are to be sent home and tried as pirates.”

His majesty’s ship Comus, from Newfoundland, was lost in the Bay of St. Mary’s, at midnight, on the 24th of October : the officers and men wonderfully escaped in four small boats, after rowing from six in the morning till four in the afternoon, in search of a spot to land ; they were then obliged to march back eighteen miles to the wreck in search of provisions, where they remained several hours before they attained it ; nor had they any change of clothes or a bed to lie on before they reached Renew, eleven days after the accident.—Intelligence has also been received of the melancholy loss of the transport ship Harpooner, Joseph Briant master, with more than half of the unfortunate people with whom she was freighted. She went ashore (precisely on the same spot where the Comus did, so short a time before) on the night of the 10th of November, at half-past nine at night. The Harpooner left Quebec on the 27th of October, bound for London, with invalids, and detachments from the 4th royal veteran battalion and other corps stationed in Canada, and a number of women and children ; in all, three hundred and eighty. The ship struck on a reef of rocks off Cape Pine, and shortly filled with

(D 4)

water ;

(56) PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES. [1816.]

water; when a number of people between decks were drowned. The vessel kept together until three o'clock of the morning of the 11th; when the wreck was hailed by the mate and four others who had ventured on shore in a boat at the hazard of their lives, and informed by the sufferers of their situation. For the boat to return was impossible; a line was therefore fastened round a dog which fortunately happened to be on board; and, being thrown over, he swam with it on shore, which was the means of saving the lives of the master, crew, and about 160 passengers. When the vessel some time afterwards went to pieces, above of 100 persons were precipitated into the ocean and perished:

Cabin passengers saved—Captain Prince, 4th royal veteran battalion, and lady; lieutenant Milrea, ditto, eldest daughter and son; paymaster Scott, ditto; Mrs. Wilson, and eldest daughter; Miss Armstrong; captain Willock, 103d regiment; ensign Gleeson, ditto.

Cabin passengers lost—Surgeon Armstrong, 4th veteran battalion, his lady, son, and two youngest daughters; lieutenant Wilson, ditto, son, and two daughters; Mrs. Milrea, and two youngest daughters; Miss Pilmore, and three sons of captain Prime.

The cause of both these ships being wrecked was, the very great indraught into the different bays of the island.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL of

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS from December 12, 1815, to December 10, 1816.

Christened	{ Males 12132 }	In all, 23,581	Buried	{ Males 10105 }	In all, 20,316	Increase in Burials 756.
	{ Females 11449 }			{ Females 10211 }		
Died under 2 years	5400	20 and 30 - 1464	60 and 70 - 1720	100-3		
Between 2 and 5	1960	30 and 40 - 1912	70 and 80 - 1308	103-1		
5 and 10	845	40 and 50 - 2123	80 and 90 - 781	104-1		
10 and 20	675	50 and 60 - 1955	90 and 100 168			

DISEASES.				CASUALTIES.			
Abortive, Still born	734	Dropsy	788	Palpitation of the Heart	11	Broken Limbs	9
Abscess	106	Dysentery	4	Palsy	193	Burnt	48
Aged	191	Epilepsy	4	Pleurisy	22	Drowned	103
Ague	1	Evil	8	Purples	1	Excessive Drink-	
Apoplexy and sud-		Fever of all kinds	1298	Quinsy	2	ing	13
denly	434	Fistula	8	Rash	1	Executed*	10
Asthma	1003	Flux	15	Rheumatism	14	Found Dead	31
Bedridden	5	French Pox	61	Rising of the lights	1	Fractured	4
Bile	1	Gout	56	Scrophula	2	Frighted	6
Bleeding	30	Gravel, Stone, and		Scurvy	2	Killed by Falls and	
Bursten & Rupture	57	Strangury	14	Small Pox	655	several other Ac-	
Cancer	71	Grief	4	Sore Throat	13	cidents	56
Chicken Pox		Headmoldshot, Horse-		Sores and Ulcers	15	Killed by fighting	1
Childbed	233	shoe-head, & Water		Spasms	43	Killed by swallowing	
Colds	1	in the Head	408	St. Anthony's Fire	7	a shilling.	1
Colick, Gripes, &c.	6	Inflammation	977	Stoppage in the Sto-		Killed themselves	50
Consumption	4272	Jaundice	70	mach	26	Murdered	8
Convulsions	3264	Jaw-locked	5	St. Vitus's Dance	12	Over-laid	2
Cough, and Hooping-		Lethargy	1	Swelling	79	Poisoned	8
Cough	666	Livergrown	79	Teeth	417	Scalded	5
Cramp	2	Leprosy	1	Thrush	85	Suffocated	3
Croup	92	Lunatic	250	Fumor	3		
Diabetes	5	Measles	1106	Water in the Chest	48		
		Miscarriage	7	Worms	15		
		Mortification	327				

Total 334

* There have been executed in the city of London and County of Surrey, 25; of which number 10 only have been reported to be buried within the Bills of Mortality.

BIRTHS

BIRTHS in the year 1816.

Dec. 27, 1815. The lady of lord Cremorne, of a son and heir.

Jan. 5, 1816. The marchioness of Lansdowne, of a son and heir.

7. The countess of Ilchester, of a son.

The countess of Wemyss, of a daughter.

20. The lady of the honourable Charles Law, of a daughter.

24. The lady of rear-admiral sir George Cockburn, of a daughter.

The countess of Ashburnham, of a daughter.

Feb. 6. Lady Ponsonby, widow of the late major Ponsonby, K.C.B. of a son.

8. The countess of Waldegrave, of a son.

17. The duchess of Bedford, of a son.

20. Viscountess Jocelyn, of a son and heir.

24. Viscountess Pollington, of a son.

March 28. The duchess of Orleans, of a daughter.

April 11. Viscountess Massacrene, of a daughter.

12. Lady Kensington, of a daughter.

15. The lady of sir G. Clerk, M. P. of a son.

17. Lady Blantyre, of a daughter.

22. Lady Petre, of a daughter.

Lady Fitzroy Somerset, of a son.

Lady Elizabeth Hope Vere, twin-daughters.

May 13. The marchioness of Ely, of a son.

26. The lady of earl Compton, of a son and heir.

June 7. The countess of Cowper, of a son.

— Right honourable lady Forbes, of a daughter.

29. The marchioness of Anglesea, of a daughter.

July. The marchioness of Downshire, of a son.

27. The wife of Charles Barclay, esq. M. P. of a daughter.

At Vienna, the archduchess Henrietta, consort of the archduke Charles, of a daughter.

August. The lady of the right honourable Edward Thornton, of a son.

— Lady Charles Bentinck, of a daughter.

September 7. Lady Emily Drummond, of a son.

15. Lady Pringle, of a son.

17. Lady Hope, of a daughter.

18. The countess of Verulam, of a son.

— The lady of sir Godfrey Webster, bart. of a son.

28. The countess of Abercorn, of a son.

October 2. Lady Lowe, of a son.

6. The marchioness of Waterford, of a son.

7. The princess royal of Bavaria, of a son.

11. Right honourable lady Grantham, of a daughter.

November —. The countess of Mansfield, of a daughter.

December —. The marchioness of Sligo, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES in the year 1816.

December 1815. At Rome, the prince of Prossedi, eldest son of prince Gabrielli, to the eldest daughter of the prince of Canino (Lucien Buonaparte).

— At Naples, field Marshal count Nugent, K. C. B. commander-in-chief of the Austrian forces, to the only daughter of the duke of Riario.

Jan. 3. The rev. Richard Watson, son of the bishop of Llandaff, to miss Knight.

Jan. 3.

Jan. 3. Walter Fawkes, esq. to the honourable Mrs. Butler, daughter of J. Fernon, esq. and relict of the honourable P. Butler, third son of the earl of Carrick.

— Frederick Stuart Trench, esq. eldest son of the dean of Kildare, to the hon. miss Helena Perceval, second daughter of lord Arden.

— 20. At Stutgard, his highness the hereditary prince of Wurtemberg, to her imperial highness the duchess Catharine of Oldenburgh.

— Spencer Perceval Mansel, esq. son of the bishop of Bristol, to miss Ainslie, daughter of Dr. Ainslie.

— At Vienna, Charles eldest son of the late gen. Jerningham, to Louisa, daughter of baron Gratta.

February 6. At Paris, sir Charles Stuart, to lady Elizabeth Yorke.

15. Viscount Clonmore, to lady Cecil Frances Hamilton, daughter of the marquis of Abercorn.

20. The prince of Broglio, to the grand-daughter of M. Necker, madame de Stael.

27. Sir Henry Wellesley, to lady Georgiana Cecil, eldest daughter of the marquis of Salisbury.

— Viscount Mount Earl, to Mrs. Blennerhassett, widow of colonel Blennerhassett.

— At Vienna, prince Leopold, brother of the reigning duke of Saxe Coburg, to the countess of Cohary.

— The marquis of Sligo, to lady Esther Catherine de Bourg.

March — E. B. Portman, esq. M. P. to Mary, eldest daughter of sir E. Hulse, bart.

26. Lord Rendlesham, to Anna Sophia, daughter of Wm. Tatnall, esq.

28. The marquis of Tweeddale, to the honourable lady Susan Montagu, second daughter of the duke of Manchester.

April 22. John Drummond, esq.

to Georgiana, fourth daughter of admiral sir E. Drummond.

May 1. G. Sinclair, esq. eldest son of the right honourable sir J. Sinclair, bart. to Catherine Camilla, second daughter of sir W. Manners, bart.

4. Viscount Berry, eldest son of the earl of Albemarle, to miss Frances Steer.

— Honourable and rev. G. Neville, master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and youngest son of lord Braybrooke, to the right honourable Charlotte Legge, second surviving daughter of the late earl of Dartmouth.

10. The honourable capt. T. B. Capel, K. C. B. youngest brother of the earl of Essex, to Harriet Catherine, only daughter of F. G. Smyth, esq.

— Honourable H. Grey Bennet, second son of the earl of Tankerville, to miss Russell, daughter of lord Wm. Russell.

17. The earl of Normanton, to lady Diana Herbert, daughter of the earl of Pembroke.

June. The honourable Hayes St. Leger, only son of viscount Doneraile, to the lady Charlotte Esther Bernard, second daughter of the earl of Bandon.

July 1. The earl of Kenmare, to Augusta Anne, second daughter of sir Robert Wilmot, bart.

23. Right honourable earl Paulet, to lady Smith Burgess.

— Lord Charles Bentinck, to lady Abby.

— Honourable Mr. Campbell, eldest son of lord Cawdor, to lady Elizabeth Thynne, eldest daughter of the marquis of Bath.

18. Alexander Murray, esq. to lady Anne Bingham, daughter of the earl of Lucan.

August 20. Honourable J. Perceval,

ceval, eldest son of lord Arden, to lady Elizabeth Anne Brudenell, eldest daughter of the earl of Cardigan.

September 12. Right honourable J. U. Frere, esq. to lady Errol.

November 17. Marquis de Bounay, French minister at Berlin, to the countess O'Neil.

DEATHS in the years 1815, 1816.

December 1815. At Beaufort Castle, in the Aird, near Inverness, in his 80th year, the honourable Archibald Fraser, of Lovat, colonel commandant of the 1st regiment of Inverness-shire local militia, sometime British consul at Algiers, and afterwards M.P. for the county of Inverness.

At Taunton, aged 69, sir John Lethbridge, bart.

27. In Berkeley-square, the right honourable Alan Hyde, viscount Gardner, K. C. B. vice-admiral of the white.

31. At Fareham, Hants, in his 77th year, P. Patton, esq. admiral of the red squadron of H. M. fleet.

At Penrhyn Castle, the right honourable Anne Susanna, baroness Penrhyn, widow of Richard Penrhyn, lord Penrhyn, whose title became extinct in 1808.

At Paris, after eight days illness, the female Hottentot, whose person was publicly exhibited in London three or four years ago, and excited considerable curiosity, under the designation of the *Hottentot Venus*.

January 5. In Baker-street, in his 49th year, lieutenant-general sir George Prevost, colonel of the 16th regiment of foot, and late governor-in-chief and commander of the forces of the British colonies, North America.

At Warsaw, aged 125, F. Narodsky, a Polish gentleman. He

married his second wife at 92; a daughter now alive was the fruit of this marriage.

At Weilbourg, his serene highness the prince of Nassau Weilbourg.

In his 89th year, Henry Harington, M. D. and alderman of Bath.

17. In Mansfield-street, John Heath, esq. one of the judges of the court of Common Pleas.

At Paris, sir Thomas Windsor Hunloke, bart. of Wingerworth.

At Brussels, suddenly (on hearing of the death of her illustrious husband), the princess of Nassau-Weilbourg, Louisa Isabella Alexandrina.

22. In Piccadilly, sir Drummond Smith, bart. of Tring Park, Herts, brother of Joshua and Thomas Smith, and of the late J. Smith Burgess, and uncle of the marchioness of Northampton.

In Mount-street, the honourable Apsley Bathurst, D. C. L. fellow of All Souls college; son of the late earl, and only brother of the present earl of Bathurst.

At the earl of Hardwicke's, Tettenhanger, near St. Alban's, James Yorke, esq. third son of the late lord bishop of Ely.

On Clapham-common, Robert Barclay, esq. of Lombard-street, banker.

February 1. In Merrion-square South, Dublin, in his 88th year, the right honourable Joshua Allen, fifth viscount Allen, baron Allen of Stillorgan.

3. In Montagu-place, Bloomsbury, in his 58th year, sir Henry Dampier, knight, one of his majesty's justices of the Court of King's Bench.

4. At his apartments in Bond-street, in his 71st year, Richard lord viscount Fitzwilliam, F.R.S.

At Bath, the right honourable Samuel

Samuel viscount Hood, admiral of the red squadron of his majesty's fleet, governor of Greenwich Hospital, elder brother of the Trinity-house, and knight grand cross of the order of the Bath.

At Waterford, Rev. Dr. Power, Roman catholic bishop of Waterford.

At Havelberg, Prussia, aged 92, field-marshal Mollendorff, believed to be the oldest general in Europe.

Aged 85, John Baring, esq. M.P. for Exeter for 35 years, which honour he resigned in 1792.

At Heaton-house, Lancashire, in her 67th year, Eleanor countess of Wilton, daughter and co-heiress of sir Ralph Assheton, bart. of Middleton, Lancashire.

4. In Hamilton-place, in consequence of being thrown from his horse in St. James's Park some time ago, in his 56th year, Robert Hobart, earl of Buckinghamshire, baron Hobart, president of the board of commissioners for the management of affairs of India.

8. At Rochetts, Essex, after a long and most afflicting illness, the right honourable the countess of St. Vincent.

At Paris, at an advanced age, the duc de Rohan, peer of France, and first gentleman of the bedchamber.

At Compton Verney, in his 78th year, the right honourable John Peyto Verney, lord Willoughby de Broke, D.C. L. a lord of the king's bedchamber, and a vice-president of the Royal Humane Society.

At her cottage, Osbornby, near Falkingham, aged 80, Mrs. Glassup, formerly Mrs. Cole, mother of the countess of Berkeley.

15. At Naples, the prince of Hesse Philipshal captain-general of the Neapolitan army.

19. At Mrs. Dalrymple's, Portman-square, Louisa Grace, duchess

of St. Alban's; and her infant son the duke of St. Alban's.

25. In Merriion-street, Dublin, in his 67th year, the right honourable Chichester Skeffington, fourth earl of Massareene, eighth viscount Massareene, baron of Loughneagh, and a baronet of Great Britain, a trustee of the linen manufacture for the province of Munster, and collector of Belfast.

29. In Princes-street, Hanover-square, the right hon. Gustavus Hamilton, viscount Boyne, and baron Hamilton of Stackallan, Ireland.

March 5. At Brompton, where she went for change of air, one of the most amiable of her sex, whose virtues endeared her to all who knew her, the widow of major-general Haviland, 45th regiment, daughter-in-law of the late general Haviland, and niece of the right honourable Edmund Burke. She has left one son (now the only representative of that great statesman).

At Brighthelmstone, aged 54, Joseph de Mendoza Rios, esq. F. R. S. a native of Spain, and well known in the literary world for his writings on nautical astronomy.

Aged 61, the veteran performer, Mr. Hugh Sparks.

In her 82d year, Grace countess Dowager of Farnham. She was the youngest daughter of Arthur Burdett, esq.; and married to the late earl Farnham in 1771; by whom she had two daughters.

At his seat of Terling Place, Essex, in his 89th year, John Strutt, esq. lineally descended from sir Denner Strutt, of an ancient family, residing formerly near Warley, in that county.

11. In Lower Grosvenor-street, aged 90, dowager lady Hamilton, widow of the late general sir Robert Hamilton, bart. last surviving daughter of sir John Heathcote, bart.

bart. and aunt of the présent sir Gilbert Hamilton, bart.

11. At Oneida, aged 110, Skendonan, the Oneida chief, who distinguished himself by numerous exploits in support of the British in the Seven Years War.

14. At the manor-house, Hayes, aged 49, Mr. W. Walker, the celebrated astronomical lecturer.

17. At Malta, aged 37, lieutenant colonel Clement Martin Edwards, 1st Ceylon regiment.

18. In Hill-street, Berkeley-square, in her 77th year, Miss Goldsworthy, many years sub-preceptress to their royal highnesses the princesses.

20. At the Brazils, Maria Francis Isabella, queen of Portugal and Algarve.

John Courtenay, esq. a gentleman whose eminent talents, eloquence, and wit, displayed on former occasions in the house of commons, and, above all, whose political integrity, made him justly dear to all who knew him.

In Somerset-place, aged 77, Nathaniel Marchant, esq. R.A. F.S.A. seal-engraver to his majesty, chief engraver of stamps, and assistant engraver to his majesty's mint; a most respectable man, and a very eminent artist.

April 4. At the Cape of Good Hope, aged 58, major-general Joseph Baird, brother of sir David Baird, bart. G.C.B. and K.C.

11. In Parliament-street, after a short illness, aged 81, the right honourable Patrick Duigenan, LL.D. a privy counsellor in Ireland, M.P. for the city of Armagh, vicar-general of the metropolitan court of Armagh, of the dioceses Meath and Elphin, of the consistorial court of Dublin, judge of the prerogative court, king's advocate-general of the high court

of admiralty, and professor of civil law in the university of Dublin.

15. At his house in Bedford-square, in his 68th year, sir Simon le Blanc, one of the judges of the Court of King's Bench.

14. At his seat, Westmeath, the right honourable Richard Malone, lord Sunderlin.

23. At Langstone Cliff Cottage, near Dawlish, aged 67, Thomas Johnes, esq. of Hafod, M.P. and lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum for Cardiganshire.

26. At Presteign, on his return from the circuit, in his 62d year, George Hardinge, esq. M. A. F. R. S. and F. S. A. attorney general to the queen, and his majesty's justice for the counties of Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Radnor.

27. At Paris, where he had resided for the last 15 years, the rev. sir Herbert Croft, bart. a gentleman of very considerable literary attainments.

Rev. Charles Dunster, M. A. rector of Petworth, and rural dean of Western Sussex.

At Verona, of an abscess on the lungs, in her 28th year, the empress of Austria, second wife of the emperor Francis.

At Lishon, in his 37th year, the right honourable lord Arthur John Henry Somerset, brother to the duke of Beaufort, and M. P. for the county of Monmouth.

At Allerton-park, Yorkshire, suddenly, the right honourable Charles Philip Stourton lord Stourton.

May 2. In her 89th year, Mrs. Cælia Pomeroy, many years the much respected governess of a boarding-school for young ladies at Twickenham, and afterwards for a short time at Richmond.

2. In Green-street, aged 70, Greville, earl of Warwick and Brooke, lord-lieutenant of the county and recorder

recorder of the town and borough of Warwick.

At Hopetoun-house, in West Lothian, the right hon. James Hope Johnston, third earl of Hopetoun.

June 4. At Naples, in his 84th year, the celebrated Paesello, whose life and labours have been devoted to history and music.

6. At Petersburg, aged 83, field-marshal prince Nich. Soltikoff, who retained his faculties and activity of mind to the last.

17. In Portman-square, the right honourable Charles Pierrepont, earl Manvers, viscount Newark, and baron Pierrepont.

In his castle of Houssaye, marshal Augereau, duke of Castiglione, and peer of France.

In his 82d year, Mr. Thomas Henry, apothecary of Manchester, president of the literary and philosophical society of Manchester, F. R. S. of London, and member of several other learned societies both in this country and abroad.

20. At Highgate, aged 52, the rev. Jeremiah Joyce, a Dissenting teacher of the Unitarian persuasion, and author of many elementary works which bear his name, as well as compiler of others published anonymously, or under the names of other persons.

22. Aged 40, Sir Alexander Macdonald Lockhart, of Lee and Carnwath, bart.

26. O. S. At Kiew, where he had resided some years, and received a pension from the Russian government, aged 56, prince Ypsilanti, formerly Hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia.

27. In his 68th year, at his seat at Westdean-house, Sussex, most sincerely regretted, the right hon. John Peachy baron Selsey, of Selsey, in Sussex, F. R. S. F. A. S. and F. L. S.

29. In Leicester-square, aged 76, Robert Bland, M. D.

July 2. At Woolwich, sir John Dyer, lieutenant-colonel in the royal regiment of artillery, a knight commander of the order of the Bath, and son of the late Thomas Dyer, of Park-street, Westminster, esq.

2. In Gloucester-place, after an illness of only three days, in her 75th year, Mary baroness Nolcken.

At his house in Paris, of an apoplectic attack, the right honourable Arthur Annesley, earl of Mountnorris, viscount Valentia, baron Mountnorris, of Mountnorris Castle, Armagh, baron Altham, of Altham, Cork, and a baronet, a privy counsellor in Ireland, a governor of the county of Wexford, F. R. S. and F. S. A.

At Calgarth Park, Westmoreland, the right reverend and truly venerable Richard Watson, D. D. bishop of Llandaff.

At St. Cloud, the celebrated and favourite representative muse, Mrs. Dorothea Jordan.

Lieutenant-general the honourable sir Brydges Trecothick Henniker, bart. of Newton-hall, Essex, youngest son of the late, and brother of the present, lord Henniker.

7. The right honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan, after a protracted illness, in the 75th year of his age.

13. At Aberdeen, in the 34th year of his episcopate, the right rev. John Skinner, primate of the episcopal church in Scotland.

23. At Harrogate, Mrs. Elizabeth Hamilton; a lady well known to the world as the author of several useful and elegant works of the most beneficial tendency and happy execution.

Aged 83. General count Charles
of

of Erbach Schonberg, who had been 68 years in the Austrian service.

August 1. At Pancras, in his 69th year, David Macpherson, esq. sub-commissioner of the public records.

24. At Hammersmith, Charles Taylor, M. D. secretary to the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce.

At Worthy, Hants, in his 89th year, sir Chaloner Ogle, bart. senior admiral in the royal navy.

At Blankey, near Stamford, aged 58, Charles Chaplin, esq. M. P. for the county of Lincoln.

September 5. In Sermon-lane, Doctors' Commons, after a long and painful illness, which he bore to the last with exemplary fortitude, in his 74th year, Mr. Thomas Tomkins, the celebrated penman.

At Leicester, aged 74, Thomas Arnold, M. D. fellow of the royal college of physicians, and of the royal medical society of Edinburgh, senior physician to the infirmary, and sole physician to the lunatic asylum, Leicester.

6. In Belgrave Place, Pimlico, in his 80th year, Mr. Thomas, Clark, proprietor of Exeter Change, and occupier with the sale of cutlery, turnery, &c. of about one half of that extensive range of building.

In his 81st year, Philip d'Auvergne, prince de Bouillon, vice-admiral of the red, many years commander-in-chief on the Guernsey and Jersey station.

10. Died at Cheltenham, in his 81st year, Richard Reynolds, of Bristol, a member of the Society of Friends; who, in the full possession of those faculties which had long been dedicated with humble piety to the service of his Redeemer, full of faith, of days, of riches, and of honour, was gathered to his fathers, as a shock of corn fully ripe.

At Corsham-house, Wilts, aged 54, Paul Cobb Methuen, esq.

29. At his prebendal house in Little Dean's Yard, Westminster, in his 85th year, the rev. William Bell, D. D. senior prebendary of St. Peter's Westminster.

October 16. At Pilgrim, in Barbadoes, lieutenant-general sir James Leith, governor of that island.

21. In St. James's-square, in his 67th year, the right honourable William Lyon, earl Beauchamp.

30. At Stutgard, Frederic William I. king of Wurtemberg.

November 6. At Strelitz, his serene highness Charles Louis Frederick, grand duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz.

At Pewsey Parsonage, at an advanced age, rev. Joseph Townsend, M. A. rector of Pewsey, Wilts.

At Gatcombe House, Hants, sir Roger Curtis, bart. admiral of the red.

17. At Barbaville, the right honourable Patrick Dillon, 11th earl of Roscommon and baron of Kilkenny West.

Aged 83, Mr. John Noble, of Southampton-buildings, Holborn, upwards of half a century a clerk in the house of Messrs. Hoares, bankers, Fleet-street.

At Berlin, in his 70th year, Dr. Bremer, who was distinguished for his meritorious exertions in the introduction of vaccination.

At Taplow, in his 72d year, Abraham Robarts, esq. M. P. for Worcester, an eminent banker, partner with sir W. Curtis, in Lombard-street; an ex-director of the East India company; and colonel of the first regiment of East India volunteers. He first represented the city of Worcester in 1796.

December 16. At Chevening, Kent, in his 64th year, Charles Stanhope, earl Stanhope.

PRO-

PROMOTIONS in the year 1816.

January 8. A. Saint John Baker, esq. his majesty's consul-general in the United States of America.

20. Colonel James Bathurst, lieutenant-governor of the Virgin Islands, vice lieutenant-colonel Napier resigned.

Dec. 26. Rev. T. Rennell, M. A. fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Christian advocate, vice D'Oyly.

Dublin Castle, Jan. 22. Promotions in the peerage granted to the following noblemen and their respective heirs male: Walter, earl of Ormonde and Ossory, the dignity of a marquess, by the title of marquess of Ormonde, county Tipperary. To Robert, earl of Londonderry, the dignity of a marquess, by the title of marquess of Londonderry, county Londonderry. To H. Burton, earl Conyngham, the dignities of a viscount, earl and marquess, by the titles of viscount Slane, county Meath, earl of Mount Charles, and marquess Conyngham, county Donegal. To Charles John, viscount Mountjoy, the dignity of an earl, by the title of the earl of Blesinton, county Wicklow. To Richard, viscount Bantry, the dignities of viscount and earl, by the titles of viscount Beerhaven, and earl of Bantry, county Cork. To Richard, baron Cahir, the dignities of viscount and earl, by the titles of viscount Cahir, and earl of Glengall, county Tipperary. To John Baker Holroyd, baron Sheffield, of Sheffield, county York, baron Sheffield, of Dunamore, county Meath, and baron Sheffield, of Roscommon, Ireland, the dignities of viscount and earl, by the titles of viscount Pevensy, and earl of Sheffield, in Ireland. To Lodge Evans, baron Frankfort, the dignity of a viscount by the title of viscount Frankfort de Montmoren-

cy, of Galmoye, county Kilkenny. To Richard, baron Adare, the dignity of a viscount, by the title of viscount Mount Earl, county Limerick. To William, baron Ennismore, the dignity of a viscount, by the title of viscount Ennismore and Listowel, county Kerry. And to John Prendergast, baron Kiltarton, the dignity of a viscount, by the title of viscount Gort, of Limerick, with remainder to right honourable Charles Vereker, nephew of the said John Prendergast baron Kiltarton, and to his heirs male.

Whitehall, Jan. 23. The dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom, granted to the following gentlemen, and their respective heirs male. Sir Chaloner Ogle, *knt.* admiral of the red squadron of his majesty's fleet; Bannastre Tarleton, esq. general in the army, and colonel of his majesty's 21st light dragoons; John Floyd, esq. general in the army, and colonel of his majesty's 8th light dragoons.

27. James Allan Park, esq. one of the justices of the common pleas, vice sir A. Chambre resigned.

Downing-street, Jan. 29. Lieutenant-general sir John Coape Sherbrooke, governor in chief of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton.

Lieutenant-colonel Charles W. Maxwell, governor and commander-in-chief of the island of Dominica.

Brighton, Jan. 30. Duke of Richmond, lord lieutenant of Sussex.

Admiral sir Richard King, commander-in-chief in the East Indies, vice admiral sir George Burlton deceased.

Sir J. Colpoys, governor of Greenwich Hospital, vice lord Hood.

George

George Snowley Holroyd, esq. a judge of the King's Bench, vice Dampier deceased.

Downing-street, Feb. 13. Major-general Sir Frederick Phillips Robinson, K. C. B. governor of Tobago.

Major-general George William Ramsay, governor of Antigua and Montserrat.

Thomas Probyn, esq. governor of St. Christopher, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands.

17. Major-general Phineas Riall, governor of Grenada.

John Leach, esq. chancellor, William Draper Best, esq. attorney-general, and William Harrison, esq. solicitor-general, to the prince of Wales.

Mar. 16. Henry Thomas Howard Molyneux, esq. M. P. deputy earl marshal of England to his brother the duke of Norfolk.

Marquess of Salisbury and earl of Chichester, joint postmasters general.

James Topping, esq. attorney general of the county palatine of Lancaster.

Sir Thomas Boulden Thompson, one of the directors of Greenwich Hospital, vice lord Hood; and treasurer of Greenwich Hospital, vice sir J. Colpoys.

Earl of Macclesfield, president of the board of agriculture, vice earl of Hardwicke resigned.

Whitehall, May 8. His serene highness Leopold George Frederick, prince of Cobourg, consort of her royal highness the princess Charlotte Augusta, to take precedence and rank before the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and all other great officers, and before the dukes (others than and except the dukes of the blood royal) and all other peers of the realm.

War-office, May 4. His serene highness Leopold George Frederick, prince of Saxe Cobourg of Saalfeld, &c. to be a general in the army.

11. Sir Graham Moore, lord of the Admiralty, vice lord Henry Paulet.

21. Vice-admiral Pickmore, governor and commander in chief of Newfoundland.

25. The dignity of field marshal conferred on the duke of Gloucester, and the prince of Saxe Cobourg.

The earl of Clancarty, ambassador extraordinary to the Netherlands.

Carlton-House, May 25. Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, and sir J. Abercromby, knights grand crosses of the Bath.

Whitehall, June 4. Right honourable G. Canning, viscount Castlereagh, right honourable Henry earl Bathurst, and right honourable Henry viscount Sidmouth (his majesty's three principal secretaries of state), right hon. the earl of Liverpool, right hon. N. Vansittart, right honourable John baron Teignmouth, viscount Lowther, right honourable John Sullivan, lord Ashley, lord Binning, and right honourable W. Sturges Bourne, H. M. commissioners for the affairs of India.

Rev. Dr. Stanser, bishop of Nova Scotia, vice Dr. Inglis deceased.

June 29. General R. A. Seymour, governor and commander in chief of St. Lucia.

The marquis of Hertford, lord lieutenant of Warwickshire.

July 2. The prince of Cobourg, member of the privy council.

6. Adam Gillies, esq. one of the judges in the Scotch Jury court.

Archibald Colquhoun, esq. clerk of the registers in Scotland.

The earl of Hopetoun, lieutenant and sheriff principal of Linlithgowshire.

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July 16. Rev. Herbert Marsh, D. D. recommended to be elected bishop of Llandaff, vice Dr. Watson deceased.

Downing-street, July 29. Lieutenant general George, earl of Dalhousie, G. C. B. lieutenant governor of the province of Nova Scotia.

Foreign-office, Aug. 6. Honourable John Meade, consul-general in Spain, vice sir John Hunter deceased.

Whitehall, Aug. 6. Captain sir Thomas Lavie, K. G. C. B. governor of the Royal Naval Asylum at Greenwich, vice Dacres.

17. The dignity of a baron of the United Kingdom, granted unto Algernon Percy, esq. (commonly called lord Algernon Percy) by the title of baron Prudhoe, of Prudhoe Castle, Northumberland.

Sept. 14. Baroness Lucas, a countess of the United Kingdom, by the title of countess de Grey, of Wrest.

Right rev. bishop Gleig, LL. D. F. R. S. E. A. S. S. primate of the episcopal church in Scotland, vice bishop Skinner deceased.

Rev. William Skinner, D. D. a bishop of the episcopal church in Scotland, vice his late father.

21. Lord Exmouth created viscount Exmouth. Rear admiral Milne, knight commander of the Bath. And captains C. Ekins, honourable F. W. Aylmer, W. F. Wise, honourable A. Maitland, W. Patterson, and J. Coode, companions of the Bath.

Carlton-house, Oct. 2. Rear-admiral sir David Milne, invested with the ensigns of a knight commander of the Bath.

Whitehall, Oct. 4. Baron Von de Capellen, vice admiral of the fleet of the king of the Netherlands, an honorary knight commander of the Bath.

Rev. Thomas Lee, D. D. Vice-

chancellor of the university of Oxford for the ensuing year.

John Herriot, esq. comptroller of Greenwich Hospital.

John Charles Herries, esq. auditor of the civil list.

Nov. 1. Rev. Dr. Kaye, divinity professor in the university of Cambridge, vice rev. Dr. Marsh.

Dec. 7. The dignities of viscount, earl, and marquis, granted to the earl of Moira, by the titles of viscount Loudon, earl of Rawdon, and marquis of Hastings.

SHERIFFS for the year 1816.

Bedfordshire. Henry Brandreth, of Houghton Regis, esq.

Berkshire. Richard Powlett Wrighte Benyon, of Englefield, esq.

Buckinghamshire. Thomas Tyrringham Bernard, of Nether Windchendon, esq.

Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. John Whitby Quintin, of Hatley Saint George, esq.

Cheshire. Samuel Aldersey, of Aldersey, esq.

Cumberland. William Brown, of Tallantire-hall, esq.

Derbyshire. John Peel, of the Pastures, esq.

Devonshire. Sir Arthur Chichester, of Youlston, bart.

Dorsetshire. J. Herbert Browne, of Weymouth, esq.

Essex. Nicholas Pearce, of Loughton, esq.

Gloucestershire. Daniel John Niblett, of Harefield, esq.

Herefordshire. Kingsmill Evans, of the Hill, esq.

Herts. Daniel Giles, of Youngsbury, esq.

Kent. Alexander Evelyn, of So. Clere, esq.

Leicestershire. Charles William Pochin, of Barking, esq.

Lincolnshire. Neville King, of Asby, esq.

Monmouth-

Monmouthshire. Sir Henry Protheroe, of Llantarnam Abbey, knt.

Norfolk. Sigismund Trafford Southwell, of Wroxham, esq.

Northamptonshire. Sir James Langham, of Cottisbrooke, bart.

Northumberland. Matthew Bell, of Woolsington, esq.

Nottinghamshire. Sir Robert Howe Bromley, of East Stoke, bart.

Oxfordshire. John Phillips, of Culham, esq.

Rutlandshire. John C. Gilson, of Berley, esq.

Shropshire. Sir Thomas John Tyrwhitt Jones, of Stanley, bart.

Somersetshire. John Goodford, of Yeovil, esq.

Staffordshire. John Smith, of Great Fenton, esq.

County of Southampton. John Morant, of Brokenhurst, esq.

Suffolk. Sir Charles Blois, of Cockfield-hall, bart.

Surrey. B. Barnard, of Ham-common, esq.

Sussex. John Ingram, of Rottingdean, esq.

Warwickshire. William Holbeche, of Farnborough, esq.

Wiltshire. John Hussey, of New Sarum, esq.

Worcestershire. Joseph Lea, of the Hill, esq.

Yorkshire. Richard Oliver Gascoigne, of Parlington, esq.

WALES.

Caermarthenshire. John Colby, of Pennywern, esq.

Pembrokeshire. H. Mathias, of Fern-hill, esq.

Cardiganshire. Thos. Lloyd, of Coedmore, esq.

Glamorganshire. Richard John Hill, of Plymouth Lodge, esq.

Breconshire. Edward Kendal, of Dany Park, esq.

Radnorshire. Sir Harford Jones, of Boultibrook, esq.

Merioneth. John Davies, of Fron-haulog, esq.

Carnarvonshire. T. Burrow, of Benarth, esq.

Anglesey. John Price, of Plas Llanfallo, esq.

Montgomeryshire. John Arthur Lloyd, of Domgay, esq.

Denbighshire. Edward Edwards, of Cerrig Llwydion, esq.

Flintshire. John Salusbury Piozzi Salusbury, of Bryn Bella, esq.

Appointed by the Prince of Wales.

Cornwall. Sir Arscott Ourry Molesworth, of Pencarrow.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

STATE PAPERS AND OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

THE number and importance of these, which have appeared during the year 1816, are trifling compared with those which were put forth by the various powers of the civilized world during war:—of state papers, properly so called, we have only selected two, as deserving insertion; these are a convention to regulate the commerce between Great Britain and the United States of America, and the President's speech:—in every point of view these are papers of very considerable interest. We are fully aware of the existence of what is called the Holy Alliance; but, in its present form, it is so vague and obscure, that till it is illustrated, either by further official papers from the powers who have signed it, or by their public conduct, it seems to us to require only general notice.

We were in doubt whether we ought to insert the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the Elgin Marbles;—and if it were determined to insert it, whether this were its proper place. Such reports of the committees of parliament as related to, or were illustrative of, the state of the country, we have already noticed in the body of our work; but this, not

being of that description, could not there be noticed; and yet it deserves insertion: and as, though it principally relates to the fine arts, yet it involves a question regarding the rights of an ambassador in foreign courts, we have determined to insert it in this part of the volume. To the Report, we have added the eleventh number of the Appendix, containing a catalogue of the marbles. The last article is an abstract of the report of the committee on the laws in foreign states, respecting the regulation of their Catholic subjects, in ecclesiastical matters. This report is very voluminous, and of course could not be inserted entire in our work: yet, as there is a great probability that it will be much referred to, and relied upon, in the future discussions on the Catholic claims, we have deemed it proper to give an abstract of it.

A CONVENTION TO REGULATE THE COMMERCE BETWEEN THE TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THOSE OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY.

The United States of America and his Britannic majesty, being desirous by a convention to regulate the commerce and navigation between their respective countries, territories, and people, in such a manner

ner as to render the same reciprocally beneficial and satisfactory, have respectively named plenipotentiaries, and given them full powers to treat of and conclude such convention; that is to say, the president of the United States, by and with the consent of the senate thereof, hath appointed for their plenipotentiaries, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin, citizens of the United States: and his royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on behalf of his majesty, has named for his plenipotentiaries the right hon. Frederick John Robinson, vice-president of the committee of privy council for trade and plantations, joint-paymaster of his majesty's forces, and a member of the imperial parliament; Henry Goulburn, esq. a member of the imperial parliament, and under-secretary of state; and William Adams, esq. doctor of civil laws: And the said plenipotentiaries having mutually produced and shown their said full powers, and exchanged copies of the same, have agreed on and concluded the following articles, viz.—

ART. 1. There shall be between the territories of the United States of America, and all the territories of his Britannic majesty in Europe, a reciprocal liberty of commerce. The inhabitants of the two countries respectively shall have liberty freely and securely to come with their ships and cargoes to all such places, ports, and rivers in the territories aforesaid to which other foreigners are permitted to come, to enter into the same, and to remain and reside in any parts of the said territories respectively; also to hire and occupy houses and warehouses for the purposes of their commerce; and generally, the merchants and traders of each nation respectively shall en-

joy the most complete protection and security for their commerce; but subject always to the laws and statutes of the two countries respectively.

2. No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation to the United States of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic majesty's territories in Europe, and no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the territories of his Britannic Majesty in Europe of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, than are or shall be payable on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign countries; nor shall any higher or other duties or charges be imposed in either of the two countries, on the exportation of any articles to the United States, or to his Britannic majesty's territories in Europe respectively, than such as are payable on the exportation of the like articles to any other foreign country; nor shall any prohibition be imposed on the exportation or importation of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, or of his Britannic majesty's territories in Europe, to or from the said territories of his Britannic majesty in Europe, to or from the said United States, which shall not be equally extended to all other nations.

No higher or other duties or charges shall be imposed in any of the ports of the United States on British vessels, than those payable in the same ports by vessels of the United States, nor in the ports of any of his Britannic majesty's territories in Europe, on the vessels of the United States, than shall be payable in the same ports on British vessels. The same duties shall be

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paid on the importation into the United States of any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, whether such importation shall be in vessels of the United States, or in British vessels, and the same duties shall be paid on the importation into the ports of any of his Britannic majesty's territories in Europe, of any article the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, whether such importation shall be in British vessels, or in the vessels of the United States.

The same duties shall be paid, and the same bounties allowed on the exportation of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of his Britannic majesty's territories in Europe to the United States, whether such exportation shall be in British vessels, or vessels of the United States, and the same duties shall be paid, and the same bounties allowed on the exportation of any article the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States to his Britannic majesty's territories in Europe, whether such exportation shall be in British vessels, or in vessels of the United States.

It is further agreed, that in all places where drawbacks are or may be allowed upon the re-exportation of any goods the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country respectively, the amount of the said drawbacks shall be the same, whether the said goods shall have been originally imported in a British or American vessel; but when such re-exportation shall take place from the United States in a British vessel, or from territories of his Britannic majesty in Europe in an American vessel, to any other foreign nation; the two contracting parties reserve to themselves respectively the right of regulating or diminishing in such

case the amount of the said drawback.

The intercourse between the United States and his Britannic majesty's possessions in the West Indies, and on the continent of North America, shall not be affected by any of the provisions of this article; but each party shall remain in the complete possession of its rights, with respect to such an intercourse.

3. His Britannic majesty agrees that the vessels of the United States of America shall be admitted, and hospitably received, at the principal settlements of the British dominions in the East Indies; videlicet, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and the Prince of Wales's Island: and that the citizens of the said United States may freely carry on trade between the said principal settlements and the said United States in all articles of which the importation and exportation respectively to and from the said territories shall not be entirely prohibited; provided only, that it shall not be lawful for them, in any time of war between the British government and any state or power whatever, to export from the said territories, without the special permission of the British government, any military stores or naval stores or rice; the citizens of the United States shall pay for their vessels, when admitted, no higher or other duty or charge, than shall be payable on the vessels of the most favoured European nations, and they shall pay no higher or other duties or charges on the importation or exportation of the cargoes of the said vessels, than shall be payable on the same articles when imported or exported in the vessels of the most favoured European nations. But it is expressly agreed, that the vessels of the United States,

States shall not carry any articles from the said principal settlements to any port or place, except to some port or place in the United States of America when the same shall be unladen. It is also understood, that the permission granted by this article is not to extend to allow the vessels of the United States to carry on any part of the coasting trade of the said British territories: but the vessels of the United States having, in the first instance, proceeded to one of the said principal settlements of the British dominions in the East Indies, and then going with their original cargoes, or any part thereof, from one of the said principal settlements to another, shall not be considered as carrying on the coasting trade. The vessels of the United States may also touch for refreshments, but not for commerce, in the course of their voyage, to or from the British territories in India, or to or from the dominions of the emperor of China, at the Cape of Good Hope, the island of St. Helena, or such other places as may be in the possession of Great Britain, in the African or Indian seas; it being well understood, that in all that regards these articles, the citizens of the United States shall be subject, in all respects, to the laws and regulations of the British government from time to time established.

4. It shall be free for each of the two contracting parties respectively, to appoint consuls for the protection of trade to reside in the dominions and territories of the other party: but before any consul shall act as such, he shall in the usual form be approved and admitted by the government to which he is sent; and it is hereby declared, that in case of illegal or improper conduct towards the laws or government of the

country to which he is sent, such consul may either be punished according to law, if the laws will reach the case, or be sent back, the offended government assigning to the other the reasons for the same.

It is hereby declared, that either of the contracting parties may except from the residence of consuls such particular places as such party shall judge fit to be so excepted.

5. This convention, when the same shall have been duly ratified by the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of their senate, and by his Britannic majesty; and the respective ratifications mutually exchanged, shall be binding and obligatory on the said United States and his majesty for four years from the date of its signature, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in six months from this time, or sooner, if possible.

Done at London, this 3d day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifteen.

(L.S.) JOHN Q. ADAMS,

(L.S.) H. CLAY,

(L.S.) ALBERT GALLATIN,

(L.S.) FRED. J. ROBINSON,

(L.S.) HENRY GOULBURN,

(L.S.) WILLIAM ADAMS.

Now therefore be it known, that I, James Madison, president of the United States of America, having seen and considered the foregoing convention, have, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, accepted, ratified, and confirmed the same, and every clause and article thereof, subject to the exception contained in a declaration made by the authority of his Britannic majesty on the 24th day of November last, a copy of which declaration is hereunto annexed.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States

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to be hereunto affixed, and have signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Washington, this 22d day of December, A. D. 1815, and of the independence of the United States the 40th.

(L.S.) JAMES MADISON.

By the President. JAMES MONROE,
Secretary of State.

DECLARATION.

The undersigned, his Britannic majesty's *chargé d'affaires* in the United States of America, is commanded by his royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to explain and declare, upon the exchange of the ratifications of the convention concluded in London on the 3d of July, in the present year, for regulating the commerce and navigation between the two countries, that in consequence of events which have happened in Europe subsequent to the signature of the convention aforesaid, it has been deemed expedient and determined, in conjunction with the Allied Sovereigns, that St. Helena shall be the place allotted for the future residence of general Napoleon Buonaparte, under such regulations as may be necessary for the perfect security of his person; and it has been resolved, for that purpose, that all ships and vessels whatever, as well British ships and vessels as others, excepting only ships belonging to the East India company, shall be excluded from all communication with, or approach to that island. It has therefore become impossible to comply with so much of the 3d article of the treaty as relates to the liberty of touching for refreshments at the island of St. Helena. And the ratifications of the said treaty will be exchanged under the explicit declaration and understanding, that the vessels of

the United States cannot be allowed to touch at or hold any communication whatever with the said island, so long as the said island shall continue to be the place of residence of the said Napoleon Buonaparte.

(Signed)

ANTHONY ST. JOHN BAKER.
Washington, Nov. 24, 1815.

MESSAGE OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO CONGRESS.

Washington, Dec. 5, 1815.

This day at 12 o'clock, the president of the United States transmitted to both houses of congress the following message, by Mr. Todd, his secretary:—

Fellow citizens of the senate

and the house of representatives:

I have the satisfaction, on our present meeting, of being able to communicate to you the successful termination of the war which had been commenced against the United States by the regency of Algiers. The squadron in advance, on that service, under commodore Decatur, lost not a moment after its arrival in the Mediterranean in seeking the naval force of the enemy, then cruising in that sea, and succeeded in capturing two of his ships, one of them the principal ship commanded by the Algerine admiral. The high character of the American commander was brilliantly sustained on the occasion, which brought his own ship into close action with that of his adversary, as was the accustomed gallantry of all the officers and men actually engaged. Having prepared the way by this demonstration of American skill and prowess, he hastened to the port of Algiers, where peace was promptly yielded to his victorious force. In the terms stipulated, the rights and honour of the United States were particularly consulted, by a perpe-
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tual relinquishment, on the part of the dey, of all pretensions to tribute from them. The impressions which have thus been made, strengthened as they will have been by subsequent transactions with the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli, by the appearance of the larger force which followed under commodore Bainbridge, the chief in command of the expedition, and by the judicious precautionary arrangements left by him in that quarter, afford a reasonable prospect of future security, for the valuable portion of our commerce which passes within reach of the Barbary cruisers.

It is another source of satisfaction that the treaty of peace with Great Britain has been succeeded by a convention on the subject of commerce, concluded by the plenipotentiaries of the two countries. In this result a disposition is manifested on the part of that nation, corresponding with the disposition of the United States, which, it may be hoped, will be improved into liberal arrangements on other subjects, on which the parties have mutual interests, or which might endanger their future harmony. Congress will decide on the expediency of promoting such a sequel, by giving effect to the measure of confining the American navigation to American seamen; a measure which, at the same time that it might have that conciliatory tendency, would have the further advantage of increasing the independence of our navigation, and the resources for our maritime rights.

In conformity with the articles of the treaty of Ghent, relating to the Indians, as well as with a view to the tranquillity of our western and north-western frontiers, measures were taken to establish an immediate peace with the several tribes who had been engaged in hostilities

against the United States. Such of them as were invited to Detroit acceded readily to a renewal of the former treaties of friendship. Of the other tribes who were invited to a station on the Mississippi, the greater number have also accepted the peace offered to them. The residue, consisting of the more distant tribes or parts of tribes remain to be brought over by further explanations, or by such other means as may be adapted to the disposition they may finally disclose.

The Indian tribes within and bordering on our southern frontier, whom a cruel war on their part had compelled us to chastise into peace, have lately shown a restlessness, which has called for preparatory measures for repressing it, and for protecting the commissioners engaged in carrying the terms of the peace into execution.

The execution of the act for fixing the military peace establishment, has been attended with difficulties which even now can only be overcome by legislative aid. The selection of officers; the payment and discharge of the troops enlisted for the war; the payment of the retained troops, and their re-union from detached and distant stations; the collection and security of the public property, in the quarter-master, commissary and ordnance departments; and the constant medical assistance required in hospitals and garrisons, rendered a complete execution of the act impracticable on the first of May, the period more immediately contemplated. As soon, however, as circumstances would permit, and as far as it has been practicable, consistently with the public interests, the reduction of the army has been accomplished; but the appropriations for its pay, and for other branches of the military

tary service, having proved inadequate, the earliest attention to that subject will be necessary; and the expediency of continuing upon the peace establishment the staff officers, who have hitherto been provisionally retained, is also recommended to the consideration of congress.

In the performance of the executive duty upon this occasion, there has not been wanting a just sensibility to the merits of the American army during the late war; but the obvious policy and design in fixing an efficient military peace establishment, did not afford an opportunity to distinguish the aged and infirm, on account of their past services; nor the wounded and disabled, on account of their present sufferings. The extent of the reduction indeed unavoidably involved the exclusion of many meritorious officers of every rank, from the service of their country; and so equal, as well as so numerous, were the claims to attention, that a decision by the standard of comparative merit, could seldom be attained. Judged, however, in candour, by a general standard of positive merit, the army register will, it is believed, do honour to the establishment; while the case of those officers, whose names are not included in it, devolves, with the strongest interest, upon the legislative authority, for such provision as shall be deemed the best calculated to give support and solace to the veteran and invalid; to display the beneficence as well as the justice of the government; and to inspire a martial zeal for the public service, upon every future emergency.

Although the embarrassments arising from the want of an uniform national currency have not been diminished since the adjournment of congress, great satisfaction

has been derived, in contemplating the revival of the public credit, and the efficiency of the public resources. The receipts into the treasury from the various branches of revenue, during the nine months ending on the 30th of September last, have been estimated at twelve millions and a half of dollars; the issues of treasury notes of every denomination, during the same period, amounted to the sum of fourteen millions of dollars; and there was also obtained upon loan, during the same period, a sum of nine millions of dollars, of which the sum of six millions of dollars was subscribed in cash, and the sum of three millions of dollars in treasury notes. With these means, added to the sum of one million and a half of dollars, being the balance of money in the treasury on the 1st of January, there has been paid, between the 1st of January and the 1st of October, on account of the appropriations of the preceding and of the present year (exclusively of the amount of the treasury notes subscribed to the loan, and the amount redeemed in the payment of duties and taxes), the aggregate sum of thirty-three millions and a half of dollars, leaving a balance then in the treasury estimated at the sum of three millions of dollars. Independent, however, of the arrearages due for military services and supplies, it is presumed, that a further sum of five millions of dollars, including the interest on the public debt, payable on the 1st of January next, will be demanded at the treasury to complete the expenditures of the present year, and for which the existing ways and means will sufficiently provide.

The national debt as it was ascertained on the 1st of October last, amounted in the whole to the sum of

of one hundred and twenty millions of dollars, consisting of the unredeemed balance of the debt contracted before the late war, (thirty-nine millions of dollars,) the amount of the funded debt contracted in consequence of the war (sixty-four millions of dollars), and the amount of the unfunded and floating debt, (including the various issues of treasury notes,) seventeen millions of dollars, which is in a gradual course of payment. There will, probably, be some addition to the public debt, upon the liquidation of various claims which are depending; and a conciliatory disposition on the part of congress may lead honourably and advantageously to an equitable arrangement of the militia expenses, incurred by the several states, without the previous sanction or authority of the government of the United States. But, when it is considered that the new, as well as the old, portion of the debt has been contracted in the assertion of the national rights and independence; and when it is recollected, that the public expenditures, not being exclusively bestowed upon subjects of a transient nature, will long be visible in the number and equipments of the American navy, in the military works for the defence of our harbours and our frontiers, and in the supplies of our arsenals and magazines; the amount will bear a gratifying comparison with the objects which have been attained, as well as with the resources of the country.

The arrangement of the finances, with a view to the receipts and expenditures of a permanent peace establishment, will necessarily enter into the deliberations of congress during the present session. It is true, that the improved condition of the public revenue will not only afford the means of maintaining the

faith of the government with its creditors inviolate, and of prosecuting successfully the measures of the most liberal policy; but will also justify an immediate alleviation of burthens imposed by the necessities of the war. It is, however, essential to every modification of the finances, that the benefits of a uniform national currency should be restored to the community. The absence of the precious metals will, it is believed, be a temporary evil; but until they can be again rendered the general medium of exchange, it devolves on the wisdom of congress to provide a substitute, which shall equally engage the confidence, and accommodate the wants, of the citizens throughout the Union. If the operation of the state banks cannot produce this result, the probable operation of a national bank will merit consideration; and, if neither of these expedients be deemed effectual, it may become necessary to ascertain the terms upon which the notes of the government (no longer required as an instrument of credit) shall be issued, upon motives of general policy, as a common medium of circulation.

Notwithstanding the security for future repose which the United States ought to find in their love of peace, and their constant respect for the rights of other nations, the character of the times particularly inculcates the lesson, that, whether to prevent or repel danger, we ought not to be unprepared for it. This consideration will sufficiently recommend to congress a liberal provision for the immediate extension and gradual completion of the works of defence, both fixed and floating, on our maritime frontier, and an adequate provision for guarding our inland frontier against dangers to which certain portions of it may continue to be exposed.

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As an improvement on our military establishment, it will deserve the consideration of congress, whether a corps of invalids might not be so organized and employed, as at once to aid in the support of meritorious individuals, excluded by age or infirmities from the existing establishment, and to preserve to the public the benefit of their stationary services, and of their exemplary discipline. I recommend also an enlargement of the military academy already established, and the establishment of others in other sections of the union. And I cannot press too much on the attention of congress, such a classification and organization of the militia, as will most effectually render it the safeguard of a free state. If experience has shown in the late splendid achievements of the militia, the value of this resource for the public defence, it has shown also the importance of that skill in the use of arms, and that familiarity with the essential rules of discipline, which cannot be expected from the regulations now in force. With this subject is ultimately connected the necessity of accommodating the laws, in every respect, to the great object of enabling the political authority of the union to employ, promptly and effectually, the physical power of the union, in the cases designated by the constitution.

The signal services which have been rendered by our navy, and the capacities it has developed for the successful co-operation in the national defence, will give to that portion of the public force its full value in the eyes of congress, at an epoch which calls for the constant vigilance of all governments. To preserve the ships now in a sound state; to complete those already contemplated; to provide amply the unperishable materials for

prompt augmentations, and to improve the existing arrangements into more advantageous establishments, for the construction, the repairs, and the security of vessels of war, is dictated by the soundest policy.

In adjusting the duties on imports to the object of revenue, the influence of the tariff on manufactures will necessarily present itself for consideration. However wise the theory may be, which leaves to the sagacity and interest of individuals the application of their industry and resources, there are in this, as in other cases, exceptions to the general rule. Besides the condition which the theory itself implies, of a reciprocal adoption by other nations, experience teaches that so many circumstances must occur in introducing and maturing manufacturing establishments, especially of the more complicated kinds, that a country may remain long without them, although sufficiently advanced, and in some respects even peculiarly fitted for carrying them on with success. Under circumstances giving a powerful impulse to manufacturing industry, it has made among us a progress, and exhibited an efficiency, which justify the belief, that with a protection not more than is due to the enterprising citizens whose interests are now at stake, it will become at an early day not only safe against occasional competitions from abroad, but a source of domestic wealth, and even of external commerce. In selecting the branches more especially entitled to the public patronage, a preference is obviously claimed by such as will relieve the United States from a dependence on foreign supplies, ever subject to casual failures, for articles necessary for the public defence, or connected with the primary wants of individuals. It will

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be an additional recommendation of particular manufactures, where the materials for them are extensively drawn from our agriculture, and consequently impart and ensure to that great fund of national prosperity and independence, an encouragement which cannot fail to be rewarded.

Among the means of advancing the public interest, the occasion is a proper one for recalling the attention of congress to the great importance of establishing throughout our country the roads and canals which can best be executed under the national authority. No objects within the circle of political œconomy so richly repay the expense bestowed on them: there are none, the utility of which is more universally ascertained and acknowledged; none that do more honour to the government, whose wise and enlarged patriotism duly appreciates them. Nor is there any country which presents a field, where nature invites more the art of man, to complete her own work for his accommodation and benefit. These considerations are strengthened, moreover, by the political effect of these facilities for intercommunication, in bringing and binding more closely together the various parts of our extended confederacy. Whilst the states, individually, with a laudable enterprise and emulation, avail themselves of their local advantages, by new roads, by navigable canals, and by improving the streams susceptible of navigation, the general government is the more urged to similar undertakings, requiring a national jurisdiction, and national means, by the prospect of thus systematically completing so inestimable a work. And it is a happy reflection, that any defect of constitutional authority, which may

be encountered, can be supplied in a mode which the constitution itself has providently pointed out.

The present is a favourable season also for bringing again into view the establishment of a national seminary of learning within the district of Columbia, and with means drawn from the property therein subject to the authority of the general government. Such an institution claims the patronage of congress, as a monument of their solicitude for the advancement of knowledge, without which the blessings of liberty cannot be fully enjoyed, or long preserved; as a model instructive in the formation of other seminaries; as a nursery of enlightened preceptors; as a central resort of youth and genius from every part of their country, diffusing on their return examples of those national feelings, those liberal sentiments, and those congenial manners, which contribute cement to our union, and strength to the great political fabric, of which that is the formation.

In closing this communication, I ought not to repress a sensibility, in which you will unite, to the happy lot of our country, and to the goodness of a superintending Providence to which we are indebted for it. Whilst other portions of mankind are labouring under the distresses of war, or struggling with adversity in other forms, the United States are in the tranquil enjoyment of prosperous and honourable peace. In reviewing the scenes through which it has been attained, we can rejoice in the proofs given, that our political institutions, founded in human rights, and framed for their preservation, are equal to the severest trials of war, as well as adapted to the ordinary periods of repose. As fruits of this experience, and of the reputation acquired by the
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American arms, on the land and on the water, the nation finds itself possessed of a growing respect abroad, and of a just confidence in itself, which are among the best pledges for its peaceful career.

Under other aspects of our country, the strongest features of its flourishing condition are seen, in a population rapidly increasing, on a territory as productive as it is extensive; in a general industry, and fertile ingenuity, which find their ample rewards; and in an affluent revenue, which admits a reduction of the public burthens without withdrawing the means of sustaining the public credit, of gradually discharging the public debt, of providing for the necessary defensive and precautionary establishments, and of patronising, in every authorised mode, undertakings conducive to the aggregate wealth and individual comfort of our citizens.

It remains for the guardians of the public welfare to persevere in that justice and good will towards other nations, which invite a return of these sentiments towards the United States; to cherish institutions which guaranty their safety, and their liberties, civil and religious; and to combine with a liberal system of foreign commerce, an improvement of the natural advantages, and a protection and extension of the independent resources, of our highly favoured and happy country.

In all measures having such objects, my faithful co-operation will be afforded.

JAMES MADISON.

REPORT.

The select committee appointed to inquire whether it be expedient that the collection mentioned in the earl of Elgin's petition, pre-

sented to the house on the 15th day of February last, should be purchased on behalf of the public, and if so, what price it may be reasonable to allow for the same, Consider the subject referred to them, as divided into four principal heads;

The first of which relates to the authority by which this collection was acquired:

The second to the circumstances under which that authority was granted:

The third to the merit of the marbles as works of sculpture, and the importance of making them public property for the purpose of promoting the study of the fine arts in Great Britain:—and

The fourth to their value as objects of sale; which includes the consideration of the expense which has attended the removing, transporting, and bringing them to England.

To these will be added some general observations upon what is to be found, in various authors, relating to these marbles.

I. When the earl of Elgin quitted England upon his mission to the Ottoman Porte, it was his original intention to make that appointment beneficial to the progress of the fine arts in Great Britain, by procuring accurate drawings and casts of the valuable remains of sculpture and architecture scattered throughout Greece, and particularly concentrated at Athens.

With this view he engaged signor Lusieri, a painter of reputation, who was then in the service of the king of the Two Sicilies, together with two architects, two modellers, and a figure painter, whom Mr. Hamilton (now under-secretary of state) engaged at Rome and despatched with Lusieri, in the summer of 1800, from Constantinople to Athens.

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They were employed there about nine months, from August 1800 to May 1801, without having any sort of facility or accommodation afforded to them ; nor was the Acropolis accessible to them, even for the purpose of taking drawings, except by the payment of a large fee, which was exacted daily.

The other five artists were withdrawn from Athens in January 1803; but Lusieri has continued there ever since, excepting during the short period of our hostilities with the Ottoman Porte.

During the year 1800, Egypt was in the power of the French: and that sort of contempt and dislike which has always characterized the Turkish government and people in their behaviour towards every denomination of Christians, prevailed in full force.

The success of the British arms in Egypt, and the expected restitution of that province to the Porte, wrought a wonderful and instantaneous change in the disposition of all ranks and descriptions of people towards our nation. Universal benevolence and good-will appeared to take place of suspicion and aversion. Nothing was refused which was asked ; and lord Elgin, availing himself of this favourable and unexpected alteration, obtained, in the summer of 1801, access to the Acropolis for general purposes, with permission to draw, model, and remove ; to which was added, a special license to excavate in a particular place. Lord Elgin mentions in his evidence, that he was obliged to send from Athens to Constantinople for leave to remove a house ; at the same time remarking that in point of fact, all permissions issuing from the Porte to any distant provinces, are little better than authorities to make the best bargain that can be made with the

local magistracies. The applications upon this subject passed in verbal conversations ; but the warrants or fermauns were granted in writing, addressed to the chief authorities resident at Athens, to whom they were delivered, and in whose hands they remained : so that your committee had no opportunity of learning from lord Elgin himself their exact tenor, or of ascertaining in what terms they noticed, or allowed the displacing, or carrying away of these marbles. But Dr. Hunt, who accompanied lord Elgin as chaplain to the embassy, has preserved, and has now in his possession, a translation of the second fermaun, which extended the powers of the first ; but as he had it not with him in London, to produce before your committee, he stated the substance, according to his recollection, which was " That, in order to show their particular respect to the ambassador of Great Britain, the august ally of the Porte, with whom they were now and had long been in the strictest alliance, they gave to his excellency and to his secretary, and the artists employed by him, the most extensive permission to view, draw and model the ancient temples of the idols, and the sculptures upon them, and to make excavations, and to take away any stones that might appear interesting to them." He stated further, that no remonstrance was at any time made, nor any displeasure shown by the Turkish government, either at Constantinople or at Athens, against the extensive interpretation which was put upon this fermaun ; and although the work of taking down and removing was going on for months, and even years, and was conducted in the most public manner, numbers of native labourers, to the amount of some hundreds, being frequently employed, not the least obstruction was ever interposed,

interposed, nor the smallest uneasiness shown after the granting of this second *fermaun*. Among the Greek population and inhabitants of Athens it occasioned no sort of dissatisfaction; but, as Mr. Hamilton, an eyewitness, expresses it, so far from exciting any unpleasant sensation, the people seemed to feel it as the means of bringing foreigners into their country, and of having money spent among them. The Turks showed a total indifference and apathy as to the preservation of these remains, except when in a fit of wanton destruction they sometimes carried their disregard so far as to do mischief by firing at them. The numerous travellers and admirers of the arts committed greater waste, from a very different motive; for many of those who visited the Acropolis tempted the soldiers and other people about the fortress to bring them down heads, legs or arms, or whatever other pieces they could carry off.

A translation of the *fermaun* itself has since been forwarded by Dr. Hunt, which is printed in the Appendix.

II. Upon the second division, it must be premised, that antecedently to lord Elgin's departure for Constantinople, he communicated his intentions of bringing home casts and drawings from Athens, for the benefit and advancement of the fine arts in this country, to Mr. Pitt, lord Grenville, and Mr. Dundas, suggesting to them the propriety of considering it as a national object, fit to be undertaken, and carried into effect, at the public expense; but that this recommendation was in no degree encouraged, either at that time or afterwards.

It is evident, from a letter of lord Elgin to the secretary of state, 13th January 1803, that he considered himself as having no sort of claim

for his disbursements in the prosecution of these pursuits, though he stated, in the same dispatch, the heavy expenses in which they had involved him, so as to make it extremely inconvenient for him to forgo any of the usual allowances to which ambassadors at other courts were entitled. It cannot, therefore, be doubted, that he looked upon himself in this respect as acting in a character entirely distinct from his official situation. But whether the government from whom he obtained permission did, or could, so consider him, is a question which can be solved only by conjecture and reasoning, in the absence and deficiency of all positive testimony. The Turkish ministers of that day are, in fact, the only persons in the world capable (if they are still alive) of deciding the doubt; and it is probable that even they, if it were possible to consult them, might be unable to form any very distinct discrimination as to the character in consideration of which they acceded to lord Elgin's request. The occasion made them, beyond all precedent, propitious to whatever was desired in behalf of the English nation; they readily, therefore, complied with all that was asked by lord Elgin. He was an Englishman of high rank; he was also ambassador from our court: they granted the same permission to no other individual: but then, as lord Elgin observes, no other individual applied for it to the same extent, nor had indeed the same unlimited means for carrying such an undertaking into execution. The expression of one of the most intelligent and distinguished of the British travellers, who visited Athens about the same period, appears to your committee to convey as correct a judgement as can be formed upon this question, which is incapable of being

being satisfactorily separated, and must be taken in the aggregate.

The earl of Aberdeen, in answer to an inquiry, Whether the authority and influence of a public situation was in his opinion necessary for accomplishing the removal of these marbles, answered,—that he did not think a private individual could have accomplished the removal of the remains which lord Elgin obtained. And doctor Hunt, who had better opportunities of information upon this point than any other person who has been examined, gave it as his decided opinion, that “a British subject not in the situation of ambassador, could not have been able to obtain from the Turkish government a *fermaun* of such extensive powers.”

It may not be unworthy of remark, that the only other piece of sculpture which was ever removed from its place for the purpose of export was taken by M. Choiseul Gouffier, when he was ambassador from France to the Porte; but whether he did it by express permission, or in some less ostensible way, no means of ascertaining are within the reach of your committee. It was undoubtedly at various times an object with the French government to obtain possession of some of these valuable remains; and it is probable, according to the testimony of lord Aberdeen and others, that at no great distance of time they might have been removed by that government from their original site, if they had not been taken away and secured for this country by lord Elgin.

III. The third part is involved in much less intricacy: and although in all matters of taste there is room for great variety and latitude of opinion, there will be found upon this branch of the subject much more uniformity and agreement than

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could have been expected. The testimony of several of the most eminent artists in this kingdom, who have been examined, rates these marbles in the very first class of ancient art, some placing them a little above, and others but very little below, the Apollo Belvidere, the Laocoon, and the Torso of the Belvidere. They speak of them with admiration and enthusiasm; and notwithstanding the manifold injuries of time and weather, and those mutilations which they have sustained from the fortuitous, or designed” injuries of neglect or mischief, they consider them as among the finest models and the most exquisite monuments of antiquity. The general current of this portion of the evidence makes no doubt of referring the date of these works to the original building of the Parthenon, and to the designs of Phidias, the dawn of every thing which adorned and ennobled Greece. With this estimation of the excellence of these works, it is natural to conclude that they are recommended by the same authorities as highly fit, and admirably adapted, to form a school for study, to improve our national taste for the fine arts, and to diffuse a more perfect knowledge of them throughout this kingdom.

Much indeed may be reasonably hoped and expected, from the general observation and admiration of such distinguished examples. The end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, enlightened by the discovery of several of the noblest remains of antiquity, produced in Italy an abundant harvest of the most eminent men, who made gigantic advances in the path of art, as painters, sculptors, and architects. Caught by the novelty, attracted by the beauty, and enamoured of the perfection, of those newly disclosed treasures, they im-

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bibed the genuine spirit of ancient excellence, and transfused it into their own compositions.

It is surprising to observe in the best of these marbles in how great a degree the close imitation of nature is combined with grandeur of style, while the exact details of the former in no degree detract from the effect and predominance of the latter.

The two finest single figures of this collection differ materially in this respect from the Apollo Belvidere, which may be selected as the highest and most sublime representation of ideal form, and beauty, which sculpture has ever embodied and turned into shape.

The evidence upon this part of the inquiry will be read with satisfaction and interest, both where it is immediately connected with these marbles, and where it branches out into extraneous observations, but all of them relating to the study of the antique. A reference is made by one of the witnesses to a sculptor, eminent throughout Europe for his works, who lately left this metropolis highly gratified by the view of these treasures of that branch of art which he has cultivated with so much success. His own letter to the earl of Elgin upon this subject is inserted in the Appendix of the Report.

In the judgement of Mr. Payne Knight, whose valuation will be referred to in a subsequent page, the first class is not assigned to the two principal statues of this collection; but he rates the Metopes in the first class of works in high relief, and knows of nothing so fine in that kind. He places also the frieze in the first class of low relief; and considering a general museum of art to be very desirable, he looks upon such an addition to our national collection as likely to contribute to the improve-

ment of the arts, and to become a very valuable acquisition; for the importation of which lord Elgin is entitled to the gratitude of his country.

IV. The directions of the house in the order of reference impose upon your committee the task of forming and submitting an opinion upon the fourth head, which otherwise the scantiness of materials for fixing a pecuniary value, and the unwillingness, or inability, in those who are practically most conversant in statuary to afford any lights upon this part of the subject, would have rather induced them to decline.

The produce of this collection, if it should be brought to sale in separate lots, in the present depreciated state of almost every article, and more particularly of such as are of precarious and fanciful value, would probably be much inferior to what may be denominated its intrinsic value.

The mutilated state of all the larger figures, the want either of heads or features, of limbs or surface, in most of the Metopes, and in a great proportion of the compartments even of the larger frieze, render this collection, if divided, but little adapted to serve for the decoration of private houses. It should therefore be considered as forming a whole, and should unquestionably be kept entire as a school of art, and a study for the formation of artists. The competitors in the market, if it should be offered for sale without separation, could not be numerous. Some of the sovereigns of Europe, added to such of the great galleries or national institutions in various parts of the continent as may possess funds at the disposal of their directors sufficient for such a purpose, would in all probability be the only purchasers.

It is not however reasonable, or becoming

becoming the liberality of parliament, to withhold upon this account, whatever, under all the circumstances, may be deemed a just and adequate price; and more particularly in a case where parliament is left to fix its own valuation, and no specific sum is demanded, or even suggested, by the party who offers the collection to the public.

It is obvious that the money expended in the acquisition of any commodity is not necessarily the measure of its real value. The sum laid out in gaining possession of two articles of the same intrinsic worth may, and often does, vary considerably. In making two excavations, for instance, of equal magnitude and labour, a broken bust or some few fragments may be discovered in the one, and a perfect statue in the other. The first cost of the broken bust and of the entire statue would in that case be the same; but it cannot be said that the value is therefore equal. In the same manner, by the loss or detention of a ship, a great charge may have been incurred, and the original outgoing excessively enhanced; but the value to the buyer will in no degree be affected by these extraneous accidents. Supposing again, artists to have been engaged at considerable salaries during a large period in which they could do little or nothing, the first cost would be burdensome in this case also to the employer; but those who bought would look only at the value of the article in the market where it might be exposed to sale, without caring, or inquiring, how, or at what expense it was brought thither.

Supposing, on the other hand, that the thirteen other Metopes had been bought at the Custom-house sale at the same price which that of M. Choiseul Gouffier fetched, it

could never be said that the value of them was no more than twenty-four or twenty-five pounds a-piece.

It is perfectly just and reasonable that the seller should endeavour fully to reimburse himself for all expenses, and to acquire a profit also; but it will be impossible for him to do so, whenever the disbursements have exceeded the fair money price of that which he has to dispose of.

Your committee refer to lord Elgin's evidence for the large and heavy charges which have attended the formation of this collection, and the placing of it in its present situation; which amount, from 1799 to January 1803, to 62,440*l.* including 23,240*l.* for the interest of money; and according to a supplemental account, continued from 1803 to 1806, to no less a sum than 74,000*l.* including the same sum for interest.

All the papers which are in his possession upon this subject, including a journal of above 90 pages, of the daily expenses of his principal artist Lusieri (from 1803 to the close of 1814) who still remains in his employment at Athens, together with the account current of Messrs. Hayes of Malta (from April 1807 to May 1811), have been freely submitted to your committee; and there can be no doubt, from the inspection of those accounts, confirmed also by other testimony, that the disbursements were very considerable: but supposing them to reach the full sum at which they are calculated, your committee do not hesitate to express their opinion, that they afford no just criterion of the value of the collection, and therefore must not be taken as a just basis for estimating it.

Two valuations, and only two in detail, have been laid before your committee, which are printed; differing most widely in the particulars, and in the total; that of Mr. Payne (F 2) Knight

Knight amounting to 25,000*l.* and that of Mr. Hamilton to 60,800*l.*

The only other sum mentioned as a money price, is in the evidence of the earl of Aberdeen, who named 35,000*l.* as a sort of conjectural estimate of the whole, without entering into particulars.

In addition to the instances of prices quoted in Mr. Payne Knight's evidence, the sums paid for other celebrated marbles deserve to be brought under the notice of the house.

The Townley collection, which was purchased for the British Museum in June 1805 for 20,000*l.*, is frequently referred to in the examinations of the witnesses, with some variety of opinion as to its intrinsic value; but it is to be observed of all the principal sculptures in that collection, that they were in excellent condition with the surface perfect; and where injured, they were generally well restored, and perfectly adapted for the decoration, and almost for the ornamental furniture, of a private house, as they were indeed disposed by Mr. Townley in his lifetime.

In what proportion the state of mutilation in which the Elgin marbles are left, and above all the corrosion of much of the surface by weather, reduce their value, it is difficult precisely to ascertain; but it may unquestionably be affirmed in the words of one of the sculptors examined (who rates these works in the highest class of art), that "the Townleyan marbles being entire, are, in a commercial point of view, the most valuable of the two: but that the Elgin marbles, as possessing that matter which artists most require, claim a higher consideration."

The *Ægina* marbles, which are also referred to, and were well known to one of the members of your com-

mittee, who was in treaty to purchase them for the British Museum, sold for 6000*l.* to the prince royal of Bavaria, which was less than the British government had directed to be offered, after a prior negotiation for obtaining them had failed: their real value however was supposed not to exceed 4,000*l.* at which Lusieri estimated them. They are described as valuable in point of remote antiquity, and curious in that respect, but of no distinguished merits specimens of sculpture, their style being what is usually called Etruscan, and older than the age of Phidias.

The marbles at Phigalia, in Arcadia, have lately been purchased for the Museum at the expense of 15,000*l.* increased by a very unfavourable exchange to 19,000*l.* a sum which your committee, after inspecting them, venture to consider as more than equal to their value.

It is true that an English gentleman, concerned in discovering them, was ready to give the same sum; and therefore no sort of censure can attach on those who purchased them abroad, for our national gallery, without any possible opportunity of viewing and examining the sculpture, but knowing them only from the sketches which were sent over, and the place where they were dug up, to be undoubted and authentic remains of Greek artists of the best time.

When the first offer was made by the earl of Elgin to Mr. Perceval, of putting the public in possession of this collection, Mr. Long, a member of your committee, was authorized by Mr. Perceval to acquaint lord Elgin, that he was willing to propose to parliament to purchase it for 30,000*l.* provided lord Elgin should make out, to the satisfaction of a committee of the house of com-

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mons, that he had expended so much in acquiring and transporting it.

Lord Elgin declined this proposal, for the reasons stated by him in his evidence: and until the month of June 1815, no further step was taken on either side; but at that time a petition was presented, on the part of lord Elgin, to the house, which, owing to the late period of the session, was not proceeded upon. Eighty additional cases have been received since 1811, the contents of which, enumerated in Mr. Hamilton's evidence, now form a part of the collection. The medals also, of which the value is more easily defined, were not included in the proposal made to Mr. Perceval.

Against these augmentations must be set the rise in the value of money, which is unquestionably not inconsiderable, between the present time and the year 1811; a cause or consequence of which is the depreciation of every commodity, either of necessity or fancy, which is brought to sale.

Your committee, therefore, do not think that they should be justified, in behalf of the public, if they were to recommend to the house any extension of Mr. Perceval's offer to a greater amount than 5,000*l.*; and under all the circumstances that they have endeavoured to bring under the view of the house, they judge thirty-five thousand pounds to be a reasonable and sufficient price for this collection.

Your committee observing, that by the act 45 Geo. III. c. 127, for vesting the Townleyan collection in the trustees of the British Museum, § 4, the proprietor of that collection, Mr. Townley Standish, was added to the trustees of the British Museum, consider the earl of Elgin (and his heirs being earls of Elgin) as equally entitled to the same distinction, and

recommend that a clause should be inserted to that effect, if it should be necessary that an act should pass for transferring his collection to the public.

It may not be deemed foreign to this subject, if your committee venture to extend their observations somewhat beyond the strict limit of their immediate inquiry, and lay before the house what occurs to them as not unimportant with regard to the age and authenticity of these sculptures. The great works with which Pericles adorned, and strengthened Athens, were all carried on under the direction and superintendence of Phidias; for this, there is the authority of various ancient writers, and particularly of Plutarch; but he distinctly asserts in the same passage, that Callicrates and Ictinus executed the work of the Parthenon; which is confirmed also by Pausanias, so far as relates to Ictinus, who likewise ornamented or constructed the temple of Apollo at Phigalia; from whence, by a singular coincidence, the sculptures in high relief lately purchased for the British Museum, and frequently referred to in the evidence, were transported.

The style of this work, in the opinion of the artists, indicates that it belongs to the same period, though the execution is rated as inferior to that of the Elgin marbles. In the fabulous stories which are represented upon both, there is a very striking similarity; and it may be remarked in passing, that the subjects of the Metopes, and of the smaller Frize, which is sculptured with the battle of the Amazons, correspond with two out of the four subjects mentioned by Pliny, as adorning the shield and dress of the Minerva; so that there was a general uniformity of design in the

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stories which were selected for the internal and external decoration of the Pantheon. The taste of the same artist, Ictinus, probably led him to repeat the same ideas, which abound in graceful forms, and variety of composition, when he was employed upon the temple of another divinity, at a distance from Athens.

The statue of Minerva within the temple was the work of Phidias himself, and, with the exception of the Jupiter which he made at Elis, the most celebrated of his productions. It was composed of ivory and gold; with regard to which, some very curious anecdotes relating to the political history of that time are to be found in the same writers; the earliest of which, from a passage in a contemporary poet, Aristophanes, proves that the value of these materials involved both Pericles and the director of his works in great trouble and jeopardy; upon which account the latter is said to have withdrawn to Elis, and to have ended his days there, leaving it doubtful whether his death was natural, or in consequence of a judicial sentence: but Plutarch places his death at Athens, and in prison, either by disease or by poison.

It has been doubted whether Phidias himself ever wrought in marble; but although, when he did not use ivory, his chief material was unquestionably bronze; there are authorities sufficient to establish, beyond all controversy, that he sometimes applied his hand to marble. Pliny for instance asserts that he did so, and mentions a Venus ascribed to him, existing in his own time, in the collection (or in the portico) of Octavia. Phidias is called by Aristotle a skilful worker in stone; and Pausanias enumerates a celestial Venus of Parian marble, undoubtedly of his hand; and the Rham-

nusian Nemesis, also of the same material. Some of his statues in bronze were brought to Rome by Paulus Æmilius, and by Catulus.

His great reputation, however, was founded upon his representation of the gods, in which he was supposed more excellent than in human forms, and especially upon his works in ivory, in which he stood unrivalled.

Elidas the Argive is mentioned as the master of Phidias; which honour is also shared by Hippias. His two most celebrated scholars were Akamenes an Athenian of noble birth, and Agoracritus of Paros; the latter of whom was his favourite; and it was reported, that out of affection to him, Phidias put his scholar's name upon several of his own works: among which the statue called Rhamnusian Nemesis is particularized by Pliny and Suidas.

In another passage of Pliny, Akamenes is classed with Critias, Nestocles, and Hegias, who are called the rivals of Phidias. The name of Colotes is preserved as another of his scholars.

The other great sculptors, who were living at the same time with Phidias, and flourished very soon after him, were Agelades, Callon, Polycletus, Phragmon, Gorgias, Lacon, Myron, Pythagoras, Scopas, and Perelius.

The passage in which Pausanias mentions the sculptures on the pediments is extremely short, and to this effect. "As you enter the temple, which they call Parthenon, all that is contained in what is termed the (Eagles) pediments, relates in every particular to the birth of Minerva; but on the opposite or back front is the contest of Minerva and Neptune for the land;—but the statue itself is formed of ivory and gold." The state of dilapidation into which this temple

temple was fallen, when Stuart visited it in 1751, and made most correct drawings for his valuable work, left little opportunity of examining and comparing what remained upon that part of the temple with the passage referred to: but an account is preserved by travellers, who about 80 years earlier found one of these pediments in tolerable preservation, before the war between the Turks and Venetians in 1687 had done so much damage to this admirable structure. The observations of one of these (Dr. Spon, a French physician) may be literally translated thus:

"The highest part of the front which the Greeks called 'the Eagle,' and our architects 'the Fronton,' is enriched with a group of beautiful figures in marble, which appear from below as large as life. They are of entire relief, and wonderfully well worked. Pausanias says nothing more, than that this sculpture related to the birth of Minerva. The general design is this:

"Jupiter, who is under the highest angle of the pediment (fronton), has the right arm broken, in which, probably, he held his thunderbolt; his legs are thrown wide from each other, without doubt to make room for his eagle. Although these two characteristics are wanting, one cannot avoid recognising him by his beard, and by the majesty with which the sculptor has invested him. He is naked, as they usually represented him, and particularly the Greeks, who for the most part made their figures naked; on his right is a statue which has its head and arms mutilated, draped to about half the leg, which one may judge to be a Victory, which precedes the car of Minerva, whose horses she leads. They are the work of some hand as bold as it was delicate, which would

not perhaps have yielded to Phidias, or Praxiteles, so renowned for (representing) horses. Minerva is sitting upon the car, rather in the habit of a goddess of the sciences than of war; for she is not dressed as a warrior, having neither helmet nor shield, nor head of Medusa upon her breast: she has the air of youth, and her head-dress is not different from that of Venus. Another female figure without a head is sitting behind her with a child, which she holds upon her knees, I cannot say who she is; but I had no trouble in making out or recognising the two next, which are the last on that side; it is the emperor Hadrian sitting, and half naked, and, next to him, his wife Sabina. It seems that they are both looking on with pleasure at the triumph of the goddess. I do not believe that before me any person observed this particularity, which deserves to be remarked: 'On the left of Jupiter are five or six figures, of which some have lost the heads; it is probably the circle of the gods, where Jupiter is about to introduce Minerva, and to make her be acknowledged for his daughter. The pediment behind represented, according to the same author, the dispute which Minerva and Neptune had for naming the city; but all the figures are fallen from them, except one head of a sea-horse, which was the usual accompaniment of this god: these figures of the two pediments were not so ancient as the body of the temple built by Pericles, for which there wants no other argument than that of the statue of Hadrian, which is to be seen there, and the marble which is whiter than the rest. All the rest has not been touched. The marquis de Nointel had designs made of the whole, when he went to Athens; his painter worked there for two months, and almost lost his

(F 4) eyes,

eye; because he was obliged to draw every thing from below, without a scaffold." (*Voyage par Jacob Spon; Lyons, 1678; 2 tom. p. 144.*)

Wheler, who travelled with Spon, and published his work at London (four years later) in 1682, says, "But my companion made me observe the next two figures sitting in the corner to be of the emperor Hadrian and his empress Sabina, whom I easily knew to be so, by the many medals and statues I have seen of them." And again: "But the emperor Hadrian most probably repaired it, and adorned it with those figures at each front. For the whiteness of the marble, and his own statue joined with them, apparently show them to be of a later age than the first, and done by that emperor's command. Within the portico on high, and on the outside of the cella of the temple itself, is another border of basso-relievo round about it, or at least on the north and south sides, which, without doubt, is as ancient as the temple, and of admirable work, but not so high a relievo as the other. Thereon are represented sacrifices, processions and other ceremonies of the heathens worship; most of them were designed by the M. de Nointel, who employed a painter to do it two months together, and showed them to us when we waited on him at Constantinople."

Another French author, who published three years earlier than Spon, a work called *Athenes Ancienne et Nouvelle, par le Sr. de la Guilletiere à Paris,* 1675,—says, "Pericles employed upon the Parthenon the celebrated architects Callicrates and Ictinus. The last, who had more reputation than the former, wrote a description of it in a book, which he composed on purpose, and which has been lost; and we should probably not now have the oppor-

tunity of admiring the building itself, if the emperor Hadrian had not preserved it to us, by the repairs which he caused to be done. It is to his care that we owe the few remains of antiquity which are still entire at Athens."

In the *Antiquities of Athens* by Stuart, vol. ii. p. 4, it is said, "Pausanias gives but a transient account of this temple, nor does he say whether Hadrian repaired it, though his statue, and that of his empress Sabina in the western pediment, have occasioned a doubt whether the sculptures, in both, were not put up by him. Wheler and Spon were of this opinion, and say they were whiter than the rest of the building. The statue of Antinous, now remaining at Rome, may be thought a proof that there were artists in his time capable of executing them; but this whiteness is no proof that they were more modern than the temple, for they might be made of a whiter marble; and the heads of Hadrian and Sabina might be put on two of the ancient figures, which was no uncommon practice among the Romans; and if we may give credit to Plutarch, the buildings of Pericles were not in the least impaired by age in his time; therefore, this temple could not want any material repairs in the reign of Hadrian."

With regard to the works of Hadrian at Athens, Spartian says "that he did much for the Athenians;" and a little after on his second visit to Athens, "going to the east he made his journey through Athens, and dedicated the works which he had begun there: and particularly a temple to Olympian Jupiter, and an altar to himself."

The account given by Dion Cassius is nearly to the same effect, adding, that he placed his own statue within the temple of Olympian Jupiter, which he erected,

He called some other cities after his own name, and directed a part of AthenstobestyledHadrianopolis: but no mention is made, by any ancient author, of his touching or repairing the Parthenon. Pausanias, who wrote in his reign, says, that “the temples which Hadrian either erected from the foundation, or adorned with dedicated gifts and decorations, or whatever donations he made to the cities of the Greeks, and of the Barbariansalso, who made application to him, were all recorded at Athens in the temple common to all the gods.”

It is not unlikely, that a confused recollection of the statue which Hadrian actually placed at Athens may have led one of the earliest travellers into a mistake, which has been repeated and countenanced by subsequent writers: but Mr. Fauvel, who will be quoted presently, speaks as from his own examination and observation, when he mentions the two statues in question; which, it is to be observed, still remain (without their heads) upon the pediment of the entrance, and have not been removed by lord Elgin.

An exact copy of these drawings, by the marquis de Nointel's painter, is given in Mr. Barry's works; which are rendered more valuable on account of the destruction of a considerable part of the temple in the Turkish war by the falling of a Venetian bomb, within a short time after the year in which they were made; which, however, must have been prior to the date of 1683, affixed to the plate in Barry's Works (2 vol. p. 163. London, 1809.)

Somenotes of Mr. Fauvel, a painter and antiquarian, who moulded and took casts from the greatest part of the sculptures, and remained fifteen years at Athens, are given with the tracings of these drawings; in which it is said, with regard to these

pediments, “These figures were adorned with bronze, at least if we may judge by the head of Sabina, which is one of the two that remain; and which, having fallen, and being much mutilated, was brought to Mr. Fauvel. The traces are visible of the little cramps which probably fixed the crown to the head. The head of the emperor Hadrian still exists. Probably this group has been inserted to do honour to that emperor, for it is of a workmanship different from the rest of this sculpture.”

Your committee cannot dismiss this interesting subject, without submitting to the attentive reflection of the house, how highly the cultivation of the fine arts has contributed to the reputation, character, and dignity of every government by which they have been encouraged, and how intimately they are connected with the advancement of every thing valuable in science, literature, and philosophy. In contemplating the importance and splendour to which so small a republic as Athens rose, by the genius and energy of her citizens exerted in the path of such studies, it is impossible to overlook how transient the memory and fame of extended empires and of mighty conquerors are, in comparison of those who have rendered inconsiderable states eminent, and immortalized their own names, by these pursuits. But if it be true, as we learn from history and experience, that free governments afford a soil most suitable to the production of native talent, to the maturing of the powers of the human mind, and to the growth of every species of excellence, by opening to merit the prospect of reward and distinction, no country can be better adapted than our own to afford an honourable asylum to these monuments of the school of Phidias, and
of

of the administration of Pericles; where, secure from further injury and degradation, they may receive that admiration and homage to which they are entitled, and serve in return as models and examples to those

who, by knowing how to revere and appreciate them, may learn first to imitate, and ultimately to rival them.

March 25, 1816.

Catalogue of the ELGIN MARBLES, VASES, CASTS, and DRAWINGS.
Prepared from the MS. of Mons. Visconti.

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. The Pediments of the PARTHENON. | K. Monuments relating to Bacchus. |
| B. The METOPES. | L. Detached Heads. |
| C. The FRIZE - (East end.) | M. Detached pieces of Sculpture. |
| D. Ditto - - (North side.) | N. Urns—Marble, Bronze, and Earthen. |
| E. Ditto - - (West end.) | O. Altars. |
| F. Ditto - - (South side.) | P. Cippi or Sepulchral Pillars. |
| G. Ditto - - (not ascertained) | Q. Casts. |
| H. Frize of the Temple of Victory. | R. Greek Inscriptions. |
| I. Doric Architecture. | S. Drawings. |
| J. Ionic Architecture. | |

PARTHENON.

A. STATUES and FRAGMENTS from the EASTERN PEDIMENT.

1. Two Horses Heads, in one block.
2. One Horse's Head.
3. Statue of Hercules or Theseus.
4. Group of two Female figures.
5. Female figure in quick motion—Iris.
6. Group of two Female figures.

STATUES and FRAGMENTS from the WESTERN PEDIMENT.

7. Part of the Chest and Shoulders of the colossal figure in the centre (supposed to be Neptune).
8. Fragment of the colossal figure of Minerva.
9. Fragment of a Head (supposed to belong to the preceding.)
10. Fragment of a statue of Victory.
11. Statue of a River-god, called Ilissus.

FRAGMENTS of STATUES from the PEDIMENTS, the names or places of which are not positively ascertained.

12. Female figure, sitting (supposed to belong to group marked No. 6).
13. Fragment of a Female figure (resembling Victory, No. 10).
14. Fragment of a Female figure, seated (supposed to have been Latona holding Apollo and Diana in her arms).
15. Fragment (supposed to have belonged to a group of female figures).
16. Fragment of the Neck and Arms rising out of the sea, called Hypereion, or the rising Sun.
17. Torso of a Male figure, with drapery thrown over one shoulder.

B. THE METOPES.

1. A Centaur with a long beard: raises himself for the purpose of striking with a club a Lapitha who attacks him.

2. A Lapitha has overpowered a Centaur, whose hands are tied behind his back.
3. A Centaur, who has thrown down a Lapitha.
4. A Centaur is carrying off a Woman.
5. A Centaur has thrown down a Lapitha, who is still defending himself, and holding up a shield.
6. A Lapitha is struggling with a Centaur, whom he holds by the hair and ear.
7. A Centaur is nearly overcoming a Lapitha.
8. A Lapitha seems to be successful against a Centaur.
9. A Centaur is throwing down a Lapitha, whom he holds by the hair.
10. A Lapitha upon the croup of a Centaur, seizes his neck, and endeavours to throw him down.
11. A Centaur successful against a Lapitha.
12. A Lapitha, with covered legs, appears to be successful against a Centaur, who is retiring, and holds a lion's skin over his left arm.
13. Combat between a Centaur and Lapitha quite naked.
14. A Centaur is rearing up; the figure of the Lapitha is detached from the marble, but the Torso is adjoining.

C. The FRIZE, representing the Procession for celebrating the Panathenaic Festival.

The East End.

1. The Slab which formed the south-east angle; representing a Bull on the south, and a Magistrate or Director of the procession on the east side.
2. Fragments of four Male figures, moving to their right.
3. Six Female figures, moving to their right, and holding vases in their hands.
- 4, 5. Six Female figures, preceded by two Directors.
- 6, 7. Eight Figures; the four which are standing supposed to be four Directors; the others are called Castor and Pollux, Ceres and Triptolemus.
8. Slab, on which are five figures: called respectively, beginning from the left, Victory, Minerva, Jupiter, two Canephoræ.
9. Slab, on which are five figures: *i. e.* a Priestess, or the Archontissa; a Boy receiving the peplos from the Archon, or one of the Directors; Hygeia, and Æsculapius.
10. Two Directors.
11. Five figures, corresponding with those marked No. 6 and 7.
12. Five Females; carrying respectively, a candelabrum, vases, and pateræ.

D. *From the North Side of the Frize.*

1. Two Scaphephori moving towards the left.
2. A Female in a car drawn by three horses, with one of the Directors.
3. A Female in a car with two horses, and one of the Directors.
4. A Female in a similar car; with two Men, one of them in armour.
5. Two Men, in a car drawn by three horses.
6. Fragment of a Car with two Horses; the point of a sceptre appears above the horses.

7. Eight

7. Eight young Men on horseback, clothed in tunics which are raised above the knee.
8. Four Horses and three Riders.
9. Three Horsemen, with tunics and buskins.
10. Three Horsemen in the same costume.
11. Three Horsemen ; one of them is naked, the feet of the others are uncovered.
12. Three Horsemen ; one of which is almost effaced.
13. Four Horsemen ; two with helmets, the others naked.
14. Four Horsemen with tunics : the last has a large Thessalian hat hung over his shoulders.
15. North-west Angle of the Frize :—It represents three Men and a Boy on the western side, and one of the Directors on the north side.

E. *The Western End.*

16. A single piece of the Frize, being a continuation of the foregoing No. 15 : two Horsemen, the one nearly naked ; the other has a breastplate : both wear buskins.

F. *South Side.*

1. A Bull, with three Men, one of whom holds back the animal.
 2. Two Bulls and two Men.
 3. Two Bulls and four men ; one of the Men places a crown on his head, preparatory to the celebration of the sacrifice.
 4. Two Bulls and four Men.
 5. One Bull and four Men ; one of whom holds back the animal.
 6. A Car with two Horses and four Figures : among them is a young Man, whose tunic is drawn up above the knee, and who holds a shield ; he appears ready to mount.
 7. A Car with four Horses : in it is a Warrior standing up, with helmet, shield and chlamys ; the other figure is seated, and drives the car.
 8. A Car with two Horses, moving in the same direction ; two Figures ; of which one, who is getting into the car, holds a large shield.
 9. Fragment of another Car moving in the same direction.
 10. Fragment of a similar subject.
 11. Two Horsemen ; one, nearly naked, seems to have a Thessalian hat thrown over his shoulders.
 12. Three Horsemen, all clothed in tunics.
 13. Two Horsemen, one with buskins.
 14. One Horseman, with several Horses.
- G. Detached Parts of the FRIZE of the Cella of the PARTHENON, the exact situations of which are not yet ascertained.
- A. A Quadriga in slow motion ; a Youth in the tunic, with a shield, accompanies it ; another points behind him, with his arm naked.
 - B. Three Horses in quick motion towards the right ; the Riders wear the tunic.
 - C. Three Horses ; the Riders are all clothed in tunics.
 - D. Three Horsemen in armour.
 - E. Two Horsemen in tunics ; one has his right hand on his horse's head.
 - F. Two Horsemen in armour : the foremost has a helmet ; the other appears

appears, from the holes which are in the Marble, to have had some ornament of metal fixed on the head.

- g. Two Horsemen in tunics ; part of three Horses.
- h. Part of three Horses, and three Riders in cuirasses.
- i. Fragment of Horsemen and Horses.
- j. Fragment of four Horses and two Riders.

H. From the TEMPLE of VICTORY.

- 1. Bas-relief, representing a Combat between Greeks and Barbarians.
- 2. Another, representing the same subject.
- 3. Another, representing the same subject.
- 4. Similar Bas-relief, representing a Combat between Greeks and Amazons.

I. FRAGMENTS of ARCHITECTURE

From the PARTHENON, PROPYLÆA, and other Doric Buildings.

- 1. A Doric Capital from the Parthenon, in two pieces.
- 2. One layer of a Doric Column, from the same.
- 3. Fragments of the Frize of the Parthenon.
- 4. Fragments of the Architrave of Ditto.
- 5. Doric Capital from the Propylæa.
- 6. Part of a Doric Entablature, plain.
- 7. Two Tiles from the roof of the Ambulatory of the Temple of Theseus.

J. From the TEMPLE of ERECTHEUS and adjoining Buildings ;
also Specimens of Ionic Architecture.

- 1. One of the Caryatides which supported a roof, under which the olive-tree sacred to Minerva was supposed to have been preserved.
- 2. Part of a Column from the Temple of Erectheus, of the Ionic Order.
- 3. Base of Ditto.
- 4. Capital of Ditto.
- 5. Detached part of the rich Frize, from the same Temple.
- 6. Four Fragments of ornamented Ionic Entablature.
- 7. Three large Ditto.
- 8. One small Ditto.
- 9. One large Ditto, with inscriptions.
- 10. Ditto, Ditto, Ionic Entablature.
- 11. Three upper parts of Columns of the Ionic order.
- 12. Three large pieces of fluted Ionic Shaft.
- 13. One Ditto, short.
- 14. Two pieces of small Ionic Shaft, fluted and reeded.
- 15. One Capital of Ionic Pilaster.
- 16. Two Ionic Capitals.
- 17. Two parts of Ionic Entablature.
- 18. One large Ionic Capital.

K. MONUMENTS appertaining to the Worship and the Theatre of BACCHUS.

- 1. A colossal Statue of Bacchus, which was placed over the Theatre.
- 2. A Sun-dial, from the same.
- 3. A complete Series of Casts from the Bas-reliefs on the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates.
- 4. A Bas-relief with four figures, representing a Bacchanalian Dance.

L. DETACHED HEADS.

- 1. Portrait, larger than nature, with long beard and deeply cut eyes, a diadem round the hair ; perhaps Sophocles.
- 2. Portrait,

2. Portrait, somewhat similar to the preceding one.
3. Fragment of Augustus.
4. Fragment : the style, times of the Republic.
5. A bearded Hercules.
6. Same subject, smaller size.
7. Bacchus crowned with ivy.
8. Female Head.
9. One-half of a Head, without any beard, with long hair, in the costume of Alexander, or of the Dioscuri.
10. Fragment of an old Head, larger than nature.
11. Fragment of a Head with a beard ; it has a conical cap : perhaps Ulysses or Vulcan.
12. Female Head, smaller than nature : the head-dress of one of the Muses.
13. Female Head, smaller than nature.

M.

DETACHED PIECES OF SCULPTURE.

1. Small Female figure erect, in the costume of the Muse Polymnia : found at Thebes.
2. Torso of a Male figure found at Epidauria.
3. Statue ; supposed to be Cupid.
4. A Choragic Bas-relief, on which is represented a Temple of Apollo, with two figures.
5. Bas-relief of a Quadriga, in which is a Female figure ; a Victory in air is approaching to crown her.
6. Female figure, without a head ; small size.
7. Figure of a Telesphore, attendant of Æsculapius ; without a head.
8. Fragment of a Bas-relief, on which is a young Man who appears to be on a chariot led by Victory.
9. Fragment of a Boy in alto-relievo.
10. Bas-relief, representing a young Wrestler with his Preceptor.
11. Bas-relief, representing Minerva in armour, and a young Athenian.
12. Fragment of a Bas-relief ; a Sacrifice, of which a Hog is the victim.
13. Ditto, in which the victim is a Ram.
14. Two Divinities—Jupiter seated, a Goddess standing up.
15. Two Goddesses taking a young Athenian under their protection.
16. Fragment of a Bas-relief, on which are two young Greeks, one holding an instrument of sacrifice, called by the Romans Capeduncula.
17. Small round Altar: four Female figures sculptured on the four sides of it are dancing, holding each other's hands ; the first seems to be playing on a lyre.
18. Torso of a Female figure, in drapery.
19. Figure of a Horseman, apparently an ancient imitation of part of the Frize of the Parthenon, in smaller proportions.
20. Figure of a young Divinity, probably Bacchus, taking an Athenian under his protection ; the latter of smaller dimensions.
- 20b. Minerva standing up in a kind of small temple.
21. Figure of Hygeia : she is offering her cup to the Serpent, which is her symbol ; she is holding in her left hand a kind of fan in the form of leaves of ivy ; her head is covered with a high dress called tutulus.

22. Bas-

22. Bas-relief, on which are represented five Figures : in the midst is a Goddess on a kind of throne, the other four are smaller ; three of them are imploring the Goddess on behalf of their children, whom they carry in their arms ; the fourth is bringing oblations and votive offerings. This bas-relief is from Cape Sigeum near the plain of Troy.
23. Fragments similar to Nos. 12 and 13. There are five figures, of which two are Youths preparing to celebrate a sacrifice : the last of the large figures has a basket on its head.
24. One small Bas-relief : one sitting, two standing figures.
25. One Female figure sitting (much mutilated).
26. One Trunk, with drapery (a young man).
27. Two fragments of Grecian ornaments.
28. One Grecian fragment, with Vase in bas-relief.
29. One fragment, with two Figures in high relief.
30. One Grecian Pilaster with Corinthian Capital.
31. Fragment of a Female.
32. Fragment of a Female figure enveloped in drapery.
33. Sundry small fragments.
34. Egyptian Scarabæus, brought from Constantinople.
- N.** **URNS.** (Marble.)
1. Solid Urn, with Group in bas-relief, superscribed.
 2. Ditto, ditto, ditto.
 3. Ditto, ditto, ditto.
 4. Ditto, ditto, ditto.
 5. Ditto, ditto, ditto.
 6. Ditto, ditto, ditto.
 7. Ditto, ditto, ditto.
 8. Ditto, ditto, ditto.
 9. One ditto, ditto, ornamented Sepulchral Urn.
 10. Small fragment of a Vase, with figures.
 11. Spherical Sepulchral Urn, broken in pieces.
- N. B.—This contained the Bronze Urn (No. 12.)
- URNS^b.** (Bronze.)
12. Richly wrought Urn, from the tomb called " of Aspasia," in the plain of Attica.
13. Two bronze Urns, of rude shape and workmanship.
- URNS^c.** (Earthen.)
14. Some hundreds of large and small earthenware Urns or Vases, discovered in digging in the ancient Sepulchres round Athens : none of great beauty, or richly ornamented.
- O.** **ALTARS.**
1. Altar, with female Figure and Child.
 2. Smaller Altar, with figures and inscription.
 3. Fragment of a small Bacchanalian Altar ; on one side is a Bacchante, on the other a Faun.
 4. Small Altar, with inscription and figures.
 5. Ditto.
 6. Ditto.
 7. Ditto.
 8. Ditto.

P. CIPPI,

P. CIPPI, OR SEPULCHRAL PILLARS.

1. One large Sepulchral Pillar, with inscriptions.
2. One smaller Ditto ditto ditto.
3. One small Sepulchral Pillar.
4. One Ditto ditto ditto.
5. One Ditto.
6. One Ditto.
7. One Ditto.
8. One Ditto.
9. One Ditto.
10. One Ditto.
11. One Ditto.
12. One Ditto.
13. Three fragments, with circular Pedestals and Festoons.

Q. CASTS.

1. Eighteen Casts, from the Frize of the Cella of the Parthenon.
2. Twenty-four Ditto from the Frize and Metopes of the Temple of Theseus.
3. Twelve Ditto from the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates—(mentioned above).
4. One Cast from the great Sarcophagus in the Cathedral Church at Girgenti in Sicily.

(Also the Moulds of the above.)

R. GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

1. Epitaph in four lines on two brothers, Diotrephes and Demophon.
2. Sepulchral Column of Thalia.
3. Ditto - - of Theodotus.
4. Ditto - - of Socrates.
5. Ditto - - of Menestratus.
6. Votive Inscription of certain Sailors.
7. Sepulchral Column of an Athenian.
8. Fragment.
9. Decree of the People of Athens in favour of Isacharas.
10. Votive Inscription of Antisthenes.
11. Votive Inscription of Polyllus.
12. Sepulchral Column of Anaxicrates.
13. Votive Inscription of a Woman.
14. Agonistic Inscription.
15. Fragment of Sepulchral Inscription.
16. Choragic Inscription in the Doric dialect.
17. Epitaph in Verse, in two parts. Vide No. 34.
18. Votive Monument to Mercury and Hercules.
19. Sepulchral Stèle of Hierocléa.
20. Ditto of Callis.
21. Ditto of Callimachus.
22. Fragment of a Decree, probably an ancient Treaty between Athens and some other People.
23. Catalogue of Athenians who died in battle in the year 424 B. C.
24. Epitaph on Plutarchus.
25. Fragment of a Decree.

26. Fragment,

26. Fragment of a Decree, - from Tenos.
27. Fragment of a Stèle of Euphrosynus.
28. Ditto of a Sepulchral Stèle of Musonia.
29. Fragment of an Epitaph in honour of Briseis.
30. Fragment of an Address to Hadrian.
31. Ditto of a Decree of the People of Athens.
32. Decree of the General Council of Bœotia.
33. Inscription of the Gymnasiarch Gorgias.
34. The other part of No. 17.
35. Catalogue of the Public and sacred Treasures at Athens.
36. Ditto of ditto.
37. Ditto of ditto.
38. Ditto of ditto.
39. Fragment of a Treaty between Athens and Rhegium.
40. Ditto of a Column which supported the Statue of Pison.
41. Ancient Sepulchral Inscription.
- 42, 43. Catalogue of precious objects in the Opisthodomus.
44. Treaty between Orchomenos and Elateæ.
45. Similar to Nos. 42, 43.
46. Similar to the preceding.
47. Fragment of a Decree.
48. Ditto of a Decree from Corinth.
49. Ditto with the name of Hiera Pytna.
50. Catalogue of Public Treasures, more recent than Nos. 42, 43, &c.
51. Decree in honour of Bacchus and Antoninus Pius.
52. Sepulchral Stèle, with the names of Hippocrates and Baucis.
53. Sigeæan Inscription, commonly called the Boustrophedon.
54. Sepulchral Inscription on an Entablature.
55. Sepulchral Column of Biottus.
56. Ditto - - of Mysta.
57. Ditto - - of Thrason.
58. Stèle of Asclepiodorus.
59. Sepulchral Column of Aristides.
60. Eleven votive Inscriptions consecrated to Jupiter Hypsistos, bearing respectively the names of Claudia Prepusa, Eutrodus, Pædaros, Philematium, Onesimé, Isias, Eutychis, Olympias, Tertia, Syntrophus.
61. Fragment of a Decree between Athens and some other People.
62. Sepulchral Column of Botrichus.
63. Public Act of Athens respecting the Roads.
64. Epitaph in twelve elegiac verses, in honour of those Athenians who were killed at the Siege of Potidæa in the year 432 B. C.
65. Sepulchral Stèle in honour of Aristocles.
66. Ditto in honour of Aphrodisias of Salamis.

For a Description of the preceding Inscriptions, reference is given to the printed Catalogue drawn up by Mons. Visconti; the numbers of which are here preserved.

S.

DRAWINGS.

1. Plans and Elevations of the Temples of Minerva and Theseus at Athens.

1816.

(G)

2. Architectural details of the Temples of Minerva and Theseus ; of Minerva at Sunium ; Plan of the Pnyx ; Plans and Drawings of the Theatre of Bacchus.
3. Drawings of the Sculpture on the Temples of Minerva and Theseus ; on the Temple of Victory ; on the Choric Monument of Lysicrates.
4. Ground-plan of Athens, marking the Walls, and the site of the existing Ruins: Drawings of the Tower of Andronicus Cyrrhestes ; of the Propylæa ; of the triple Temple, of Minerva Polias, Erectheus and Pandrosus.
5. A series of Drawings and Plans of ancient Remains in many parts of Greece, taken in the year 1802.

ADDENDA.

One Lyre in Cedar wood ; and,

Two Flutes of the same material ;—found during the excavations among the Tombs in the neighbourhood of Athens.

ABSTRACT OF THE REPORT OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE LAWS AND
ORDINANCES EXISTING IN FO-
REIGN STATES, RESPECTING THE
REGULATION OF THEIR ROMAN
CATHOLIC SUBJECTS, IN ECCLE-
SIASTICAL MATTERS.

The various documents referred to were obtained by instructions which lord Castlereagh gave in 1812, and subsequently, to the ministers resident at foreign courts.

The committee refrain from adverting to any question of theological controversy.

The attention of the committee is directed to two objects :

1st. The appointment or election of the catholic clergy, principally those of the episcopal order.

2d. The restraints imposed upon the intermission of papal rescripts ; with this they have joined the appellative jurisdiction, exercised by the supreme secular magistrate.

Under a third head they include other matters of ecclesiastical regulation.

They distinguish between regulations obtaining in those states which are in communion with the see of Rome ; those of the " non-united"

Greek and Russian church ; and those of the Augsburg and Helvetic confessions.

1. *Austria, Bohemia, Hungary.*

The Austrian bishops are nominated or appointed by the emperor, which appointment is in lieu of the election or postulation of the chapters of their respective cathedrals, and has the same effect ; the papal confirmation being afterwards obtained through the Austrian minister at Rome. To this mode of election the archbishop of Olmutz forms the sole exception, the right of choosing him resting entirely in the chapter of his see.

In Hungary the emperor appoints all bishops, who perform every part of their functions which relates to jurisdiction before they have been confirmed by the pope. In other parts of the imperial dominions this is not the case.

In Austria the *placitum regium* is the right of requiring that all ecclesiastical statutes and ordinances be submitted to the state before their publication. Absolutions are excepted, when granted by the Roman penitentiary, whenever they concern conscience only, when the case admits of no delay, or when

when the reputation of any one is in danger.

No Austrian subject can be communicated without the emperor's consent.

2. *The electoral archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne—and the archbishopric of Salzburg—and the congress of Ems.*

In August 1786 a congress was held at Ems, by all the ecclesiastical electors, where twenty-three articles of regulation, recognising the independence of the church of Germany, with reference to the usurpations of the court of Rome, were drawn up and ratified.

In these resolutions the ancient discipline of the German church is asserted, with respect to nominations and elections to ecclesiastical benefices; and it is declared that "no bulls, briefs, or ordinances of the pope shall be binding on the bishops, unless the latter regularly signify their formal assent."

3. *States of Italy—The Milanese and Austrian Lombardy.*

The archbishopric of Milan, the bishoprics of Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, and Como, are at the immediate nomination and presentation of the emperor of Austria, who is, however, with regard to the four last bishoprics, principally to appoint those subjects that may be recommended by the pope.

In these states the sovereign right of the *regium placitum* remains in its full force and exercise.

4. *Venetian States.*

In these states, while independent, the two patriarchs of Venice and Aquila were chosen by the senate—on a vacancy of an episcopal see, the names of three ecclesiastics were transmitted by the senate to Rome, and the requisite bull of institution was sent by the pope to the first on the list.

The same regulations existed here as in the other states already mentioned, respecting the *regium placitum*.

5. *Tuscany.*

On a vacancy occurring in any bishop's see, the Tuscan government presents to the pope the names of four individuals, recommending at the same time, by means of the minister at Rome, the one more particularly designated to fill the vacancy.

Here also the *regium placitum* exists.

6. *Naples and the Two Sicilies.*

In Naples a negotiation is now going on respecting the appointing of bishops.

In Sicily the nomination is exclusively in the crown.

In both there is the *regium placitum*.

7. *Sardinia, Piedmont, and Savoy.*

By a brief of pope Nicholas V. of 1451, the sovereign of Sardinia has the privilege of naming to all the bishoprics. The same was extended by a concordat, in 1727, to Savoy.

The *regium placitum* is completely recognised.

8. *France.*

By the pragmatic sanction of St. Louis, in 1268, the bishops of France were elected (by the deans and chapter); but these elections were not valid, without the *consent* of the king.

By the concordat settled at Bologna, between pope Leo X. and the king, Francis I. in 1515, the French monarchs have exercised the nomination of all bishops.

In France the *regium placitum* is established.

9. *Spain.*

The patronage of all ecclesiastical benefices is in the king. He presents to all vacant sees, and requires

quires that the necessary bulls should be immediately transmitted by the pope to the newly appointed prelate.

All bulls and rescripts subject to the *regium placitum*.

10. Portugal and the Brazil's.

The prerogatives of the crown have been uniformly contended for and supported, both with respect to the nomination of bishops, and a control upon the intronisation of papal rescripts.

11. Switzerland.

At Coire the court of Rome has no right to interfere in the election of bishops, which is made freely by the 24 canons. It is only after the election that Rome gives the *placet*.

In the Valais, the chapter proposes four individuals to the diet, which selects one, and presents him to the pope, who first rejects and then names him, of his own authority.

In the Catholic Cantons, the immediate monasteries elect their own prelate, without the least influence on the part of the governments, their confirmation depending upon the apostolic see.

The *regium placitum* is in force in Switzerland.

12. The Greek church, empire of Russia.

The archbishop of Mohilow and all other bishops are named by the emperor, who are confirmed by the pope.

The *regium placitum* exists in Russia.

13. Denmark.

No catholic bishops.

Catholic priests receive their appointments from the bishop of Hildesheim, who exercises the delegated authority of a vicar apostolic in relation to several states of Germany in which he is not resident.

No *regium placitum* in Denmark.

14. Sweden.

The king authorizes, "by diploma," the vicars-apostolic to exercise their functions throughout the kingdom, conforming themselves to the edict of toleration.

There is no provision for the exercise of the *regium placitum*.

15. Prussia.

The appointment to the episcopal order is generally in the crown; but whenever the appointment or nomination of the bishop has not been reserved to the crown, the chapter exercises the right of election.

The *regium placitum* in force in Prussia.

16. Netherlands.

Negotiations are now going forward respecting new regulations between the pope and the king.

17. Hamburg.

No catholic bishops, and no papal edict allowed to be published.

18. Saxony.

No catholic bishop since the Reformation, except the confessor of the king, who has the authority of a vicar apostolic.

No information has been obtained respecting the *regium placitum*.

19. Hanover—Hesse-Baden.

Negotiations are now pending relative to ecclesiastical regulations.

20. Canada and the British colonies.

The manner in which the bishops are appointed is detailed in the appendix. The king of England nominates the bishop to each vacant see, who is afterwards consecrated by the pope.

No *regium placitum* in force in the colonies.

LITERARY

LITERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.

1816.

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BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES

AND

Characters.

MEMOIRS OF THE MARCHIONESS DE LAROCHEJAQUELEIN.

[From her Memoirs, translated from the French.]

"WHEN I wrote my Memoirs for you, my dear children, we lived in the country, shunning with care every kind of publicity, avoiding Paris, cherishing our opinions, our sentiments, and, above all, the hope that God would one day restore to us our legitimate Sovereign.

"M. de Larochesjaquelein occupied himself with agriculture and field-sports. This peaceable and obscure life was of no avail in soothing the irritation of the Government, which was far from being satisfied with our submission, and seemed to be provoked that it could not obtain our homage and services.

"We suffered every thing from a tyranny which would permit us neither tranquillity nor happiness. At one time a spy was placed among our domestics; at another, some of our relations were exiled from their homes, from an apprehension that their benevolence gave them too firm a hold in the affection of their neighbours; then my husband

would be summoned to Paris to give an account of his conduct, or a hunting party would be represented as an attempt to rally the Vendéens. Sometimes we were blamed for going to Poitou, because it was thought our influence there might be too dangerous; then reproached for not remaining there and employing that influence in favour of the conscription. People in office thought nothing more meritorious than annoying us in any way; promises and threats were in turn employed to engage our family to accept some office under Government. In 1805, M. de Larochesjaquelein was offered a place at Court, and solicited to make his own terms. Our independent attitude, and the consideration attached to pure and faithful principles, fatigued the Government. In short, we were unceasingly harassed.

"It was nearly about this time that we became acquainted with M. de Barante, then under prefect of Brézouire.

"The conduct of the people of

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La Vendée, during the war, had filled him with admiration ; he had the highest opinion of their simple and honourable characters. He openly avowed his esteem for the constancy of our sentiments ; and a perfect confidence was soon established between us. He did every thing he could to render our situation as little irksome as possible. He boldly avowed that it was both mean and unjust to exact from us any thing more than obedience to the existing laws. He knew M. de Larochejaquelein had too much sense, and too much honour to risk the shedding of blood, by exciting useless tumults, and that he would never attempt any thing, but with a reasonable hope of saving his country.

" In 1809, the persecution became more open and direct ; they wished to force M. de Larochejaquelein to enter the army as adjutant-commandant, with the rank of colonel. He was known to have made, as captain of grenadiers, five campaigns against the negroes in St. Domingo. The letter of the minister was equally pressing and polite, and stating how much his brother had distinguished himself in arms, and it was presumed he also must desire to follow the same career. He refused ; the state of his health, five children which we already had, were alleged in excuse, but which probably would not have been admitted, if not enforced by the zeal and kind offices of our relation M. de Monbadon.

" My brother-in-law, Auguste de Larochejaquelein, was also invited to enter the service at the same time with M. de Talmont, M. de Castries, &c. He went to Paris and refused. As soon as they perceived he had objections to make, instead of listening to him, they arrested him. Still he

did not yield, but demanded to be informed of what he was accused, and why he was thrown into prison. At last, after more than two months, he obliged the minister to explain himself without disguise, who then plainly told him, that he should continue a prisoner until he accepted a lieutenancy. He was placed in a regiment of carabiniers, in which he remained three years. At the battle of Moskwa, he was covered with wounds, taken prisoner, and conducted to Saratow. He was well treated there, and the King having had the extreme goodness to write in his behalf, much was done to mitigate his sufferings.

" Towards the end of 1811, the state of my health, and the desire of seeing my relations, induced me to visit Paris, where I had not been since 1792, along with my mother : M. de Larochejaquelein came and joined me there. The expedition against Russia was then determined on. Those who, like us, had continued invariably attached to the House of Bourbon, never beheld Buonaparte undertake a new war, without indulging a secret hope, that some of those chances which he braved with so much folly might lead to his destruction. At this time, above all, the gigantic and extravagant nature of this expedition, the distance of the armies, the nature of the country where they were about to be engaged, and the evident inutility of an enterprise thus conceived, gave strength to the hope that the tide of his prosperity was about to turn. We conversed on this subject with those who partook of our sentiments. M. de Larochejaquelein sought for and saw those men who were the most distinguished by their name and their constancy, and among others, MM.

de Polignac, in spite of the strictness of their imprisonment. We returned into Poitou, and from thence into Médoc, where we passed the winter of 1815. The disasters in Russia, the destruction of the army, the measures it was necessary to take to repair these losses, the multiplied levies, the sacrifices of every kind which the Government imposed, the hateful establishment of the regiments of the guards of honour; every thing, in short, seemed calculated to hurry on the catastrophe, and lead to a revolution, for which it became necessary to be prepared.

"It was in the month of March in the same year, that M. Latour arrived at Bordeaux, bearing the orders of the King. Before speaking of his mission, it is necessary to give an account of what had passed in that city since 1795. The royalist party had always been very numerous there, the young men full of zeal and enterprise, the mass of the people very well disposed. All the emigrants that were imprisoned had been set free either by address or force; a multitude of conscripts had there found an asylum, the Spanish prisoners had met the most favourable reception, and a thousand other circumstances had sufficiently proved what the sentiments of the Bordelais were. Besides, the chief royalists had secretly formed themselves into armed bands, the greater part composed of artisans who had never received any pay. The discretion of so many people is still more remarkable than their fidelity. I will now explain the origin of this organization.

"The epoch which followed the second war of La Vendée, that is to say 1796, is that in which the royalists had the greatest hopes, and concerted the most numerous enter-

prises. The Directory had then little power; at no period of the Revolution was greater liberty enjoyed, or less restraint on public opinion. The King had communication throughout almost all the provinces; everywhere an organization of the royalist party, scarcely kept secret. Commissaries named by the King, who was then at Véronne, were actively employed in his service. M. Dupont Constant was his commissary at Bordeaux; he presided over a numerous council. His principal agents were M. Archbold, Dupouy, Cosse, Estebenet, &c.

"Some months before (after the second war of La Vendée), M. Forestier and M. Cérès came to pass a few days at Bordeaux. They were going to Barèges for their health. We were not acquainted with the last; for, having emigrated, he only arrived in La Vendée in 1794. M. de Cérès returned, on the part of M. Forestier, to inform us that they had resolved to go into Spain and England. He asked letters of recommendation from my mother. She gave him several very pressing for the Duke d'Havré, her intimate friend, and for my uncle, the Duke de Lorges. She had no idea that these gentlemen were engaged in any enterprise; and perhaps they themselves had then no very distinct views on the subject. The flattering reception they had met with, the conversations they had held, the state of France, which seemed every day to offer more favourable chances, all served to redouble their zeal.

"In the month of May, 1797, they returned, bringing my mother a letter from Monsieur, in which he charged her to collect the King's party at Bordeaux. She received
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also instructions from the Duke d'Havré, the Princes de la Paix, &c. She immediately saw that the extreme zeal of these gentlemen had led them to exaggerate every thing, and represent the state of affairs under far too favourable an aspect. However, she considered it as a sacred duty to second the views of the Princes, who had honoured her by their confidence. She confided every thing to M. Dudon, ancient procureur-general, and to his son. She conferred with them on what was to be done. This worthy magistrate, in spite of his great age, was full of energy. He immediately discovered that M. Dupont Constant was a commissary of the King; and they formed a secret council, composed only of MM. Dupont, Dudon, Deynaut, and the Abbé Jagault, ancient secretary of the superior council of La Vendée. They were of opinion that it was essential, first of all, to enlighten the Princes as to the real state of France, of which they had received a very inaccurate and much too flattering an account.

"M. Jagault set out for Edinburgh. He drew up, and presented to Monsieur, a memorial in which the real state of things was exposed.

"The day of the 18th Fructidor soon came, and evinced the truth of these sincere observations. The hopes of the royalists were at once destroyed, and their projects overthrown, by that event.

"It was not till about a year after, when the power of the Directory began to be shaken, when the Austrians and Russians had obtained great advantages in Italy, and every thing seemed to announce an approaching change, that the royalists were roused to make more vigorous exertions. My mother, long before,

had gained over to the King's party M. Papin, a merchant of Bordeaux. He had set out, some years before, at the head of the volunteers, and, having greatly distinguished himself in the Spanish war, had obtained the rank of general of brigade on the field of battle. He had joined the army full of zeal for the revolution; but, having learned, on his return, the excesses that had been committed during his absence, he would no longer associate with men whose crimes he detested, and complained to M. Deynaut that they wished to place him on the list of a Jacobin club.

"My mother got M. Papin introduced to her. She heightened the horror he had already begun to feel for the revolution, and succeeded in overcoming his reluctance to join the opposite party, by convincing him how disgraceful it was to remain faithful to so bad a cause. She presented him to MM. Dudon and Dupont with the confidence which he deserved. These gentlemen having appointed him, in the name of the King, general of the whole department, he immediately set about forming the royal guard, which has existed ever since.

"At no period did success appear so near; the law of hostages had kindled the third war of La Vendée, and renewed and extended that of the Chouans. At Bordeaux they had come to extremities; the Jacobins, assisted by a regiment, openly attacked the young men of the town.

"M. Eugène de Saluces was severely wounded, and thrown into prison with about forty others, who got out in their time; but he remained during four months confined, along with a brave man, a cabinet-maker, named Louis Hagri, a per-

a person of extraordinary zeal. This passed in the summer of 1799: we were then in Spain, whither my mother had got permission to accompany me in my second exile. We met at Oyarsum Mr. Richer-Sérisy. This journalist, after a long interview with my mother, set out for Madrid with M. Alexander de Lur Saluces. His object was to endeavour to persuade the Court of Spain to take up arms for the House of Bourbon, and second the victorious efforts of the Austrians and Russians.

"The return of General Buonaparte the 18th Brumaire, and, above all, the battle of Marengo, arrested once more the projects of the royalists.

"The MM. Dudon died, also the excellent M. Latour-Olanier. A great number of the royalists were arrested, and kept in prison eighteen months; among others, MM. Dupont, Dupouy, Dumas, &c. M. Papin made his escape, and found means to clear himself through the influence of his friends, the Marshals Moncey and Augereau. At the time of Pichegru's affair he had returned to Bordeaux. New arrests took place there. He again escaped, and returned to General Moncey. They affected to believe him innocent, on account of his protection; but scarcely had he returned to Bordeaux, under a promise of not being molested, when they came to seize him. He concealed himself; and then finding that the informations against him were so positive, he quitted France. He was tried by a military commission, and condemned to death, (*par contumace*.) Since that time he has remained in America. MM. Forestier, de Cérès, du Chenier, &c. were also condemned, (*par contumace*.)

M. Goguet was executed in Bretagne, and the intrepid M. Dupérat imprisoned for life. These events put a stop to all communication with the King, and the party sunk into silence and inactivity.

"My mother was seriously implicated in what had passed at Bordeaux, after the battle of Marengo. She narrowly escaped being put in prison and tried; but she was ably assisted, and her defence was the more easy, from the tranquil life she led in the country, never putting herself at all forward in boasting of the confidence of the Princes. After having shewn M. Dudon Monsieur's letter, she burnt it in his presence, and never spoke of it again. Our friend M. Queyriaux, the most zealous of the party, was almost the only one through whom she held any communication with the royalists. She was often consulted, but seldom interfered, but to maintain confidence and unanimity. This conduct arose from her character, and not from any feeling of fear. She never concealed her opinion, and it was, perhaps, owing to her frankness and simplicity in that respect that she escaped. One who spoke so openly, and led so quiet a life, could hardly be suspected of concealment and duplicity.

"In 1806, the seizure of the Princes of Spain excited a lively indignation at Bordeaux. M. Rollac arranged a plan with the Spanish consul, M. Pedesclaux, M. Taffard, de St. Germain, Roger, and some others, to carry off Ferdinand VII. and conduct him to the English station. They sent M. Dias, a Spanish teacher at Bordeaux, to give him notice of it, and he succeeded in introducing himself, and speaking to him for a few moments in

in his chamber; but it seems the Prince did not choose to trust a stranger, and these gentlemen waiting in vain for his order, the project failed. M. Rollac, a little after, contrived a plot to deliver Pampe-lune to the Spaniards. He was on the point of succeeding, when he was discovered, and obliged to fly. His friend M. Taffard got him on board a vessel for England, and carrying a few lines from my mother to my uncle de Lorgues, was by that means made known to the King, and informed him of the devotedness of the Bordelais, and, above all, of the courage and zeal of M. Taffard, to whom he owed his life. The communications with Bordeaux were thus reestablished, but nothing took place for several years. The retreat from Moscow in 1813 once more awakened hopes. M. Latour arrived at Bordeaux, bringing M. Taffard a letter from his friend, inviting him to rally the royalist party. M. Latour charged him to do so on the part of the King; he was far from expecting this honour. A gentleman of small fortune, with a numerous family, without ambition, M. Taffard only thought, in serving M. Rollac, he fulfilled the duties of friendship; and attached as he was to the House of Bourbon, he had no idea of forming a party. But the orders of the King appeared to him sacred.

"M. Latour was also charged by his Majesty to see M. de Larochejaquelein, and tell him that he reckoned on him for La Vendée. My husband went immediately to Bordeaux, and had the same evening a conference of four hours with MM. Latour and Taffard.

"M. Taffard, assisted by M. Queyriaux, Marmajour, &c. once

more took up the old plan of the royal guard, and Mr. Larochejaquelein set out for Poitou. He traversed Anjou and Touraine, along with M. de la Ville de Baugé, who had always remained most warmly attached to him. They went about everywhere sounding the state of opinions, and visiting their friends, and the old Vendéens. He was exceedingly sorry to find that General Dufresse was no longer in the department; he had commanded them a long time, and had rendered infinite service to the Vendéens. He was the confident of all my husband's hopes, and had given him his promise to serve the King whenever an opportunity occurred. At Tours he found all the young men of La Vendée who had been forced to enter the guard of honour. They were extremely dissatisfied. He did not conceal from them his hopes and desires, but recommended to them to wait with patience for the decisive moment.

"The carrying off Ferdinand VII. from Vallancey was then talked of. M. Thomas de Poix, a gentleman of Berri, and a great friend of M. Larochejaquelein, was to have conducted that enterprise, but he died at the moment he was about to act. My husband continued his journey, passed a fortnight at Nantes with his friend M. Barante; he also saw MM. de Sesmaisons, M. de Suzannet, his cousin-german, and the Prince de Laval, who had left Paris with the same views as himself.

"The young guards of honour, at Tours, did not conduct themselves with all the discretion that had been recommended to them; they did many rash things; several of them were arrested, and among others, M. de Charrette, a brave young

young man, and worthy of the name he bore.

M. de Larochejaquelein returned into Médoc. I lay in on the 30th of October: and on the 5th of November M. Lynch, mayor of Bordeaux, an old and respectable friend of my mother, sent an express to my husband, to inform him that they were just setting out to arrest him. M. Lynch himself was going on a deputation to Paris, but he did not go till he was assured of the safety of M. de Larochejaquelein. My husband left me in ignorance of all this, and went to Bordeaux with M. Queyriaux. While at dinner at Castelnau he saw the gendarmes arrive, who had been sent to seize him. M. Bertrand commanded them. He knew perfectly well what was intended, but as he was not the bearer of the order, and only charged to lend assistance to a commissary of police, he allowed M. de Larochejaquelein to pass, although he knew him perfectly. The commissary of police, who was in a carriage, was retarded by the bad roads. At break of day, however, the Château was surrounded by the troops; the servants, who knew nothing of the departure of their master, told them he was in the house. They and the peasants, who had arrived in crowds to attend mass, were in the deepest affliction; and, if he had been taken, would have fallen upon the gendarmes to deliver him. Many of the neighbours, whom we scarcely knew, had got on horseback with the same design. The search was long, brutal, and ridiculously minute.

“ While M. de Larochejaquelein was concealed at Bordeaux, MM. de Tausia and de Mondenard, both of the municipality, watched over his

safety; and in the mean time, MM. de Monbadon and de Barante made every possible effort to get the order for his arrest revoked. The minister, after some difficulties, replied, that M. de Larochejaquelein had only to come to Paris, and give him the necessary explanation. I had not an entire confidence in these assurances, yet they were repeated so strongly, and the cause appearing so utterly hopeless, from the negotiation of the Allies with Buonaparte, and the daily expectation of peace, that I confess I sometimes was inclined to accept the proposal of going to the minister. I was certain, besides, that there did not exist a single line of writing that could implicate my husband, and I dreaded a long separation, and fresh persecutions. For his part, on the contrary, he never hesitated for a moment. He foresaw, that even if the minister should keep his word, and not put him in prison, he would be harassed, either by an exile, or an imperative offer of some post in the army. He determined, at all events, to preserve his liberty; his thoughts were constantly turned towards the project of raising La Vendée, when the moment should arrive. His eyes were always fixed on that quarter; his name, his perfect knowledge of the country, and his influence over the inhabitants, naturally led him to this; and besides, the request of the King determined him irrevocably. During his concealment at Bordeaux, he became the mean of uniting several secret associations, which, till that time, had acted separately, though with the same views. The persecutions directed against him had marked him out as a leader of the party; and all those devoted to the cause were eager to be connected with him.

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He informed M. Taffard of this, who, as a commissary of the King, could not so generally make himself known.

"In the month of December, one of the captains of the royal guard, M. Gigoulon, a fencing-master, was seized, carried to Paris, and put in irons; but he continued resolute during fifteen interrogatories, and nothing was discovered.

"Towards the beginning of January 1814, M. de Larochejaquelein came and passed three days with me at Citran. He then traversed the Lower Médoc with his friend M. Luetkens, a person remarkable for his calm and cool bravery, and his devotedness to the King. They informed all those in whom they could confide of what had been concerted at Bordeaux, and opened communication to them with the city; but it was in vain that their ardour increased every day; the position of the French army between Bordeaux and the English put a stop to every attempt.

"M. de Larochejaquelein returned to live at Citran. Our children and all our servants saw him. Persons of whom we knew nothing before were constantly coming to converse with him, and yet such was their discretion, that his retreat was never disturbed. The police had not abandoned their search, but it was more anxiously continued in Poitou and at Nantes, on account of the friendship of M. de Barante.

"From the month of December, some tumults had taken place in La Vendée. Several conscripts refused to obey, and fought with the gendarmes. But the Government, fearing a civil war, and knowing their want of power to repress it, consented to shew some indulgence; exacted much fewer sacrifices, and

raised fewer levies from that part of the country than from any other, and did not there impose those enormous requisitions which oppressed the rest of France. This prudent system, together with the presence of about 2000 gendarmes, prevented the war from breaking out during the winter, although there were bands of refractory conscripts, who defended themselves with their arms in their hands; and the people could hardly be restrained from rising *en masse*. But the chiefs were unwilling to do any thing rash, and waited till the insurrection could be quite general, before they declared themselves. The continued prospect of peace paralyzed the most daring.

"In the meantime, M. de Larochejaquelein constantly recurred to the danger of throwing himself into the midst of the brave Vendéens; but it was precipitating himself into certain danger. He was more particularly sought after there than at Bordeaux. He could not venture to follow the great roads, when he was so well known, and the cross-roads that year were impassable, on account of the extraordinary floods. At last, with great difficulty, we got him to consent to delay his decision until M. Jagault should have made a tour into the west, to ascertain the position of things, and prepare for him the means of arriving in La Vendée. He set out on the 26th of January. He was first to traverse La Saintonge, and inform my brother-in-law, M. de Beaucorps, of his intentions, to confer with M. de la Ville de Baugé, and endeavour to communicate with the ancient chiefs. He was then to go to Paris, and concert matters on a great and general plan with M. de Damas, my cousin, de Lorges, &c.; and to finish
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by Nantes, where he was to confide all to M. de Barante. These were precisely the provinces, and the same arrangement for the insurrection, that had been pointed out fifteen years before by Monsieur, when he gave his instructions to M. Jagault.

"On his arrival at Thouars, on the 5th February, he wrote, that it would be impossible, at that time, for M. de Larochejaquelein to penetrate into La Vendée, and undertake any thing of importance; that he was continuing his route to Paris, and that he hoped, on his return, to find things in a more favourable state. These delays but ill accorded with the impatience of my husband.

"For some time a report had been current, that the Duc d'Angoulême had joined the English army, and it was soon confirmed. M. de Larochejaquelein instantly determined to go to him, to inform him of what was passing, and take his orders. (M. Armand d'Armailhac had arrived three days before, to offer him a vessel, which was about to sail for St. Sebastian.) He left Citran, to concert matters with MM. Taffard and de Gombauld.

"On reaching Bordeaux, M. de Larochejaquelein begged M. de Mondenard to tell M. Lynch, who was just come from Paris, that he was anxious to testify his gratitude, and open his heart to him. He immediately came to see him. M. de Larochejaquelein told him, he believed he could not better recompense the great services he had rendered him, than by informing him of all the secrets of the royalists, of what had been arranged at Bordeaux during his absence, and of his departure for St. Jean de Luz. M. Lynch, transported with joy, without hesitation said, 'As-

sure the Duc d'Angoulême of my entire devotion; tell him I shall be the first to cry 'Vive le Roi,' and deliver him the keys of the city.'

"The vessel prepared by M. d'Armailhac for the passage of M. de Larochejaquelein was commanded by Captain Moreau, who had a licence for Spain; but it was very difficult to get on board, for, besides the search that must take place before leaving the river, the custom-house-officers were to remain until she was four leagues at sea, and return in a boat.

"I had just received a very encouraging letter from the senator, M. Boissy d'Anglas, extraordinary commissary of the twelfth division. M. de Larochejaquelein took it with him, to prove to the Duke that it was not to save himself that he came to him. He quitted us on the evening of the 15th February. I had only strength to pray to God to receive this last sacrifice we could make to the King.

"He embarked in the night of the 17th along with M. François Queyrin, who insisted on sharing all dangers, in the Chaloupe of Taudin, a coasting pilot of Royan. They lay in the *tille*, without being able to change their posture, for forty-two hours; they managed to escape the *Regulus*, a guard vessel, which searched the smallest boat that went out. A dreadful gale arose, and threatened the utmost danger to their bark; the vessel of Captain Moreau lost her anchor, and they thought at one time he would be obliged to return to Bordeaux, but he found another at Royan. During this time Taudin's chaloupe was at anchor in the midst of all the boats of the port, and the two fugitives were every moment in danger of being discovered. Captain Moreau put

put to sea; some pretext was necessary to enable them to follow him. Taudin thought of crying out to his son, with a loud voice, so that all those on the quay might hear, asking him if he had delivered Moreau the bread as he had ordered him. The son answers, No; the father in a rage scolds him for his neglect; his anger prevented all mistrust. He goes for the bread to his house at Royan, and at the same moment confides his secret to the pilot, who was going to bring back the *Douaniers*. They then agreed that they would board the ship at the same time, he on one side, and Taudin on the other; and while the *douaniers* came down into the boat, M. de Larochejaquelein and M. Queyriaux slipped on board the ship on the other side. Their passage was rapid; in twenty-two hours they were at the entrance of the harbour of Passage. A violent gale had come on; several vessels perished a few hours after within sight of land; however, Moreau succeeded in getting in. M. de Larochejaquelein found Lord Dalhousie at Renteria, and they entrusted him with the object of their voyage. He received them with the greatest attention, made them the most obliging offers, and even pressed them to accept of money. M. de Larochejaquelein only begged to be conducted to the Duc d'Angoulême, who was at St. Jean de Luz. Lord Dalhousie had no horses, but he ordered two soldiers to conduct them, who marched with them the whole night. They went immediately to the Prince; he had only arrived about a fortnight before, under the name of the Count de Pradelles, accompanied by Count Etienne de Damas. Lord Wellington had already paid him his respects (*hommages*.) The mayor of

St. Jean de Luz, and the inhabitants of some small neighbouring parishes, were the only Frenchmen that had yet made known to him their sentiments and wishes. As soon as he learnt the plans at Bordeaux, the situation of La Vendée, and the general state of opinions, his heart once more opened to hope, and he declared that nothing should again induce him to quit the soil of that France where he still found so many faithful subjects, and that he would rather perish among them than ever quit them more. He informed these gentlemen that Monsieur was in Switzerland, and the Duc de Berri at the island of Jersey, endeavouring, like himself, to penetrate into France.

"The Duc de Guiche was ordered to conduct the travellers to the headquarters of Lord Wellington, then at Garitz. That illustrious general received them very well. He had, from the first, shewn himself very favourably inclined to the cause of the House of Bourbon. But when England and the Allies consented, or seemed at least still willing to consent to treat with Buonaparte, Lord Wellington could no longer lend his assistance to any decided step in favour of the Princes. Besides, he had fallen into the common error of foreigners, and did not believe the people of France so favourably inclined to their cause as they really were. He had before him the French army, commanded by an able general, and this was the main object to which his views must of course be directed. Such were the objections which M. de Larochejaquelein had to overcome; and, although urged with all possible respect for the Princes, and even with regret, they were not the less strong nor reasonable. M. de Larochejaquelein

Larochejaquelein first required that Bordeaux should be occupied, promising that the city should declare for the King; then, that a powerful diversion might be effected in favour of Bordeaux, he requested one or two vessels, with only a few hundred men, to land in the night on the coast of Poitou, to escort him a few leagues into the country, and leave him there, and immediately retire and re-embark, which would attract the attention of the troops, and enable him to pursue his route. Lord Wellington told him positively, that he could dispose of no troops for an expedition which his Government had not authorized. M. de Larochejaquelein was then obliged, for the present, to renounce his project of penetrating into La Vendée; the coast being every where guarded with the most scrupulous exactness by the douaniers.

"Lord Wellington determined to march forward. M. de Larochejaquelein had the honour of following him the next, as far as the passage of Gave d'Oleron. He then returned to the Duke. He arrived at the same time with MM. Okely and de Beausset, deputies from Thou-louse, who came to offer him the services of that city;—he heard at the same moment of the battle of Orthez. He immediately set out for head-quarters. M. de Larochejaquelein followed, and M. Queyriaux went on to Bordeaux, to acquaint the council with the success of their journey, and to carry the Prince's proclamation. He made his way through the midst of conscripts, and the people which the battle of Orthez had put to flight.

"The Duke sent the Count de Damas to sound the disposition of the city of Pau; he ran a thousand

risks in his journey, and obtained no satisfaction.

"M. Bontemps du Barri had set out in the morning, sent by M. Taffard, to inform Lord Wellington that the city was without defence, and that they ardently wished for the presence of the Duc d'Angoulême. This information decided Lord Wellington; he ordered Marshal Beresford with three divisions to advance upon Bordeaux. M. Bontemps instantly returned to give an account of his mission; he encountered many dangers between St. Sever and Bordeaux, and only extricated himself by his extreme courage and presence of mind.

"The English army marched the next morning, and M. de Larochejaquelein, who was with the advanced guard, went to receive the last orders of his Royal Highness, who told him, that Lord Wellington, whom he had just quitted, was still persuaded that Bordeaux would not dare to declare itself. M. de Larochejaquelein then assured him, that Bordeaux would undoubtedly make the movement, and that he would answer for it with his head; and only asked permission to precede the English thirty-six hours. 'You are then very sure of it?' 'As sure as I can be of any human event.' The Prince then replied with warmth, 'Go on then, I confide in you!'

"M. de Larochejaquelein continued with the light troops till they reached Langon; he then went to the house of M. Alex. de Saluces, at Preignac, from thence M. de Valens acted as his guide to the city. Through detachments of the French troops and gendarmes, he arrived at Bordeaux at ten o'clock in the evening of the 10th of March. He learned that the council had just
sent

sent to beg Marshal Beresford to delay his movement, that they might have more time to prepare the minds of the people, and to concert measures for uniting the royalists of the neighbourhood with those of the city. M. de Larochejaquelein warmly opposed this delay, and urged the danger of giving time for reflection to the weak and timid, assuring them, that the sudden bent of the royalists would be instantly followed by a spontaneous movement throughout the city. They adopted his opinion, and M. M. Luetkens, François Queyriaux, Valens, d'Estienne, and de Canolle, were successively sent to meet the Prince and the English, and entreat them to hasten their march.

" During this time all the superior authorities quitted the city.

" At last, on the 12th, at eight in the morning, all was prepared for the reception of the Duc d'Angoulême; they assembled at the Hotel de Ville. The English hussars had already begun to enter the city. Some inconvenience was apprehended from their thus appearing, before the inhabitants were fully acquainted with what was about to follow. M. de Larochejaquelein mounted hastily on horseback, with M. de Pontac, and went to meet Marshal Beresford, to beg he would call back the hussars, that the royalists' movement might be made before the arrival of the English. The Marshal agreed to it, and he remained with him. M. de Puysegur stayed at the Hotel de Ville, to proclaim the King there, at the same moment it was done at the outside of the gates. The royal guards were ordered out on the road with their arms concealed. The chiefs openly followed the cavalcade of the municipality.

M. Lynch was in a carriage; he quitted it when out of the city, and said to the Marshal, that if he entered the city as a conqueror, he should allow him to take the keys, having no means to defend them, but that if he came in the name of the King of France, and his ally the King of England, he should deliver them to him with joy. The Marshal answered, ' That his orders were to occupy and protect the city, and that he might act as he thought proper.' M. Lynch immediately cried, '*Vive le Roi!*' and mounted the white cockade. The whole royal guard did the same. At the same moment the white flag appeared floating from the steeple of St. Michael, where it had been deposited the evening before. The news was quickly spread among the royalists, and those who, from curiosity, had followed M. Lynch, that the Duc d'Angoulême would arrive in the course of the day. Then the cries of *Vive le Roi!* became universal; every one put white paper on his hat, and ran through the street announcing the unexpected intelligence. When, about an hour after, the Duc de Guiche announced the Duc d'Angoulême, joy and surprise animated every heart; all danger was forgotten. The whole city flocked round M. M. Lynch, Taffard, &c.;—almost every one fell on their knees, and the common people cried out, ' He is of our own blood!' They were eager to touch his clothes, or his horse; he was carried along by the crowd to the cathedral, where the archbishop was waiting for him. He was for some time separated from his suite, and nearly suffocated by the pressure. I had not the satisfaction of enjoying that spectacle; I had remained in the country. It happened

happened to be the very day (the 12th of March) on which the war of La Vendée had broke out, twenty-one years before, and I was so deeply moved by the recollections of that period, that I was quite overcome, and continued in a kind of stupor for above thirty hours.

"M. de Larochejaquelein asked permission of the Duke to raise a corps of cavalry. It was impossible for the Prince to obtain funds for the pay of the troops, the country had been so ruined and drained by repeated requisitions, and the public chests all carried off. This cavalry was then necessarily composed of volunteers equipped at their own expense. M. M. Roger François de Gombauld, and de la Marthonie, also obtained leave to raise companies; but M. de Larochejaquelein, always looking upon himself as destined to fight in La Vendée, would only accept the command provisionally.

"One of the first objects of the English was to get possession of the mouth of the river, and establish communication with both banks, to secure themselves from the attack of a pretty numerous flotilla which had been hastily fitted out, and continually menaced Médoc and even Bordeaux. Acourier was dispatched for St. Jean de Luz, with orders to the English squadron; but it was thought these orders might arrive sooner by sending them from the little port of La Teste. Lord Dalhousie entrusted his dispatches to M. M. Eugène de Saluces, Palliès, and Moreau. La Teste had been occupied on the 12th of March by a post of infantry, and 300 chosen men of the national guards. M. M. de Mauléon and de Mallet de Roquefort, who commanded them last,

made them take the white cockade. They found some resistance from the inhabitants and the troops of the line; they ran the greatest risks, and their firmness alone saved them. They brought with them to Bordeaux a great part of the national guards, and of the detachment of infantry; the rest had gone to join the French troops that were at Blaye. However, M. de Saluces and his companions found they could not embark at La Teste as they had expected. The mayor and some of the inhabitants opposed their departure, and they were obliged to return to Bordeaux. His Royal Highness then ordered M. de Larochejaquelein to proceed to La Teste with 250 English, a party of the national guards under M. de Mallet, and some volunteers. The inhabitants were at first much alarmed, but as they knew M. de Larochejaquelein, who was charged by the Prince to treat them with kindness and indulgence, every thing passed amicably. The three most mutinous were merely put in prison for a few days. My husband remained a week there, occupying himself in extending the authority of the King along the coast, dissipating the prejudices of the inhabitants, and collecting powder and battering cannon to send to Bordeaux.

"A few days after Lord Dalhousie set out to attack St. André de Cubzac and Blaye. He proposed to M. de Larochejaquelein to go with him, on account of his knowledge of the people and the country, and in the hope that he might be able to establish some communication with the interior, and especially with La Vendée. His company of volunteers wished to follow him, but Lord Dalhousie would not permit them.

They

They encountered the French troops at Etauliers; they were inferior in number, and were repulsed.

"My husband took advantage of the passing of the river to send back M. de Ménard, a gentleman from the neighbourhood of Luçon, who had come through a thousand dangers, to take the orders of the Prince for La Vendée. He was arrested at Saintes, but saved by General Rivaux, who was a royalist at heart. He arrived in La Vendée, and instantly began to arrange the insurrection; but the news from Paris rendered his efforts unnecessary.

"Some hours after the combat at Etauliers, M. Bascher arrived, whom my husband had seen among the guards of honour. He had deserted at Troies, and hid himself in the house of a relation near Nantes, where he had met M. de Suzannet, who sent him to M. de Larochejaquelein. He came to announce that all was ready in the west, where the ardour of the peasants daily increased, and that the tocsin would be sounded the week after Easter. Our ancient army was anxious to have M. de Larochejaquelein to command them. They wanted 15,000 muskets, and above all powder, of which they had absolutely none. No troops were wanted to land those articles, as the country would be up in arms before they arrived.

"M. Bascher had run great risks in this mission; he had been pursued, and only escaped through the disorder of the French troops. My husband immediately sent him to the Prince.

"Lord Dalhousie returned to Bordeaux, to prepare for the attack on the citadel of Blaye. Admiral Penrose having forced the passage of

the river, had already begun the bombardment from that side. M. Deluc, the mayor of the town, had on the 13th March sent to his Royal Highness, to assure him of his attachment; and had made efforts, but in vain, to induce the garrison to surrender.

"In the meantime they were not without uneasiness at Bordeaux. A strong French division was advancing by Périgueux; the English were not numerous, and at that time they did not know that the Marquis of Buckingham, as soon as the insurrection at Bordeaux was known, had obtained permission to embark with 5000 English militia to defend that city. But a contrary wind prevented them from entering the Gironde; and although the ardour of the royalists daily augmented, there had not been time to form a sufficient number of French corps. The Prince became more and more beloved. He went every day to visit the military posts, accompanied only by two or three persons, always going slowly through the streets in the midst of a crowd, who, charmed with his goodness and confidence in them, never ceased shouting, 'Vive le Roi! Vive le Duc d'Angoulême!' They were electrified by the idea, that he exposed himself to so many dangers for his love to France. There was not one but would have given his life for him. Count Etienne de Damas set a noble example. He will be ever dear to the people of Bordeaux, for his affability and the indefatigable zeal with which he laboured night and day in the service of the Prince. Every one felt encouraged by the prospect of the insurrection in the west, which was on the point of breaking out. Lord Dalhousie, who
shewed

shewed equal skill and attachment to the Prince, consented to every thing that could facilitate that movement.

"The 13th of April was the day fixed for the departure of M. de Larochejaquelein; his company of volunteers were to follow him. He obtained the powder and arms that were wanted. A messenger was sent to Jersey to the Duc de Berri, who was impatient to throw himself into La Vendée

"We were in the midst of these agitations of hope and fear, when, on the 10th of April, (Easter,) at four o'clock, a courier arrived, bringing the intelligence that the King had been acknowledged at

Paris, and that all was over. It is impossible to describe the general intoxication of joy;—the whole city were in a state of enthusiasm. The Duc d'Angoulême bestowed the most flattering recompense on M. de Larochejaquelein,* by confiding to him his dispatches for Monsieur at Paris, and requesting him to go and receive the orders of the King. He arrived at Calais a few minutes before his Majesty. When the Duc de Duras named him, the King said, 'It is to him I owe the movement of my good city of Bordeaux.' He held out his hand to M. de Larochejaquelein, who threw himself at his feet."

SKETCH OF THE HOUSE AND HISTORY OF PRINCE LEOPOLD OF SAXE-COBURG.

[From Mr. SHOBERL's Historical Account.]

"PREVIOUSLY to the treaty of Congress, signed at Vienna in 1815, the possessions of the house of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld comprised 17½ German square miles, with a population, according to the census taken in 1812, of 57,266 souls. They contain eight towns and 270 villages and hamlets. The revenues of the prince amounted in 1806 to 425,413 florins, or near 50,000*l.* sterling. The inhabitants as well as the reigning family, belong to the Lutheran church, and are chiefly employed in trade and manufactures. The above-men-

tioned treaty secures to the duke of Coburg-Saalfeld, an additional territory of such extent as to comprise 20,000 inhabitants, so that his dominions and resources will be increased by about one-third.

"We have seen that all the ducal houses of Saxony are branches of the elder or Ernestine line, which, without regard to primogeniture, long retained the custom of dividing the possessions left by the father among all his sons. In process of time, however, the law of primogeniture began to be adopted, but it was not introduced into the house

* M. de Larochejaquelein was killed in June last (1815), a few days before the battle of Waterloo, at the head of the new Vendean army raised to oppose Buonaparte
1816. B of

House and History of Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg.

of Saxe-Coburg till the reign of Francis Josias, in the middle of the 18th century.

" This prince, the great grand father of the reigning duke, was respected by his neighbours as a man of the highest integrity, and beloved by his subjects as an excellent sovereign. These qualities caused him to be intrusted with the guardianship of some of the princes of the kindred houses of Saxony during their minority. He had four sons. The eldest, who succeeded him, married the princess Sophi Antoinette, sister to the celebrated prince Ferdinand, of Brunswick, as also to the queen of Denmark, to the consort of Frederic the Great, and to the grandmother of the present king of Prussia. By this union the house of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld became nearly allied to most of the reigning families in Europe, to which it was not previously related. Its connections were still farther extended by the marriage of the two daughters of this prince; the elder, Sophia, to the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin (by whom she was mother to the present duke), and the younger, Amelia, to Alexander, margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach and Bayreuth.

" The three younger sons of duke Francis Josias devoted themselves to the profession of arms. Prince Christian, the elder, entered into the Austrian service, and during the seven years' war attained to considerable military distinctions, when ill health compelled him to quit the army and return to Coburg.

" Adolphus, the third son, fell whilst very young, as colouel of a Saxon regiment of carabineers in the first Silesian war.

" The fourth and youngest of these brothers was Frederic Josias, the celebrated commander of the allied armies at the commencement of the French revolution. He entered at the beginning of the seven years' war into the Austrian service. Though then very young, the empress-queen, Maria Theresa, intrusted him with the command of the Anspach regiment of cuirassiers. He signalized him-self by his courage in various engagements, and was wounded in the battle of Collin. Highly esteemed by the imperial court for his mild amiable character, his valour, probity, and talents, he soon arrived at promotions and honours. Both in Galicia and Hungary, where he was invested with the chief military command, an appointment of very great importance, he was beloved and respected; indeed his memory is still revered by the Hungarians, who have not forgotten the protection which he afforded, to the utmost of his power, to the numerous Protestants resident in that country. When the emperor Joseph II. commenced the last Turkish war, he assembled a particularly fine army, of near 100,000 men, and directed his efforts to the reduction of Belgrade. This army was commanded, under the emperor, by field-marshal Laudohn. The prince of Coburg was placed at the head of a corps of 18,000 men, destined partly to cover the grand army, and partly to make a diversion in Wallachia and Moldavia, by which also it was designed to establish a communication with the Russians, whose main force was engaged with Oczakow, and some other fortresses. At the same time that the prince was detached with his corps from the Austrian grand army, general Suworoff was detached

detached with the like views from the Russian. The service upon which these two distinguished commanders were sent, soon produced an intimate friendship between them which death alone interrupted. To them belongs the glory of the highly brilliant campaign which brought the war to such a speedy termination. Continually united in their operations, they reduced the whole of Moldavia and Wallachia, and repeatedly vanquished the army of the grand-vizier, though four times as strong as their own. The most decisive of these victories occurred at Focksan and Martinestie. While Coburg and Suworoff were thus gaining victory after victory, and deciding the issue of the war, the imperial grand army had uselessly lost the flower of its troops in unimportant actions, and by disease; and was therefore necessitated to relinquish the honour of the campaign to prince Frederic Josias alone. The emperor then appointed the prince to conduct the negotiations for peace with the Porte, and rewarded his services with the rank of field-marshal and the grand cross of the order of Maria Theresa, instituted for military merit,—a distinction the more valuable on account of the difficulty of earning it, and the sparing hand with which it is conferred.

“About this time commenced the war of the French revolution and the troubles in the Netherlands. Leopold, who had now ascended the imperial throne, summoned the prince of Coburg to the chief command of the allied army in the Netherlands, on which occasion the prince was also nominated field-marshal of the empire. With this appointment no commander except the archduke Charles alone has

since been invested. The campaign of the prince, though obstructed by various difficulties, partly thrown in the way by the Court of Vienna itself, was nevertheless attended with the best success against the French. The young emperor Francis II. honoured the prince with his confidence in a high degree; at the same time the latter found means to keep up the best understanding with the rest of the allies—a circumstance universally acknowledged at the time, and which must still be remembered by the duke of York, and many English officers under his command.

“The victory of Neerwinden, the reduction of Valenciennes, and other achievements of prince Frederic, are too well known to need recapitulation. The emperor Francis, who quitted the army about this period, rewarded him with the diamond star of the order of Maria Theresa, which had been last worn by the renowned Laudohn.

“How terrible the name of Prince Frederick had become to the republican French, is evinced by the well-known form of accusation: *Complice de Pitt et Cobourg*—a form which sealed the doom of thousands of unfortunate victims, and in which democracy associated together the names of those whom it considered as its two most dangerous enemies.

“Prince Frederic, finding his plans and suggestions disregarded, or even impediments opposed to their execution, resigned the command, to the great mortification of the army, which was strongly attached to him, because he treated it in every respect like a father. Clairfait was appointed his successor, but with the departure of the prince, fortune also seemed to have forsaken

the banners of the allies. He retired to his native city, where he attained to a serene old age, and terminated his glorious career in February, 1815, in his 76th year, deeply lamented by his family, and sincerely mourned by all those who were acquainted with his amiable disposition and estimable qualities. To him might justly be applied the expression of the poet, that—

..... his age was as a lusty winter,
Frosty but kindly.

“ Duke Ernest Frederic had, by his consort, Sophie Antoinette, of Brunswick, three children, two sons and one daughter.

“ Francis, his eldest son and successor, made the science of government his peculiar study. With a clear understanding he united a truly philanthropic heart and rare attainments, acquired in the indulgence of an ardent passion for the sciences and fine arts, of which, till his death, he was a zealous patron and admirer.

“ Lewis, the second son, served under his uncle, Frederic Josias, as an Austrian general, and died in the prime of life, at Coburg, in 1807.

“ Duke Francis had three sons and four daughters by his consort, a princess of the ancient and celebrated house of the counts Reuss of Plauen. Gifted with a superior understanding, and adorned with rare accomplishments, this princess unites all the softness of her own sex with the firmness of the other. Undaunted by the storms of fate, she never lost sight for a moment of her destination as a wife and a mother. Amid the various pursuits to which her genius inclined, this extraordinary woman made the most careful education of her numerous family the business, the recreation,

and the happiness of her life. The tender attachment which subsists between all the surviving members of the house of Coburg is her work, her highest glory, and at the same time the surest test of the excellence of her own heart and of those of her children.

“ By the marriage of the third daughter of duke Francis, who was united by the name of Anna Feodorowna to the grand-duke Constantine, eldest brother of the emperor Alexander, the house of Coburg became intimately connected with the court of Russia. In consequence of this alliance the empress Catherine II. gave a military appointment to the hereditary prince, Ernest, and destined also Leopold, the youngest son of duke Francis, for the Russian service. The latter, to whom the emperor Leopold II. stood sponsor, had been originally designed for the Austrian service, but the early death of his majesty prevented the fulfilment of these intentions.

“ Ferdinand, the second son of duke Francis, however, entered into the Austrian service, under the auspices of his great-uncle, the field-marshal.

“ The political convulsion, which, in 1806, involved the whole north of Germany, was attended with consequences peculiarly calamitous to the house of Coburg. When, in the autumn of that year, the French approached the Saxon frontiers, duke Francis, who was in very ill health, retired with his consort from Coburg to Saalfeld; which latter town is situated beyond the very considerable range of mountains, known by the appellation of the Forest of Thuringia, and forming the barrier of North Germany. Prince Leopold, then but fifteen years

years old, was the companion and the support of his infirm father. For Ferdinand was detained by his duty in Austria, and the truly German spirit of Prince Ernest had carried him to the head-quarters of the King of Prussia, with whom he had been for some years on terms of the closest friendship. The French appeared before Saalfeld; the castle was stormed; and the ducal family which was in it, exposed to all the dangers and horrors of that disastrous battle, which cost prince Lewis Ferdinand of Prussia his life. This was more than the constitution of duke Francis, already so much impaired by disease, was capable of supporting; he sunk under the accumulation of misfortunes, and died in the beginning of December, to the profound grief of his family and country, which were left by his decease in a truly disconsolate situation.

"No sooner was Bonaparte informed that the hereditary prince Ernest, now duke of Coburg, was at the Prussian head-quarters, than he issued a proclamation declaring him his particular enemy, and caused formal possession to be taken of his territories. A French *intendant* and *commandant* were appointed exclusively for Coburg; all the property belonging to the ducal family was seized, and a very heavy contribution imposed upon the country, which had already suffered most severely from the passage of great part of the French army, from the battle at Saalfeld, and from the consequent plunder of the town and environs.

"During this period of distress, prince Leopold remained with his afflicted mother, who, but for him, would have been entirely deserted, attentively watching over the interests of his family.

"Duke Ernest, the faithful companion of the king of Prussia in the eventful battle of Austerlitz, proved on that occasion to his enemies how ardent a love of German independence and how lofty a principle of honour resided within his bosom. He would rather have sacrificed himself and his own possessions, than have deserted the cause of his royal friend in his adversity. One night—that night of unparalleled rout, confusion, and dismay, which at the same time enveloped all the duke's prospects in hopeless despair—he rode with the king between the French watch-fires towards the Harz. He kept constantly with the king, when almost every one else had abandoned him; he accompanied his Majesty to the dreary wilds of Poland, to Königsberg, and Memel; and, as if fate had been determined to put his constancy to every possible trial, he was there seized with the epidemic nervous fever, from which he had a very narrow escape with his life.

"It was not till the peace of Tilsit that by a particular stipulation, the house of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld was reinstated in its possessions. Duke Ernest, however, on his return to his capital, found the finances dilapidated by the French authorities, various institutions, which before the war were in a flourishing state, entirely ruined, and his country to the last degree impoverished.

"Though now under French supremacy, and strictly watched by Buonaparte, the princes of the house of Coburg steadfastly adhered to the principles prescribed to them by their ardent patriotism, and their high sense of honour, truth, and justice; nay, they were not even at the pains to conceal from the oppressor of Germany, that the deli-
verance

verance of their native land was and ever would be under every circumstance, the sacred object of their persevering exertions. Such is frequently the power of right, that Buonaparte himself, though he knew but too well the sentiments of these princes, and kept a particularly vigilant eye upon them, still could not help doing complete justice to the sincerity of the brothers, and therefore treated them with marked distinction when they visited Paris upon business relative to their house.

" In 1808, duke Ernest went to Russia, and resided there for some time. During his absence, prince Leopold devoted his assiduous attention to the administration of the duchy. Since that period his brother has never failed to consult him on all concerns, whether internal or external, of the house of Coburg; and whenever he has not been himself absent on his travels, he has exclusively superintended various branches of the administration.

" In the same year prince Leopold accompanied the emperor of Russia, and his brother-in-law the grand-duke Constantine, to the interview which Napoleon had appointed at Erfurt.

" In 1809, when Austria was again involved in war, Buonaparte, who watched the princes of the house of Coburg more narrowly than ever, insisted, with his peculiar vehemence, that prince Ferdinand should quit the Austrian service. As he had probably been informed about the same time that supplies of arms were going from Coburg to Bohemia, he dispatched a minister named Bacher for the purpose of making a strict inquiry into the affair. This man was ordered to repeat the demand respecting prince

Ferdinand, accompanied with the menace that if he should be taken as an Austrian soldier, during the campaign, he should infallibly be tried by a French council of war. The efforts of this minister to accomplish his master's purpose proved unsuccessful.

" The rigid investigation set on foot concerning the *dépôts* of arms led to no result, because they had fortunately been already sent off to Bohemia, and prince Ferdinand seemed to consider the last message of Napoleon as a challenge to fight with more desperate resolution than he had ever shewn against his inveterate enemy. This determination was clearly evinced in the wounds which he received during the campaign. Under these circumstances, and as Napoleon became better acquainted with the active exertions of the brothers against him, it was no wonder that he should grow more jealous of these princes, and more attentive to their proceedings. In consequence of this mistrust, he repeated in 1810, his demand that prince Ferdinand should retire from the Austrian service, and this time with the additional requisition that prince Leopold also should quit the Russian army, in which he had been a general ever since 1803. Champagny, who was then minister, and to whom was referred under the mediation of Russia, a question concerning the adjustment of the limits of the principality of Coburg, expressed but too plainly the sentiments of his master in these words, *que l'empereur ne ferait rien pour ses ennemis*.

" Whoever knows the power with which such an exorcism was calculated to operate at that time on a German prince, will not fail to admire the firmness of prince Leopold,

pold, who after this declaration still hoped that he should not be obliged to leave the Russian service, and went to Paris to remonstrate on the subject. He there found the government highly incensed at such refractory behaviour, to which France was certainly not accustomed on the part of the German princes of the Confederation of the Rhine; and he was bluntly assured, that in case of his farther refusal to comply, Napoleon would be necessitated to take the possessions of the house of Coburg from his brother, the reigning duke. The affections of the prince were not proof against this threat; it produced the desired effect, and Leopold sacrificed his own inclinations and his brilliant military prospects to the welfare of his family. The emperor of Russia granted his request, that he might tacitly retain his military rank, till better times should permit him publicly to resume it.

“ Obstructed in the career which he had marked out for himself, prince Leopold declined all the offers of military charges made to him from the west, and devoted himself with so much the more assiduity to the affairs of his house, and to the arts and sciences. In 1811, he negotiated with the crown of Bavaria, at Munich, a frontier arrangement, of considerable importance to the principality of Coburg, and likewise, under the then circumstances, to the whole south of Saxony—a business which from the complicated interests that it involved, was attended with infinite difficulty. The diplomatic talents of the prince, however, at length succeeded in adjusting the differences by the conclusion of a convention with Bavaria.

“ When, towards the end of

1811, the political horizon began to be once more overcast, and a new prospect of a happier result was afforded, prince Leopold, unable any longer to endure his constrained inactivity, again tendered his services to the emperor of Russia. Alexander, apprehensive lest a premature step might endanger his family, begged to defer the fulfilment of his wish to a more seasonable time. The prince, having thus failed in the object upon which he was exclusively bent, in order to withdraw himself from the observation of the French government, set out at the beginning of 1812, on a distant tour, and travelled to Vienna, Italy, and Switzerland.

“ At the commencement of 1813, the three brothers of the house of Coburg exerted themselves, as far as their situation permitted, to prepare the emancipation of Germany. Such were the zeal and the openness of their proceedings, that the French government, incensed in the highest degree, only waited for the moment of a favourable turn in the political state of affairs to wreak its utmost vengeance. In despite of its rage, however, the reigning duke, Ernest, repaired to Berlin, where he had no inconsiderable influence upon the personal resolutions of the king, in consequence of which he sent his brother Ferdinand to Vienna. Prince Leopold went to Munich, to pave the way for happy changes, and in February proceeded to Poland, to the emperor of Russia, who received him with cordial friendship. Here he communicated to field-marshal Kutusoff much important information respecting the state of things in Germany, and the condition of the French army, and thus acquired the immortal honour of being the *first prince*

prince of the then-existing confederation of the Rhine, who openly declared against France.

"The allied army now marched from Poland to Silesia and Saxony. On the 2d of May, prince Leopold was in the battle of Lützen, and the following day with the Russian cavalry formed part of the rear-guard. The prince was afterwards sent in forced marches toward the Elbe, to the support of the Prussian general Kliest, but his destination was changed, and he returned to Lusatia.

"On the 19th of May, the prince marched to the support of general Barclay, but was recalled to assist on the 20th and 21st in the battle of Bautzen. In this engagement he was employed in supporting the line on various points, and in the evening of the second day, he covered the retreat, amidst the hottest fire, with that serenity which is the property of genuine courage. After the battle he retired to Silesia with the corps of cavalry to which he was attached.

"During the armistice, and the negotiations at Prague, prince Leopold repaired with the consent of the emperor of Russia, to that city, and was the *only* stranger who was there admitted to several interviews with the emperor Francis.

"On the expiration of the armistice, the prince proceeded with the army to Bohemia, and thence to the frontiers of Saxony. The main force of the allies was already before Dresden, while the cavalry reserve was engaged in the more difficult march across the mountains. On the 26th of August, Vandamme briskly attacked the corps posted near the fortress of Königstein to cover the rear of the grand army, and the principal com-

munication with Bohemia, and commanded by prince Eugene of Wirtemberg. This general urgently solicited a reinforcement of cavalry, that he might be enabled to maintain his highly important position against a very superior enemy; and about noon, prince Leopold was in consequence detached with his cuirassiers to his assistance. Scarcely had the prince joined the corps, when the enemy commenced the attack. The infantry, on account of its weakness, was posted on the wings, and supported upon two villages; while prince Leopold and his cavalry formed the centre. This precarious position did Leopold maintain, during a contest of five hours, against a foe three or four times as numerous, and after the two wings of the corps were almost completely surrounded, with such unshaken intrepidity, that night came on before the enemy had been able to gain any decisive advantage, or force the position. Eugene paid that tribute to the prince which he amply deserved, for by his firmness he had not only saved the whole corps, but rendered it impossible for Vandamme to make an attack, either in flank or rear, on the main army of the allies engaged on the 27th of August with the assault of Dresden, which would necessarily have been attended with the most disastrous consequences.

"On the 27th of August, the corps took a position on the other side of Pirna. As the importance of the action of the 26th, and the possibility of a less fortunate result was sensibly felt at the head-quarters; the first division of the Russian guards, under the brave general Yermolof, and the regiment of bus-sars of the guard, were sent to reinforce the corps at Pirna. The whole

was

was placed under the orders of count Ostermann, who gave to prince Leopold the command of the cavalry of the combined corps.

"The enemy stormed Pirna, and sought with his cavalry to extend himself upon the level ground near the Elbe, when prince Leopold met and drove him back into the town, from which he did not again attempt to debouch; as the dreadful weather, which was one cause of the retreat of the grand army, prevented any thing more decisive than an incessant skirmishing.

"The same night count Ostermann's corps received information that the grand allied army was in full retreat to Bohemia, and that the road from Dresden along the Elbe was now open to the enemy. This corps was placed by this event in a very perilous situation; for with its left wing on the Elbe, Dresden, whence the enemy was approaching, in its rear, and its left wing on the main road to Bohemia, which was already occupied by the French, it had but one road left for its retreat, and this was commanded by the fire of its adversary.

"Count Ostermann now ordered prince Leopold to proceed, if possible, with his cavalry, through the defile, upon which the right wing was supported, and to occupy and maintain a plain near Great Cotta, which is traversed by the main road to the woody range of mountains. Leopold executed the movement with such rapidity, that the enemy had not time to occupy this plain in sufficient force; he drove him from it, and maintained his position there till the main body of the corps, with the infantry and all the artillery, had effected its retreat. The enemy had meanwhile reached, by a shorter route, and occupied

some of the heights and passes in the mountains, and thus almost intercepted the prince and his cavalry; but with great difficulty he forced his way through, and on this occasion rescued many wounded of the infantry of the Russian guard, who had heroically stormed the passes.

"The position of Peterswalde was the last that Ostermann's corps could take in the mountains to afford time for the retreat of the main army; and it was therefore successfully maintained, though not without considerable effort. Here the assembled generals received intelligence that the main army was still in the mountains, and that the grand head-quarters of the allies were yet at Altenberg, in Saxony. It was therefore determined to cover the road to Töplitz, in order to gain the grand army as much time as possible for debouching.

"On the 29th of August, the troops were accordingly to have continued their march at a very early hour; but before they could break up, the French cavalry, supported by a very considerable division of infantry, attacked the village of Peterswalde, which was occupied as the advanced guard of the line of encampment with infantry, pushed forward through it, and was on the point of falling upon the columns that were about to march, when prince Leopold came up with his cavalry, and drove back the enemy into the defile. He then maintained the little plain near Peterswalde, till the infantry and artillery had retired to the position of Nollendorf, and then caused his cavalry to fall back *en echelons*. He was himself nearly taken with the last division, but he cut his way through, and rejoined the main body of the corps, which, but for the successful attack

attack of the prince, would probably have been totally intercepted. This action doubtless gave rise to the false report in one of Napoleon's bulletins, subsequent to the affairs near Dresden, that prince Leopold had been made prisoner by the French.

Ostermann's corps, though considerably diminished, now proceeded in the best order down the declivity of the mountains into the plains of Bohemia. The left wing, which was supported upon the mountains, was formed by the infantry; in the centre, through which ran the high road, was stationed the greatest part of the artillery, and the right wing, composed of prince Leopold's cavalry, occupied an open plain. As the chief object was to gain time, every advantageous spot of ground, which was capable of detaining the enemy ever so little, was defended with the utmost obstinacy. Prince Leopold therefore manœuvred with his cavalry *en echiquier*, and never withdrew to a new position, which it was necessary to take every sixty or one hundred paces, till the *tirailleurs* of the infantry had fallen back into the intervals of his order of battle. The enemy, who renewed his attacks with increased impetuosity, made an extraordinary effort to force the last position of the corps near the village of Prisen, with a tremendously superior artillery. The loss of this position would have rendered the retreat of the main allied army from the mountains in a great measure impracticable; it was therefore imperatively necessary that it should be maintained to the very last man. As the French general Corbineau was advancing to attack prince Leopold, with a corps of cavalry at least

thrice as numerous, the prince went to meet and repulsed him. The French general, staggered by the intrepidity of his opponents, though so inferior in number, lost the decisive moment of victory; and as the prince received a considerable reinforcement of cavalry, and fresh troops continued to arrive from the mountains, he was enabled to maintain his position till night.

"On the morning of the 30th of August, before the conflict was renewed, prince Leopold received, on the field of battle, from the emperor of Russia, the cross of commander of the military order of St. George, for his conduct during the preceding days.

"Soon afterwards commenced the attack upon Vandamme, who was surrounded by the allied army, now nearly concentrated. Prince Leopold, who was this day engaged upon the extreme wing, pursued the enemy to Peterswalde, and did not rejoin the main army till night. The victory over Vandamme was necessarily dependent on the operations of Ostermann's corps: for had this corps been broken on the 26th of August, the French would have been masters of all the *debouchés*, by which alone the grand allied army could retreat to Bohemia; and the greatest part of the army, and the whole of the artillery, which it would have been absolutely impossible to carry off on account of the badness of the roads, must infallibly have been lost. What incalculable disasters, military and political, must have resulted from such an event, is sufficiently obvious to every reader. On the other hand, the consequences of this victory were most important: Vandamme was taken, together with almost all his generals, nearly the whole of his infantry,

infantry, consisting of fifty-two battalions, and all his artillery, amounting to nearly 100 pieces of cannon, whilst but a small remnant of his corps, including the cavalry, effected its escape.

"The other allied sovereigns, as well as the emperor Alexander, acknowledged with the greatest satisfaction the important part which prince Leopold had contributed to the success of the operations between the 26th and 30th of August; and for his conduct during this interval he was afterwards presented with the Austrian military order of Maria Theresa.

"In the beginning of October the allied army returned to Saxony.

"On the 16th of October, the first day of the battle of Leipzig, when the enemy had made a general, and not unsuccessful attack with cavalry, upon the centre of the main army posted near the villages of Magdeborn and Cossa, the honourable service of covering not only this important point, but also the Russian batteries planted opposite to those of the French, was allotted to prince Leopold, who on this occasion lost a great number of his men. On the 17th, he continued in the same position, and had already received orders for the attack of the enemy's batteries, when it was deferred till the following day, on account of the non-arrival of several corps which were expected. On the 18th, the last and decisive day of this gigantic conflict, the prince pushed on with his cavalry in the centre, to the environs of Leipzig. In the afternoon, when the left wing under general Coloredo was very furiously attacked by the French, it was asked what cavalry would go to the support of this wing. Though a greater

force was wanted than Leopold had with him, he nevertheless offered himself, as there was no Austrian cavalry at hand, and went to the assistance of Coloredo. On the 19th he marched to the support of general Giulay, and followed the advanced guard and this corps to the vicinity of Erfort.

"The prince then proceeded to Frankfort, where he remained during the residence of the allied sovereigns in that city, and afterwards went through Swabia and Switzerland to France. Here he was detached on the 30th of January, 1814, to the support of field marshal Blücher and general Rajefsky to Rizaucourt, whence he returned on the 1st of February to the grand army. From a *bivouac* near Barsur-Aube he marched to the battle of Brienne, and assisted on the 2d to pursue the beaten enemy to Lesmont. The prince then marched to Bar-sur-Seine and Troyes, and afterwards to Nogent-sur-Seine, Trainel, and Braye, whence the army again retreated.

"In the plains in advance of Troyes, the whole of the cavalry made some demonstrations against the enemy, but no affair of any consequence ensued. On the 23d of February the prince formed the rear-guard at Troyes; the army had a position behind the Seine, and then fell back to Chaumont.

"On the 12th of March, the prince, as well as the greater part of the Russian troops belonging to the main army, advanced upon the road to Vitry. After the French had recovered Rheims and occupied Chalons, the prince formed the advanced guard towards the roads leading to those places. In this service the troops, already extremely fatigued by the repeated night marches

marches and incessant manœuvres in an exhausted and desolated country, and continually harassed moreover by the armed peasants, who were particularly troublesome in Champagne, had to endure extraordinary hardships and inconveniences.

" Till the 20th of March the enemy was daily expected to make a general attack upon the right wing of the army, which therefore occupied all its positions in readiness for battle. When, however, the enemy on the 20th suddenly retired from the Marne to the Aube, the allied troops of the right wing marched to the left upon Arcis, by which movement the main army effected its junction. The French now made a very impetuous attack, which the allied army repulsed with the greatest firmness, on which occasion the prince had to support the right wing. On the morning of the 21st, Leopold was sent forward with his cavalry, part of the Prussian guard, and a reinforcement of horse artillery, to form a communication with the corps of the prince-royal of Wirtemberg, which had not yet come completely into line. The enemy, apparently deterred from an attack upon the allies by their excellent position, occupied Arcis as a rear guard position, and retired upon the road to Vitry. At night-fall the allied army also marched again to the left bank of the Aube, and then likewise directed its course towards the Marne, when the prince formed the support of the advanced guard upon Vitry.

" On the 24th of March the allied army took the road to Paris, and on the 25th its advanced guard attacked marshal Marmont at la Fère Champenoise. The prince being sent with his cavalry to the

support of this advanced guard, attacked the enemy in the right flank at Connetrai, drove him from his position, and took five pieces of cannon. Being joined by the rest of the allied cavalry, he followed the marshal from position to position, and did not desist from the pursuit, even when the greatest part of the allied cavalry was recalled against the corps of general Pacton. Marshals Marmont and Morier, who had by this time formed a junction, profiting by the consequent weakness of the pursuers, sent their cavalry to attack the artillery of the Russian guard. Prince Leopold took this attack in flank, drove back the French cavalry to an elevated position which the marshals had occupied, saved the Russian artillery, and in spite of a very brisk fire maintained his post till night.

" The troops of the grand army were not again engaged till the battle of Paris. On the 31st of March, prince Leopold entered Paris with the reserve cavalry, and there remained in garrison. He accompanied the sovereigns to England, and sailed with them in the *Impregnable* from Boulogne to Dover. He continued here about a month after the sovereigns, and did not leave England till the end of July.

" In the beginning of September he repaired to Vienna, to the Congress, for the purpose of promoting to the utmost of his power the independence of his native land and the interests of his family.

" Leopold's politics, sound as his understanding and his heart, could not chime in with all the maxims which were broached there. He could not, above all, convince himself, that it was just to sacrifice the
right

right of one to the convenience and power of another; and though he duly weighed the many clashing political interests, he found it impossible to admit the paramount cogency of those reasons upon which the partition of Saxony was decreed.

"The Congress acknowledged services which the prince of the house of Coburg had never ceased, during the last ten years, to render to the good cause, as well as the sacrifices that had been made by them, and therefore granted an indemnity, which, though afterwards diminished by imperious political considerations, was nevertheless not inconsiderable. This business was exclusively conducted by prince Leopold during the last decisive months, and to him alone is to be ascribed its happy issue.

"On the return of Bonaparte to France, prince Leopold hastened from Vienna to the grand allied army on the Rhine, which soon afterwards reached Paris. On the termination of the war, the affairs of his family detained him for some time in the French capital, after which he proceeded by way of Coburg to Berlin, and here it was that the invitation of the Prince-Regent intimated to him the high destiny to which he was called.

Though the preceding biographical notices would, without any further observations, furnish the attentive observer with a correct outline of this prince's character, yet the delineation of his moral qualities is wanting to complete a most attractive and interesting picture.

"In his early youth, he manifested an excellent understanding and a tender and benevolent heart. As he advanced in years, he displayed a strong attachment to literary and scientific pursuits, and even at

that time all his actions were marked with dignified gravity and unusual moderation. His propensity to study was seconded by the efforts of an excellent instructor, and as he remained a stranger to all those dissipations with which persons of his age and rank are commonly indulged, his attainments, so early as his fifteenth year, were very extensive. His extraordinary capacity particularly unfolded itself in the study of the languages, history, mathematics, botany, music, and drawing, in which last he has made a proficiency that would be creditable to a professor.

"The vicissitudes which he was so early destined to experience, seem only to have contributed to preserve the purity of his morals; and they have certainly had a most powerful influence in the development of that rare moderation, that ardent love of justice, and that manly firmness, which are the predominant traits in the character of this prince.

"Necessitated in like manner at so early an age to attend to a variety of diplomatic business, he acquired partly in this school, and partly in his extensive travels, a thorough knowledge of men in all their relations; and though his experience has not always been of the most agreeable species, still it has not been able to warp the kindness and benevolence of his nature.

"In his campaigns, and in the field of battle, where all false greatness disappears, Leopold has given the most undeniable proofs that courage, and a profound sense of religion and liberty, are innate in his soul; and that clear intelligence and unshaken fortitude, are his securest possessions. With such qualities of the head and heart, with a character

character and principles that so completely harmonize with the feelings, the notions, may even the prejudices of the British nation, this illustrious prince authorizes us to anticipate, from his union with the

heir to the throne, results equally conducive to the welfare of the people at large, and to the happiness of that distinguished family of which he is become a member."

SKETCH OF THE EARLY LIFE OF BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR.

[From Mr. Bonney's Life of the same.]

WE have higher authority than that of human evidence for asserting, that the church of Christ is firmly founded on a rock. The attack of those who meditate its destruction, whether gradual and secret, or manifest and sudden, is as ineffectual as it is malignant. When assaulted either by infidelity, on the one side, or hypocrisy, on the other; when obscured by superstition or persecuted by force, its divine Protector has successively demonstrated the truth of his word, that, "wisdom is justified of her children."

"At no point of time, since England first received the blessing of christianity, was this more strikingly displayed, than in the age which succeeded the reformation. "Sons of Prophets" then arose, endued with such powers of mind, animated with such grace, and armed with such weapons of erudition, as to render them invincible to their present enemies, and the admiration of succeeding times.

"Amongst the foremost of these was Jeremy Taylor: a person who does not force himself into notice by an origin derived from noble ancestors, or raised above the ordinary level of mankind. On the contrary,

he is found to have entered into life in the humblest walk of society, and to afford an illustrious example of learning and religion rising into notice and to honour by their intrinsic excellence.

"Jeremy, the son of Nathaniel and Mary Taylor, was born in the parish of the Holy Trinity, in Cambridge, where his father followed the occupation of a barber: and was baptized on the 15th day of August, in the year of our Lord 1613. At three years of age he was sent to the free school in his native town, then newly founded under the will of Stephen Perse, M. D. late senior fellow of Gonvil and Caius college, and over which Mr. Lovering at that time presided. There he continued ten years, making such progress in learning as to render him worthy, at the age of thirteen, of being admitted at Caius college in the same university. He was entered a sizar on the 18th of August, in the year 1626, under Mr. Bachcroft; and was matriculated on the 17th of March following.

"The studies of the university were at this time improving. Escan, some years before, had published his "Advancement of Learning," which had been well received.

ceived. His *Novum Organum* had enlarged the bounds of reason, and by directing the powers of the mind to higher objects, had stamped an additional value on its acquirements: it had introduced a new logic, which had led to the effect that Bacon himself expressly intended, "teaching to invent and judge by induction, as finding syllogism incompetent for sciences of nature; and by so doing had made philosophy and sciences both more true and more active."

"Greek and Roman literature was so assiduously cultivated, that it not only found its way into the writings of almost all the authors of the day, but into the common conversation of the higher orders of society.

"At the same time, the result which Bacon had anticipated from his labour was actually produced. "The foundation of a better mode of reasoning having been laid by him, and the wheel begun to move, men were now searching more truth from Christian writers, than hitherto they had done from heathen."

"Such appears to have been the state of education in the university when Taylor entered upon it, possessing the advantages which Bacon had afforded, but having still to receive the further improvement of the Newtonian philosophy: and to this source may be traced many of the most brilliant ornaments and radical defects that are conspicuous in his writings.

"In the society of Caius college he continued until he was admitted master of arts, having taken his degree of bachelor in the year 1630-1, being then in his eighteenth year. Bishop Rust asserts, "that as soon as he was graduate, he was chosen

fellow." The improvement which he made in his infancy was followed up with increased assiduity during his residence in this college: and to such an extent had he carried his theological studies, as to be thought worthy of admission into holy orders before he had attained the age of twenty-one.

"About the same time he took his degree of master of arts, and removed to London, where being requested by his chamber-fellow, Mr. Ridsen, to supply his turn, for a short time, at the lecture in St. Paul's cathedral, he filled the pulpit with ability so far beyond his standing, as to attract the attention of archbishop Laud: who "observing the tartness of his discourses, the quickness of his parts, the modesty and sweetness of his temper, and the becomingness of his personage and carriage, preferred him to a fellowship at All-Souls college, in the university of Oxford; where he might have time, books, and company, to complete himself in those several parts of learning into which he had made so fair an entrance."

"To this situation he was nominated on the 21st of November in the year 1635, and admitted on the 14th of January following. The opportunity thus afforded him, of increasing his knowledge, he did not misapply: and whilst in this new seat of learning he accomplished the object of his patron's munificence, and gratified his own attachment to literature, "love and admiration still waited upon him."

"At this time the papists circulated a report, that he was strongly inclined to enter into communion with the church of Rome. But the authority upon which this rests must be considered very doubtful: for the fact is well established, that the

the popish faction at that time omitted no opportunity of promoting its interest; and doubtless, anticipated a splendid triumph in the conversion of such a disciple.

"It seems, that the eagerness of the party for so eminent a convert had carried its hopes to an unreasonable degree: grounded, it might be, upon the intimacy of Taylor with Francis a Sapota Clara, a member of the Romish church; upon his knowledge of popish writings, which was extensive; and upon the fervour of his piety, which glowed with seraphic warmth. The best answer to this report is an appeal to his works, which contain nothing that savours of Romish errors; but, on the contrary, abound with arguments against them, as energetic and zealous, as are to be met with in the ablest apologies of the reformed religion.

"Reference may directly be made to his sermon, preached a short time after the circulation of this report, at St. Mary's at Oxford, before the university, "on the 5th of November, in the year 1638, on the anniversary of the gunpowder treason," and by the appointment of his patron the archbishop. In this sermon, says the Oxford antiquary, several things were inserted against the papists by the vice-chancellor, which gave such offence to them, that they rejected him with scorn, particularly to his friend Francis a St. Clara, who told Anthony Wood, that Taylor afterwards expressed some sorrow for what he had said. But there is reason for believing that the antiquary was too credulous on this occasion: for if the vice-chancellor had done what was reported, he must have completely remodelled the whole discourse, it

being as direct an attack upon the principles which actuated that party, as can well be imagined. That a man, like Taylor, should deliberately pronounce such a discourse, and afterwards childishly lament it in the ears of the very party he had so strenuously and successfully opposed, is scarcely to be credited.

"In the first letter addressed "to a gentleman who was tempted to the Romish church," written many years after, he denies the charge in terms too plain to be misinterpreted. After answering such parts of the subject as related to the particular case of the person he is addressing, he says, "the other thing I am to speak to is, the report you have heard of my inclinations to go over to Rome. Sir, that party which need such lying stories for the support of their cause, proclaim their cause to be very weak, or themselves to be very evil advocates. Sir, be confident, they dare not tempt me to do so, and it is not the *first* time they have endeavoured to serve their ends by saying such things of me. But I bless God for it; it is perfectly a slander, and it shall, I hope, for ever prove so."

"About this time he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the king, having already been made chaplain to the archbishop. And on the 23d of March, in the year 1637-8, he was instituted to the rectory of Uppingham, in the county of Rutland, by Francis Dee, bishop of Peterborough, on the presentation of William Juxon, bishop of London; and on the resignation of Edward Martin, B. D.

"He had no sooner received institution into this preferment, than he commenced his charge over it; and

and continued to reside at Uppingham until the year 1642. On the 27th of May, in the year 1639, he was married in the church of that town to Phœbe Landisdale, by whom there is sufficient authority to state, he had four sons and three daughters."

EPISCOPAL LIFE OF BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR.

[From the same.]

"THE church of Ireland had not been less subject to oppression than that of England. The people inflamed by the most calamitous of mental maladies, religious enthusiasm; and led on by hypocritical rulers, under the appearance of sanctity, had driven the chief of the clergy from their sees. And whilst usurpation was dictating oppression from the polluted throne, hypocrisy and schism were vociferating blasphemy from the ruins of the church.

"In this interval, whilst religion had retired to the desert, many of the prelates died: so that upon the restoration, the king found three archbishoprics, and eleven bishoprics, vacant in Ireland. Dr. Bramhall, the bishop of Derry, was immediately chosen successor to Usher in the primacy; and letters patent were issued for the appointment of bishops to the other vacant sees. Dr. Margetson, dean of St. Patrick's, was advanced to the archbishopric of Dublin, and Dr. Pullen to that of Tuam. The bishopric of Cork was conferred upon Dr. Boyle, dean of Cløyne; Elphin, upon Dr. Parker; Limerick, upon the dean of Elphin, Dr. Synge; and Leighlin and Ferns upon Dr. Price, dean of Connor; Waterford was placed in the hands

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of Dr. Baker. Dr. Wild was consecrated to Derry; Dr. Lesley to Dromore; Dr. Worth, dean of Cork, to Killaloe; Killala was conferred upon Dr. Hall; and Dr. Taylor was elected to Down and Connor, made void by the promotion of Dr. Lesley to the see of Meath.

"As soon as these arrangements were completed, the royal mandate was sent to the primate to proceed to consecration; and on the 27th of January, in the year 1660-1, with the assistance of the bishops of Raphoe, Kilmore, and Ossory, the archbishop consecrated the whole number of elected bishops in the cathedral of St. Patrick.

"The archbishop, desirous that so unusual an event might be observed with a solemnity answerable to the occasion, issued these directions, for the better regulation of the ceremony.

"Whereas we have thought fit to appoint the 27th of this instant, January, for the consecration of bishops, to the end therefore, that the same may be so ordered as decently as the dignity of so holy an office shall require: we have thought fit by the advice of our brethren, the bishops who are to assist in that sacred administration, and with whom we have consulted in that

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behalf to order, that the office of consecration ended, the anthem to that purpose, composed by the dean of St. Patrick's, called 'Quum denuo exaltavit Dominus coronam,' be sung as it here followeth."

Treble Now that the Lord hath re-advanc'd
the crown,
Which thirst of spoil and frantic zeal
threw down;

Tenor Now that the Lord the mitre hath
restor'd,
Which with the crown lay in the
dust abhor'd.

Chorus Praise him ye kings.
Praise him ye Priests.

Treble May Judah's Royal Sceptre still
shine clear.

Tenor May Aaron's holy rod still blossoms
bear.

Treble Sceptre and Rod rule still and guide
our land,

Tenor And those whom God anoints feel
no rude hand!
May love, peace, plenty, wait on
crown and chair,
And may both share in blessings as
in care.

Chorus Angels look down and joy to see,
Like that above a *monarchy*.
Angels look down and joy to see
Like that above an *hierarchy*.

"On this occasion the office of preacher was imposed on 'the pious, eloquent, and learned Dr. Taylor.' He chose his subject from the 12th chapter of St. Luke, and 43d verse. The sermon which he then delivered was published, by the command of the lords, justices, and the primate, and is preserved in the 5th edition of the *Eniavros*.

"In this able discourse he first concisely takes the same view that he had done on a former occasion, in his 'Episcopacy asserted,' concerning the pastoral office itself; and then proceeds to the duties of it, and its high responsibility; which he enforces with all the weight that reason and scripture can give, or strength of language can convey.

"This solemn and extraordinary ceremony was attended by the lords justices and council, and general convention, with the mayor and aldermen, in their robes; and was performed with such grave and religious propriety, as left a deep impression upon the minds of the distinguished congregation then assembled.

"Thus having, like the apostles at Jerusalem, received power from on high, immediately before their dispersion to the several flocks, over which the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, bishop Syngé, a person worthy of their number and his office, delivered in Christ Church, in the presence of the government and them, an able discourse on those words of St. Paul contained in the beginning of the third chapter of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians; which of themselves had the effect of a sermon, striking the minds, and raising the devotion of all who were present. Finally, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified, even as it is with you; and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men, for all men have not faith.' And soon after this each departed to his charge: Taylor having previously been sworn one of the privy council.

"Whilst Taylor was thus raised to the mitre in Ireland, his beneficent patron, the Earl of Carbery was constituted Lord President of Wales, and removed to Ludlow castle, the seat of that government. Upon his appointment to that office, he made Butler his secretary and steward of the castle. Before the rebellion this was the residence of the Earl of Bridgewater, and had been the scene of 'Milton's Comus.'"

mus.'—It was now fallen into the hands of a nobleman of equal worth, and fostered a muse of equal vivacity.

"His other noble friend, Lord Hatton, was received at Court with every mark of attachment, and having been sworn a member of the privy council, was appointed to the government of Guernsey.

"In the March after Bishop Taylor's consecration he lost his only remaining son, Edward, who was buried in the church at Lisburn on the 10th of that month. And about the same time, he was chosen Vice-chancellor of the University of Dublin; an office which he held till his death. On his being elected to this situation, he addressed that learned body in a Latin speech, remarkable for its eloquence. But this instance of his ability does not seem to have been printed.

"The change that had taken place in the affairs of Ireland was well received by the people of Dublin, and every thing conducted in such a manner as so shew respect to the government.

"The 8th of May, in the year 1661, was fixed upon for the opening of parliament. And 'the Lords Justices, which were, Sir Maurice Eustace, Lord Chancellor, Charles Earl of Monrath, and the Earl of Orrery, and the Two Houses having assembled, rode in great state to the Cathedral of St. Patrick. Before the Lords Justices were borne the Royal Robe, by the Earl of Kildare; the Cap of Maintenance, by the Viscount Montgomery; and the Sword, by the Lord Baltinglas. The people were not a little rejoiced to see themselves now fully represented by so many worthy patriots, legally called together by his Majesty's writ: but that which made this pro-

ceeding most accomplished, (says the writer of this account) was to behold the Most Reverend Archbishops and Bishops, by whose pious and prudent management the church hath recovered much of her ancient reverence; several of her grand opposers being persuaded to a high respect for her. Being come to St. Patrick's they heard an excellent sermon preached by the Right Reverend Jeremy, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, after which the peers went to the Lords' House, and the Commons to theirs. The latter nominated Sir Audley Marvin their Speaker, and the Peers the Archbishop of Armagh.

"On this occasion Taylor chose his subject from the fifteenth chapter of the First Book of Samuel, and the twenty-second and following verse; and endeavoured to prove that obedience is the best medium of peace and true religion; and that laws are the common term and certain measures of it. This sermon is the most finished of his compositions; and for liberality, vigour, and eloquence can scarcely find its parallel.

"He is addressing the Lords Justices, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons; and he applies his subject to the people and their rulers; referring particularly to those who had been most guilty of a breach of his doctrine in the late unhappy time. And, adverting to those persons who had to execute the law, he concludes in these exquisite and impressive passages.

"God hath put a royal mantle, and fastened it with a golden clasp, upon the shoulder of the king, and he hath given you the judges' robe; the king holds the sceptre, and he hath now permitted you to touch the golden ball, and to take it

awhile into your handling, and make obedience to your laws to be duty and religion; but then remember that the first in every kind is to be the measure of the rest; you cannot reasonably expect that the subjects should obey you, unless you obey God. I do not speak this only, in relation to your personal duty; though in that also it would be considered, that all the bishops and ministers of religion are bound to teach the same doctrines by their lives as they do by their sermons; and what we are to do in the matters of doctrine, you are also to do in the matter of laws; what is reasonable for the advantages of religion, is also the best method for the advantages of government; we must preach by our good example, and you must govern by it; and your good example in observing the laws of religion will strangely endear them to the affections of the people."

" ' Lastly, all the creatures both of heaven and earth would perish if mercy did not relieve us all. Other good things more or less, every man expects according to the portion of his fortune: *Ex clementia omnes idem sperant*, but from mercy and clemency all the world alike do expect advantages. And which of us all stands here this day, that does not need God's pardon and the king's? Surely no man is so much pleased with his own innocence, as that he will be willing to quit his claim to mercy: and if we all need it, let us all shew it.

Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum funus adultæ Virginis occurrat, vel terrâ clauditur infans, Et minor igne rogi.

' If you do but see a maiden carried to her grave a little before her intended marriage, or an infant die

before the birth of reason, nature hath taught us to pay a tributary tear: alas! your eyes will behold the ruin of many families, which though they sadly have deserved, yet mercy is not delighted with the spectacle; and therefore God places a watery cloud in the eye, that when the light of heaven shines upon it, it may produce a rainbow to be a sacrament and a memorial that God and the sons of God do not love to see a man perish. God never rejoices in the death of him that dies; and we also esteem it indecent to have musick at a funeral. And as religion teaches us to pity a condemned criminal, so mercy intercedes for the most benign interpretation of the laws. You must indeed be as just as the laws, and you must be as merciful as your religion: and you have no way to tie these together, but to follow the pattern in the Mount; do as God does, who in judgment remembers mercy.'

" To give still further weight to the Protestant establishment, both Houses made a declaration, dated the 17th of the same month, of the high estimation in which they held episcopal government and the Book of Common Prayer, according to the use of the church of England.

" Soon after this the Bishop preached before the Primate at the metropolitan visitation of the diocese of Down. He had shewn in his discourse before the parliament, ' that obedience is the best medium of peace and true religion; and laws are the only common term and certain rule and measure of it. *Vocata ad concionem multitudo, quæ coalescere in populum unius corporis nulla re præterquam legibus poterat*,' said Livy. Obedience to man is the external instrument, and the best
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in the world.' To which he now added, 'that obedience to God is the best internal instrument.'

"This subject he repeated before the university of Dublin in June in the following year, and the Discourse was published in quarto. It is inserted in the fifth edition of the *Ensauros* under the title of *Via Intelligentia*, and is little inferior to that last described. One passage in it cannot be too much regarded. 'There is in every righteous man a new vital principle; the spirit of God is the spirit of wisdom, and teaches us by secret inspirations, by proper arguments, by actual persuasions, by personal applications, by effects and energies; and as the soul of a man is the cause of all his vital operations, so is the spirit of God the life of that life, and the cause of all actions and productions spiritual: and the consequence of this is what St. John tells us of, 'Ye have received the unction from above, and that anointing teacheth you all things:' all things of some one kind; that is, certainly 'all things that pertain to life and godliness; all that by which a man is wise and happy.' We see this by common experience. Unless the soul have a new life put into it, unless there be a vital principle within, unless the Spirit of Life be the informer of the spirit of man, the word of God will be as dead in the operation as the body in its powers and possibilities. Which principle divers fanatics, both among us, and in the church of Rome, misunderstanding, look for new revelations, and expect to be conducted by ecstasy, and will not pray but in a transfiguration, and live upon raptures and extravagant expectations, and separate themselves from the conversation of men by

affectations, by new measures and singularities, and destroy order, and despise government, and live upon illiterate phantasms and ignorant discourses. These men 'believe the Holy Ghost:' for the spirit of God makes men wise; it is an evil spirit that makes them fools. The spirit of God makes us 'wise unto salvation:' it does not spend its holy influences in disguises and convulsions of the understanding. God's spirit does not destroy reason, but heightens it; He never disorders the beauties of government, but is a God of order; it is the spirit of humility, and teaches no pride; He is to be found in churches and pulpits, upon altars, and in the Doctor's chair; not in conventicles and mutinous corners of a house: He goes in company with His own ordinances, and makes progressions by the measures of life; His infusions are just as our acquisitions, and His graces pursue the methods of nature: that which was imperfect He leads on to perfection, and that which was weak He makes strong: He opens the heart, not to receive murmurs, or to attend to secret whispers, but to hear the word of God; and then He opens the heart, and creates a new one; and without this new creation, this new principle of life, we may hear the word of God, but we can never understand it; we hear the sound, but are never the better; unless there be in our hearts a secret conviction by the Spirit of God, the gospel itself is a dead letter, and worketh not in us the light and righteousness of God.'

"Upon the translation of Dr. Robert Lesley to the see of Raphoe, the king, by grant of the 21st of June, of the year 1661, committed to the Bishop of Down and Connor, the administration of the see of Dromore;

Dromore; which he held till his death.

He thus received a fresh tribute of respect for his fidelity and superior attainments. But it was no desire of enriching himself that induced the Bishop to accept of this new charge. The dilapidated state of the church and ecclesiastical property at this juncture clearly evince his conduct to have been grounded upon a higher principle.

"Finding not only the spiritual affairs of this diocese in disorder, but the choir of the cathedral of Dromore in ruins, he undertook to rebuild it. It was dedicated to 'Christ our Redeemer.' On this occasion his daughter Joanna presented the plate for the communion; which bears the following inscription.

In ministerium S S mysteriorum
In Ecclesia Christi Redemptoris
De Dromore
Deo dedit humillima Domini
Ancilla D. Joanna Taylor.

"In the same year he held a visitation at Lisnegarvy; at which he issued 'rules and advices to the clergy of his diocese for their deportment in their personal and public capacities.'

"Thus was he attentive not only to the outward condition of the church, but assiduously exerting himself both by his own eminent example and admirable writings to regulate the charge reposed in him. The rules he directed to his clergy for this purpose form a very useful compendium of ministerial duty, and have been often recommended by subsequent prelates. In visiting his diocese, it was his practice to preach to the congregation, and the substance of two sermons on the second chapter of the Epistle to Titus, and seventh and eighth verses, which he delivered in so many

several visitations, is preserved in the fifth edition of the *Evidences*, under the title of 'the Whole Duty of the Clergy in Life, Belief, and Doctrine, described and effectually pressed upon their Consciences.' The former work is but an abridgement of the precepts contained in this, which are in general enforced with all the learning, piety, and earnestness, which he so amply possessed, and which the subject so justly demanded. But in his warmth of persuasion to holiness some positions occur, which the church considers untenable, particularly those in the first part, concerning the effect of personal sins upon the validity of the sacred functions of Christian ministers: on which subject he pursues a line of argument that militates against the tenets of the twenty-sixth article of the church of England.

"In the autumn of the year 1661 the bishop, foreseeing a vacancy in the deanery of Connor, wrote to Cambridge for some able person, who might fill that dignity. And the proposition being made to Dr. George Rust, at that time a fellow of Christ College in that university, he gladly accepted of it; the situation being more valuable, in his estimation, by the intercourse that it would give him with the 'incomparable person, with whom the offer had originated.' Dr. Rust hastened his journey into Ireland, and arrived in Dublin about the month of August.

"The bishop, who knew how to value a person of his worth, received him 'with much respect and kindness;' and he was preferred to the deanery, as soon as it was vacant, which was shortly after.

"Thus a friendship commenced between these two great men, which continued

continued with mutual warmth and admiration, till it was interrupted by death.

"Gratifying as this friendly intercourse evidently was to Dr. Rust, it must have been equally pleasing to the bishop; for the dean was, in every respect worthy of his regard. Joseph Glanvil, who knew him well, describes him as 'a man of a clear mind, a deep judgment, and searching wit: greatly learned in all the best sorts of knowledge, ancient and modern, a thoughtful and diligent inquirer, of a free understanding, and vast capacity, joined with singular modesty, and unusual sweetness of temper, which made him the darling of all that knew him: he was a person of great piety and generosity; a hearty lover of God and man; an excellent preacher, a wise governor, a profound philosopher, a quick, forcible, and close reasoner, and above all, a true

and exemplary Christian. In short, he was one who had all the qualifications of a primitive bishop, and of an extraordinary man.'

"This, Mr. Glanvil said not out of kindness to his friend, but out of justice to a person of whom no commendation could be extravagant. Whilst Dr. Rust lived in Christ's College, he was highly esteemed for his eminent learning and virtues; he was one of the first that surmounted the prejudices of the system that was adopted in education during the unhappy times in which he resided in the university. He had too great a soul for the trifles of that age, and saw early the nakedness of phrases and fancies. He outgrew the pretended orthodoxy of those days, and addicted himself to the primitive learning and theology, in which he even then became a great master."

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR.

[From the same.]

"ON the 3d of August in the year 1667, at the age of fifty-six, he was attacked by a fever; which, after continuing ten days, put a period to his exemplary life, and deprived the world of one of the brightest ornaments it then possessed. He expired at Lisburn on the 13th of the same month: and on the 31st his remains were removed to Drogheda, and deposited in the choir of that cathedral.

"On this sad occasion, (sad to all the lovers of religion and learning,)

his firm friend and warm admirer, Dean Rust, was chosen to perform the last solemn office to his deceased father and friend; and he preached such a sermon as became this extraordinary person and himself; a sermon, which in expression and pathos has seldom been surpassed.

"In this he entered largely into the character of the deceased, and shewed that the mind of this extraordinary man was ardent, and discerned every thing through colours warm, clear, and splendid.

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As a writer he was copious, energetic, and profound. Many passages in his works are conceived with such aptitude, and expressed with such exactness, as demonstrates how quickly he caught, and with what accuracy he observed, the beauties of the creation.

"As a divine, it may justly be said of him, that he boldly rebuked vice, and courageously defended the principles of the church of England, though certain danger to his interests and his person was the consequence. As a Christian, he was devout and exemplary; as a parent, careful and tender; as a friend, warm and invariable; as a subject, faithful and unshaken, even in poverty and distress. He combined in his character qualifications but rarely met with in any age: for he was a man of lively genius but unbending principle; of large capacity, but incessant labour; of the greatest attainments, but unaffected humility.

"As no man was more capable of giving a faithful character of Bishop Taylor than Dr. Rust himself, it is in vain to attempt an improvement upon the record he has preserved of it. 'The subject indeed could hardly be reached by any expressions, for this prelate was none of God's ordinary works; his endowments were so many, and so great, as really made him a miracle.

"Nature had befriended him much in his constitution; for he was a person of a most sweet and obliging humour, of great candour and ingenuousness; and there was so much salt and fineness of wit and prettiness of address in his familiar discourses, as made his conversation have all the pleasantness of a comedy, and all the usefulness of a sermon: his soul was made up of harmony, and he never spake but he charmed

his hearer, not only with the clearness of his reason, but all his words, and his very tone, and cadences were unusually musical.

"But that which most of all captivated and ravished his hearers was the gaiety and richness of his fancy; for he had much in him of that natural enthusiasm that inspires all great poets and orators; and there was a generous ferment in his blood and spirits, that forcibly excited his imagination, and raised it to such a degree of luxuriancy, as nothing but the greatness of his wit and judgment could have kept within due bounds.

"And indeed it was a rare mixture, and a single instance, hardly to be found in an age; for the great tryer of wits has told us, that there is a peculiar and several complexion, required for wit, and judgment, and fancy; and yet you might have found all these in this great personage, in their eminence and perfection. But that which made his wit and judgment so considerable, was the largeness and freedom of his spirit, for truth is plain and easy to a mind disentangled from superstition and prejudice; he was one of the, *Ἐκλεκτοὶ*, a sort of bold philosophers that Laertius speaks of, that did not addict themselves to any particular sect, but ingeniously sought for truth among all the wrangling schools; and they found her miserably torn and rent to pieces, and parcelled into rags, by the several contending parties, and so disfigured and misshapened, that it was hard to know her; but they made a shift to gather up her scattered limbs, which as soon as they came together, by a strange sympathy and con-naturalness, presently united into a lovely and beautiful body. This was the spirit of this great man; he weighed

weighed men's reasons, and not their names, and was not scared with the ugly visors men usually put upon persons they hate, and opinions they dislike; not affrighted with the anathemas and execrations of an infallible chair, which he looked upon only as bug-bears to terrify weak and childish minds. He considered that it is not likely any one party should wholly engross truth to themselves; that obedience is the only way to true knowledge; (an argument that he has managed rarely well, in that excellent sermon of his, which he calls, '*Via Intellectus*,') that God always, and only teaches docible and ingenuous minds, that are willing to hear, and ready to obey according to their light; that it is impossible, a pure, humble, resigned, god-like soul, should be kept out of heaven, whatever mistakes it might be subject to in this state of mortality; that the design of heaven is not to fill men's heads, and feed their curiosities, but to better their hearts, and mend their lives. Such considerations as these, made him impartial in his disquisitions, and give a due allowance to the reasons of his adversary, and contend for truth, and not for victory.

"An ordinary diligence would be able to make great improvement upon such a stock of parts and endowments; but to these advantages of nature, and excellence of his spirit, he added an indefatigable industry, and God gave a plentiful benediction: for there were very few kinds of learning, but he was a *Mystes*, and a great master in them: he was an excellent humanist, and highly versed in all the polite parts of learning; and had thoroughly digested all the ancient moralists, Greek and Roman, poets and ora-

tors; and was not unacquainted with the refined wits of the later ages, whether French or Italian.

"He had not only the accomplishments of a gentleman, but so universal were his parts, that they were proportioned to every thing; and though his spirit and humour were made up of smoothness and gentleness, yet he could bear with the harshness and roughness of the schools; and was not unseen in their subtilties and spinosities, and upon occasion could make them serve his purpose; yet, I believe, he thought many of them very near akin to the famous knight of La Mancha, and would make sport sometimes with the romantic sophistry, and fantastic adventures of school-errantry. His skill was great, both in the civil and canon law, and casuistical divinity; and he was an admirable conductor of souls, and knew how to counsel and to advise; to solve difficulties, determine cases, and quiet consciences. He was no novice in Mr. Sergeant's science of controversy; but could manage an argument, and repartees with wonderful dexterity; he understood what the several parties in Christendom have to say for themselves, and could plead their cause to better advantage than any advocate of their tribe: and when he had done he could confute them too; and shew, that better arguments than ever they could produce for themselves, would afford no sufficient ground for their fond opinions.

"It would be too great a task to pursue his accomplishments through the various kinds of literature: I shall content myself to add only his great acquaintance with the fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and the doctors of the first and purest ages both of the Greek and Latin church;

church; which he has made use of against the Romanists, to vindicate the church of England from the challenge of innovation, and prove her to be truly ancient, catholic, and apostolical.

“ ‘ But religion and virtue is the crown of all other accomplishments; and it was the glory of this great man, to be thought a *Christian*, and whatever you added to it, he looked upon as a term of diminution: and yet he was a zealous son of the Church of England; but that was because he judged her (and with great reason) a church the most purely christian of any in the world. In his younger years he met with some assaults from Popery: and the high pretensions of their Religious Orders were very accommodate to his devotional temper: but he was always so much master of himself, that he would never be governed by any thing but reason, and the evidence of truth, which engaged him in the study of those controversies, and to how good a purpose the world is a sufficient witness. The longer, and the more he considered, the worse he liked the Roman cause, and became at last to censure them with some severity.

“ ‘ But Religion is not a matter of theory and orthodox notions; and it is not enough to believe aright, but we must practise accordingly; and to master our passions, to make a right use of that *divine power*, and power that God has given us over our own actions, is a greater glory than all other accomplishments that can adorn the mind of man: and therefore, I shall close my character of this great personage, by touching upon some of those virtues, for which his memory will be precious to all posterity.

“ ‘ He was a person of great hu-

mility; and, notwithstanding his stupendous parts, learning, and eminence of place, he had nothing in him of pride and honour, but was courteous, affable, and of easy access, and would lend a ready ear to the complaints, even to the imperfections, of the meanest people. His humility was coupled with extraordinary piety; and, I believe, he spent the greatest part of his time in heaven; his solemn hours of prayer took up a considerable portion of his life; and we are not to doubt, but he had learned of St. Paul to pray continually; and that occasional ejaculations, and frequent aspirations, and emigrations of his soul after God, made up the best part of his devotions. But he was not only a good man in his duty to God, he was also come to the top of St. Peter's gradation, and to all his other virtues added a large and diffusive charity: and whoever compares his plentiful income, with the considerable estate he left at his death, will be easily convinced, that charity was steward for a great proportion of his revenue. But the hungry that he fed, the naked that he clothed, the distressed that he supplied, and the fatherless that he provided for; the poor children that he put to apprentice, brought up at school, and maintained at the university, could not fail to proclaim that charity which he dispersed with his right hand, but of which he would not suffer his left hand to have knowledge.

“ ‘ To sum up all, this great prelate had the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a schoolman, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety

piety of a saint: he had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough far an university, and wit enough for a college of virtuosi; and, had his parts and endowments been parcelled out amongst his clergy that he left behind him, it would perhaps have made one of the best dioceses in the world. But alas! 'Our Father! our Father! the horses of our Israel, and the chariot thereof;' he is gone, and has carried his mantle and his spirit along with him up to heaven; and the sons of the prophets have lost all their beauty and lustre which they enjoyed only from the reflexion of his excellencies, which were bright and radiant

enough to cast a glory upon a whole order of men. But the sun of this our world, after many attempts to break through the crust of an earthly body, is at last swallowed up in the great vortex of eternity, and there all his maculæ are scattered and dissolved, and he is fixed in an orb of glory, and shines among his brethren stars, that in their seven ages gave light to the world, and turned many souls unto righteousness; and we that are left behind, though we can never reach his perfections, must study to imitate his virtues, that we may at last come to sit at his feet in the mansions of glory."

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF DR. PRICE.

[From Mr. MORGAN's Memoirs of the same.]

"IN the beginning of February, 1791, he attended the funeral of a friend to Bunhill-fields without feeling much inconvenience from being exposed to the air in that cold season of the year, though he observed on his return that 'this method of conducting funerals was the sure way of sending the living after the dead.' In the course of a month he attended the remains of another friend to the same place, and on this occasion the event unfortunately proved the truth of his late observation. Having staid some time to speak over the grave with no effectual covering to secure him from the inclemency of the weather, he was seized in the afternoon with shivering and other

symptoms of fever, which on the following day increased so much as to render it necessary to have recourse to medical assistance. His disorder, however, did not appear to be very alarming, and had so far abated in the course of about ten days, as to enable him to ride out in a carriage for the benefit of the air, by which he expressed himself to be so much refreshed, that his friends were encouraged to entertain the fond hope of his speedy and complete recovery.—But, alas! this hope was soon dispelled—other symptoms succeeded to those of his first disorder, which, if not immediately removed, threatened the most fatal consequences. On the next morning after his ride he was seized with
a com-

a complaint in the neck of the bladder, which having resisted all internal remedies, was relieved only by surgical assistance. But this relief was merely temporary, the cause of the disorder still remained—and the repetition of the operation became necessary. At first recourse was had to it only two or three times a day; but the pain and irritation continually increasing, the repetition became more frequent, till at last the surgeon was hardly gone from the bed-side before he was sent for again to give another moment's relief to his afflicted patient. These dreadful agonies were borne for a month nearly, with a resignation which never uttered a sigh nor a murmur; and to the last hour of his life this good man retained the same placid and benevolent temper of mind which prevailed throughout the whole course of it; and when the last attempt was made to relieve him without effect, he gently reclined himself upon his bed—observing, that all was now over; and though the irritation continued for some hours after, he never expressed a wish to have the attempt repeated. In this state he lay from six o'clock in the afternoon till midnight, the faculties of his mind still remaining entire, but his strength gradually sinking. Soon after midnight an evident alteration took place, which denoted the speedy termination of all his sufferings; and a few minutes before three o'clock in the morning, having looked upon his nephew who attended him with apparent complacency, he drew some short inspirations and quietly breathed his last.

“Such was the concluding scene of Dr. Price's life. Distinguished from his earliest years for

the meekness and equanimity of his temper, no injuries excited him to improper resentment—no pain or affliction to impatience and discontent. Convinced of the great truths which he had so constantly taught, and so well exemplified in every period of his life, he calmly sunk under the last conflict of nature with a well-founded hope of rising again to a more glorious existence in a better state.

“Having never had any children of his own, his great partiality for his relatives, united to the benevolent disposition of his mind, had long induced him to take under his particular care and protection his two nephews, who having had the happiness of being thus nearly related to him, received from him all the kindness and affection of the fondest parent.—To them he intrusted the distribution of his property after his decease, which he divided among his relatives with that strict regard to equity and justice which regulated all the actions of his life. The management of his funeral, in consequence, devolved upon them, who had determined in conformity with his wishes, that it should be as private as possible. But in this instance, I am sorry to say, they suffered their better judgment to be overpowered by the solicitations of his friends and admirers, who, insisting that it would be highly unbecoming that so good and great a man should sink into the grave without some public testimony of respect to his memory, so far prevailed upon them, as to have the time of the funeral fixed for the day instead of the *night*, as they had at first intended.—By this means an opportunity of attending it was afforded to all who chose that method of testifying their respect for the deceased

deceased. So far as regarded the funeral itself, having been conducted by the direction and at the expense of the executors, it was as plain as if it had been performed in private: but the long procession of coaches certainly gave it a different appearance; and had not the designs of some of the visitors been peremptorily resisted by the executors, of proceeding through some of the most public streets of London, in their way to Bunhill-fields, the whole would have degenerated into a pageant very unsuitable to the remains of the modest and humble person who was to be the subject of it. The funeral service having been performed by his amiable and intimate friend Dr. Kippis, in a manner truly solemn and impressive, all that was mortal of Dr. Price was deposited in the same grave with his wife and uncle, till the morning of the great day, which shall burst the chains of death and restore them to a new life of endless happiness and joy.

“ In reviewing the life of Dr. Price it is impossible not to admire the modesty, candour, and piety by which it was so eminently distinguished. Though he never formed an opinion which was not the result of long and patient investigation, he always maintained it with a diffidence of his own abilities, and a readiness to admit its proper weight to every argument which could be urged against it. His great object was to ascertain the truth; and as he felt his own liability to error in the pursuit of it, he wished to make every allowance for the mistakes of others, and to respect the honest inquirer, however widely his opinion might differ from his own. Having no temporal interest to promote, nor worldly ambition to gra-

tify, he quietly proceeded in the straight path of his duty, solicitous to procure the approbation of his own conscience rather than the applause of the world. Convinced that whatever debases must necessarily corrupt the human mind, he regarded all usurpation and tyranny as the worst enemies of truth and virtue; and considered every effort in support of civil and religious liberty as directed to the dearest and most important interests of mankind. To improve himself and others in the practice of virtue was the great and prevailing principle which governed all the actions of his life. To this end his moral and political publications were equally directed; and although his success might not always correspond with his wishes, he never suffered himself to be discouraged in his endeavours, nor to relinquish the hope which he has often expressed, *that he had not lived in vain in the world.* — But of all the qualities which adorned the life of Dr. Price, none rendered him more the object of love and veneration than his unaffected piety and devotion. In all seasons and under all circumstances the great truths of religion were ever present to his mind; and the noble motives which they held forth as an encouragement to virtue had their full effect on his temper and conduct, in rendering a disposition naturally mild and benevolent still more amiable, and in raising a soul naturally serious and devout to a sublimer and more fervent adoration of the Deity. In private conversation his meekness and simplicity won and ameliorated the hearts of all who had the happiness of his friendship or acquaintance. In the services of religion the humble and devout manner in which he addressed

addressed the Deity, and the animated fervour with which he enforced the divine truths and precepts of the Gospel, never failed to impress his hearers with a just sense of his own sincerity, and of the awful importance of those duties which he so earnestly enjoined upon them. In his discourses he seldom or ever deviated into the bewildering paths of theological controversy. The great end he always had in view was, to convey to his hearers right notions of the Deity as the foundation of all rational religion, and to instil into their minds the necessity of a virtuous course as the only means of securing his favour. Though steadfastly attached from his earliest years to the Christian religion, and to his own opinion of its nature and design, he indulged no evil passions or prejudice against those who entertained different opinions, or even who rejected it altogether.—His candour and liberality in this respect were indeed truly exemplary. Inspired by the mild spirit of Christianity, he condemned no man for his excess or for his want of faith; and happy had it been for mankind if all who professed the same religion had been guided by the same spirit. Blest with a mind so mild and gentle, it was impossible that Dr. Price should not be alive to all the offices of humanity and compassion. Out of a moderate fortune which, with his

sober and frugal habits, rendered him independent, he allotted a considerable portion to the duties of private charity. On all occasions his hand and heart were ever ready to relieve the distressed and indigent, and he only regretted that it was not in his power to be more extensively useful to his fellow-creatures. To his other virtues might be added the equanimity of his temper, which never suffered itself to be ruffled by passion, or soured by resentment. But I shall dwell no longer on this subject, however agreeable it may be to my own feelings to expatiate upon it, or to commemorate those virtues which I have had the happiness for so many years to witness and admire.—Nor were the *talents* of Dr. Price less the objects of admiration than the virtuous dispositions of his mind.—Whether he wrote on the more abstruse subjects of mathematics, political arithmetic, and metaphysics, or on the more popular and important ones of religion and morality, he equally manifested his abilities by the plain and perspicuous manner in which he delivered his arguments; and if he did not always succeed in converting the reader to his own opinions, he seldom or ever failed to secure his approbation of the candour and sincerity with which they were maintained."

JUVENILE AND WANDERING LIFE OF MR. HOLCROFT.

[From his Memoirs by Mr. HAZLITT.]

“ **H**AVING been bred to an employment for which he was very ill-fitted, both from his physical and mental powers and propensities, the habit that he became most rooted in, and most fatal to my father, was a fickleness of disposition, a thorough persuasion, after he had tried one means of providing for himself and family for a certain time, that he had discovered another far more profitable and secure. Steadiness of pursuit was a virtue at which he could never arrive: and I believe few men in the kingdom had in the course of their lives been the hucksters of so many small wares; or more enterprising dealers in articles of a halfpenny value.

“ Different circumstances have fixed in my mind the recollection of many of the towns to which we went, and a variety of the articles of my father's traffic, but in all probability not a tenth part of either. I at this moment remember in particular, a market-day at Macclesfield in Cheshire; not so much from what we sold, though I believe it was some sort of woodenware, of which trenchers and spoons were in those days staple articles, as from a person that caught my attention there. This was a most robust and boisterous woman, more than middle aged, with a very visible beard, and a deep base voice. I was never weary of listening to, looking at her, and watching all

she said or did. I could scarcely think it possible there was such a woman.

“ I should mention, that to carry on these itinerant trades, my father had begun with purchasing an ass, and bought more as he could; now and then increasing his store by the addition of a ragged poney, or a worn-out, weather-beaten Rozinante. In autumn he turned his attention to fruit, and conveyed apples and pears in hampers from villages to market-towns; among the latter of which, I remember, were Tamworth, Newark-upon-Trent, and Hinckley. The bad nourishment I met with, the cold and wretched manner in which I was clothed, and the excessive weariness I endured in following these animals day after day, and being obliged to drive creatures perhaps still more weary than myself, were miseries much too great, and loaded my little heart with sorrows far too pungent ever to be forgotten. Bye roads and high roads were alike to be traversed, but the former far the oftenest, for they were then almost innumerable, and the state of them in winter would scarcely at present be believed.--Speaking of scantiness of diet, an incident happened to me which shews the great power of taste, or rather of imagination, over the appetite, and which ought to be treasured in the memory of those who endeavour to force the appetites of children. I was travelling after

after my father in Staffordshire near Wolsely bridge, where a country-gentleman had a seat. I went into the house, whether alone, or for what purpose I totally forget: but I well remember the fragrant steams of the kitchen, and the longing wishes they excited. As I was going away, a good-natured servant said, 'Perhaps you are hungry, little boy?' To which, bashfully hanging my head, I answered, 'Yes.' 'Well, then, stop a minute, I'll give you something very nice:' and accordingly a large bason of rich pease-soup was brought me, and a spoon. I had never eaten, nor perhaps heard of such a thing before: but the moment I smelt it, and applied it to my palate, I conceived such an excessive dislike to it, that though I felt ashamed, and made every effort I could, I found it impossible to swallow a spoonful. Some servants were by my side, and one of them asked, 'What! don't you like it? Can't you eat it?' To which, perfectly abashed, and again hanging my head, I replied, 'No.' 'Ha!' said one of them, 'you are a dainty chap, however; I wonder who keeps you, or what it is you do like!' I made no reply, but, hungry as I was, and horribly disappointed, hurried away as fast as I could to overtake my father. I should remark, that since I have grown up, pease-soup has always been a favourite dish with me: perhaps, accustomed as I had been from childhood to the plainest food, and empty as my stomach then was, this high flavoured composition would unavoidably excite disgust.

"My father became by turns a collector and vendor of rags, a hardwareman, a dealer in buckles, buttons, and pewter-spoons; in short, a

trafficker in whatever could bring gain. But there was one thing which fixed his attention longer than any other, and which therefore, I suppose he found the most lucrative, which was, to fetch pottery from the neighbourhood of Stone, in Staffordshire, and to hawk it through all the North of England. Of all other travelling, this was the most continual, the most severe, and the most intolerable. Derbyshire, Cheshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, the towns and cities of Birmingham, Walsall, Wolverhampton, Coventry, Derby, Burton-upon-Trent, Litchfield, Tamworth, Atherstone, Nuneaton, Lutterworth, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, nay, as far up as Warwick, Stratford-upon-Avon, Daventry, Northampton, Newport-Pagnell, Banbury, (I well remember its delicious cakes); and on the east, Stamford in Lincolnshire, Grant-ham, and in short every place within possible reach, or where pottery might be sold, received visits from my father, the asses, and poor me.

"What became of my mother during these excursions, I do not accurately recollect, except that she was with us occasionally, as at Macclesfield, for instance, where the woman with the beard and base voice so fixed my attention. She was also with us at Litchfield and Coventry. Most probably she was in general left at home, with her child or children.

"By home, I mean an old house half in ruins, about two miles on the north-east side of Rugeley, with a kitchen-garden, paddock, and croft, which afforded some scanty supplies to man and beast, when my father found it convenient, or thought proper to rest a little from his labours; but to me this house
often

often became a den of misery. I was not yet nine years old, but I had a variety of employments. First, I was the messenger of the family to Rugeley, whither I took money, and brought back delicious white bread, for which it was then famous, with such minor articles as were wanted. But when trusted by myself I could not help loitering on the road, diverting myself with whatever caught my attention, and examining every new object with an idle, boyish curiosity, from which I derived little profit. So that a journey, which ought to have been performed in less than two hours, generally took me more than half a day. I knew the consequences, and had a kind of horror of them, yet could not resist, could not prevail upon myself to go straight forward; such was the united force of habit and curiosity.

“ My father was alike extreme in his anger, and in his compassion. He used to beat me, pull my hair up by the roots, and drag me by the ears along the ground, till they ran with blood. Indeed my repeated faults were so unpardonable, that he could scarcely blame himself. Yet probably within an hour after he had exercised his severity upon me, he would break out into passionate exclamations of fondness, alarming himself lest he should some time or other do me a serious mischief, and declaring that rather than so, he would a thousand times prefer instant death.

"Chastisements like these were grievous, but they were by no means the whole of what I had to encounter. I know not how it happened, but at this early age I was entrusted with business rather like an adult than a child.

“ Towards Litchfield, on the right, lay Cannock beath and town; 1816.

and adjoining to this heath, on the left, there were coal-pits situated in a remarkably heavy clay country : (I speak from childish recollection, and may therefore expect to be pardoned, should I in description commit any local errors ; as I have never been at Cannock, the coal-pits, or the heath, since that period). Desirous of employing his asses, yet averse to going himself (I know not for what reason) my father frequently sent me to these coal-pits to get a single ass loaded, and to drive him over the heath to Rugeley, there to find a customer for my coals. The article was so cheap, and so near, that the profits could be but very small, yet they were something. Had the weather been fine when I was sent on these errands, the task would not have been so difficult, nor the wonder so great ; but at the time I was unfortunately sent there, I have a perfect recollection of deep ruts, of cattle, both asses and horses, unable to drag their legs through the clay, and of carts and waggons that were set fast in it. I do not mean that these accidents happened every day, but they were common to the place : and to poor helpless me, with a creature that could scarcely stand under its burthen, they were not less frequent than to others. When any body that could assist me happened to be near, I thought myself in luck ; but if I was obliged to run from coal-pit to coal-pit, to request the man who turned the wheel to come and help me, the chance of compliance was little. I often got nothing but a surly curse and a denial ; so till some unlooked-for accident brought me relief, there my loaded ass, sometimes heaving a groan at what he suffered, was obliged to stay.

"The most remarkable instance of this kind of distress may perhaps

deserve recounting. One day, my ass had passed safely though the clay ruts and deep reads, and under my guidance had begun to ascend a bill we had to cross on Cannock beath on our way to Rugeley. The wind was very high; though while we were on low ground, I had never suspected its real force. But my apprehensions began to increase with our ascent, and when on the summit of the hill, nearly opposite to two clumps of trees, which are pictured to my imagination as they stood there at that time, it blew gust after gust, too powerful for the loaded animal to resist, and down it came. Through life I have always had a strong sense of the grief and utter despair I then felt. But what a little surprises me is, that I have no recollection whatever of the means by which I found relief, but rather of the naked and desolate place in which I was, and my inability to help myself. Could I have unloaded the ass, it would not have been much matter; but the coals were brought from the pits in such masses, that three of them were generally an ass-load; any one of which was usually beyond my strength. I have no doubt, however, but I got them by some means or other to Rugeley, and brought the money for them safe to my father, whom I could not help secretly accusing of insensibility, though that was the very reverse of his character.

"The coal-pits were situated on the extremity of an old forest, inhabited by large quantities of red deer. At these I always stopped to look: but what surprised and delighted me most was the noble stag; for to him the deer appeared insignificant. Him I often saw bounding along, eyeing objects without

fear, and making prodigious leaps over obstacles that opposed his passage. In this free state, indeed, he cannot but excite our admiration.

"One little anecdote I must not omit. The reader will naturally suppose that from the time I began to travel the country with my father and mother, I had little leisure or opportunity to acquire any knowledge by reading. I was too much pressed by fatigue, hunger, cold, and nakedness. Still, however, I cannot but suppose, as well from my own propensity to obey the will of God, as from my father's wish to encourage my inclinations of this kind, that I continued to repeat my prayers and catechism morning and evening, and on Sundays to read the prayer-book and bible. At any rate, I had not forgot to read; for while we were at the house near Rugeley, by some means or other, the song of Chevy Chase came into my possession, which I read over with great delight at our fire side. My father, who knew that my memory was tolerably retentive, and saw the great number of stanzas the ballad contained, said to me, 'Well, Tom, can you get that song by heart?' To this question I very readily answered, 'Yes.' 'In how long a time?'—'Why, you know, father, I have got such work for to-morrow, and what work you will set me for the following days, I can't tell; however, I can get it in three days.' 'What, perfectly?' 'Yes.' 'Well, if you do that, I'll give you a halfpenny.' Rejoiced at my father's generosity, 'Oh, then, never fear,' said I. I scarcely need add, that my task was easily accomplished, and that I then had the valuable sum of a halfpenny at my own disposal."

Ms.

MR. HOLCROFT IN THE CHARACTER OF A NEWMARKET STABLE-BOY.

[From the same.]

THESE different incidents had raised a strong desire in my mind to be better acquainted with a subject that had given to me, and as I thought to every body, so much emotion, and I began to consider what might be done. At that time I was rather a burthen to my father than a help. I believe I assisted him a little in the mending of shoes, but my asthma till very lately, as well as my youth, had prevented my making much progress. At one time indeed I had been persuaded, though much against my will, to become apprentice to a stocking-weaver; but this, I forget how, broke off, at which I was very glad: I did not like stocking-weaving. The question now occurred to me, whether it would not be possible to procure the place of a stable-boy, at Newmarket. I was at this time in point of clothing in a very mean, not to say ragged condition, and in other respects, was not much better off. The stable-boys I saw at Nottingham, were healthy, clean, well fed, well clothed, and remarkable rather for their impudence, than seeming to live under any kind of fear or hardship. Except their impudence, I liked every thing else I saw about them; and concluded that if I could obtain so high a situation as this, I should be very fortunate.

“ These reflections preyed so much upon my mind, that I was at last induced to mention them to my

father; and he having a predilection for every thing belonging to a horse, and therefore a high respect for this, the noblest state of that animal's existence, readily fell into my views, and only feared they could not be accomplished. He resolved however that trial should be made; and after inquiring among the Jockeys, thought it advisable to apply to a Mr. Woodcock, who kept stables four or five miles from Newmarket, where he trained horses entrusted to his care. Mr. Woodcock examined me, asked my age, found I was light of weight, and, as I suppose, liking the answers I gave to his questions, to our very great joy, agreed to take me upon trial. In the course of my life, there have been several changes, that each in their turn, greatly affected my spirits, and gave me advantages far beyond what I had ever before enjoyed: of these gradual elevations, this was the first. I should now be somebody. I should be entrusted with the management of one of that race of creatures that were the most admired and beloved by me: I should be well clothed, wear a livery, which would shew I belonged to one of the great: I should not only have food enough, but of that kind which was highly relishing to the appetite of youth; and, in addition to all this, should receive an annual stipend. I jumped, as it were, from a precarious and mean existence, where I could not tell what worse

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might happen, into a permanent and agreeable employment. I had only to learn to ride, and perform the duties of a stable-boy, of which I had no fear, for I supposed them far less difficult than I afterwards found they were.

"The grooms that reside at, and in the vicinity of this famed town, are all, more or less, acquainted with each other; and on Mr. Woodcock's recommendation, I was put under the care of Jack Clarke, who lived with Captain Vernon, he having luckily a led horse, which I was to mount. The day of parting with my father, and of beginning our journey, was an anxious one. He could not too emphatically repeat the few well meant precepts he had so often given me, nor I too earnestly assure him, I would love and obey him all my life. Notwithstanding his severity, he was passionately fond of me; my heart entered into the same feelings, and there was great and unfeigned affection between us.

"As is the custom in travelling with trained horses, we set off early, and walked without hurry. When we stopped to breakfast, the plenty of excellent cold beef, bread and cheese, with the best table-beer, and as much as we pleased, gave me a foretaste of the fortunate change I had made. This indeed exceeded my utmost expectations. —I was entering upon a new existence,—was delighted, full of hope, and cheerful alacrity, yet too timid to be presumptuous. Clarke, being a good-tempered lad, and seeing me happy, attempted to play me no tricks whatever. On the contrary, he gave me all the caution and advice he could, to guard me against being drawn into the common-place deceptions, most of them nasty,

many of them unhealthy, and all of them tending to make the poor tyro a common laughing-stock, uniformly practised by the resident boys upon every new comer. I do not recollect one-half these tricks: but that with which they begin, if I do not mistake, is to persuade their victim, that the first thing necessary for a well-trained stable-boy, is to borrow as many waistcoats as he can, and in the morning after he has dressed and fed his horse, to put them all on, take a race of perhaps two or three miles, return home, strip himself stark naked, and immediately be covered up in the hot dung-hill; which, they assure him, is the method the grooms take when they sweat themselves down to ride a race. Should the poor fellow follow their directions, they conclude the joke with pail-fulls of cold water, which stand ready, to throw over him.

"Another of their diversions used to be that of hunting the owl, which is already very whimsically described in a book of much humour, and tolerably well-known, called Tim Bobbin's Lancashire dialect. To catch the owl, is to persuade a booby that there is an owl found at roost in the corner of a barn; that a ladder must be placed against a hole, through which, when the persons within shall be pleased to hoot and hunt him, he must necessarily fly, as the barn door is shut, and every other outlet closed: that the boy chosen to catch the owl must mount this ladder on the outside, and the purblind animal, they say, will fly directly into his hat. When the owl-catcher is persuaded to all this, and mounts to his post, the game begins: hallooing and absurd noises are made; the fellows within

within divert themselves with laughing at what is to come, and pretending to call to one another to drive the owl from this place to that; while two or three of them approach nearer and nearer to the hole, when they discharge the contents of their full tubs and pails on the head of the expecting owl-catcher, who is generally precipitated from his ladder to some soft, but not very agreeable preparation below.

“ Clarke warned me against several other of the games at which I should be invited to play; in most of which there was some whim, but a great deal more of that dirty wit in which ill-bred boys are known to delight. Clarke, however, did me this essential service, that he not only taught me to avoid all the snares he mentioned, but rendered me so wary, that all the time I was among this mischievous crew, I was never once entrapped by them. At this they occasionally expressed great wonder; perhaps, had they known the secret, they would have taken their revenge on Clarke.

“ The weather through the whole of our journey was fine, the ride highly agreeable, and the instruction and information I received from Clarke, made it still more pleasant to me. The only place I can distinctly remember having passed through and made a short stay at, was Huntingdon.

“ As I have said, Mr. Woodcock resided in the vicinity of Newmarket, at the distance of three or four miles; and to the house where he lived Clarke immediately took me, gave up his charge, and we parted, I believe with mutual good-will: at least, my feelings towards him were grateful and friendly. As a thing of course, there must have been

stables belonging to the house of Mr. Woodcock, but I cannot recollect what train he had under him; and to say the truth, I cannot fix upon any one figure, man, boy, or animal, except a grey filly, on the back of which I was put, and which I was entrusted with the care of.

“ I doubt if Mr. Woodcock was at home on my arrival. His family was small, and had the air of being genteel. It consisted of himself, his wife, and their daughter, who was about eleven years old. All that I can now recollect of Mrs. and Miss Woodcock, is, having seen them very neatly dressed in white, that the mother assumed a very superior but obliging manner, and that I stood much in awe of her. Trees were thinly scattered to some distance round the house: the parlour was very neat, and rather spacious. In this I received one of those early lessons in moral honesty, which produce a greater effect on the mind of a child, or even of a youth, than is generally supposed. One afternoon, the tea-things and sugar-bason being set out in the parlour before Mrs. and Miss Woodcock had come down, I was passing the door, and that delicious bait of boyhood, a fine lump of sugar, caught my eye. I looked, considered, looked again, saw nobody, found it irresistible, and venturing step by step on tiptoe, seized the tempting prize, thinking myself secure: but as I turned back to hasten away with it, the first object that struck me was a young gentleman, stretched either on a chair or sofa behind the door, with a book in his hand, a look directed to me, and a smile on his countenance. I cannot express the shame I felt: but I immediately returned the sugar to its place, cast down

down my eyes, and slunk away, most heartily mortified, especially when the young gentleman's smile broke out into a laugh.

"I forgot to mention, though it will easily be supposed, that when I entered on my new profession, my dress was changed, and I was made to look something like a stable-boy.

"Miss Woodcock was a very neat little girl, and it somehow happened, though I know not by what means, that I soon got rather in favour with her. She would whisper with me when we met near the house, chide me if she saw what she thought an impropriety, and once or twice condescended to be half or quite angry with me, while I did all in my power to please her. These trifling advances, however, which spoke rather the innocence of the age, than the intention of the mind, were soon put an end to by an accident that had nearly proved fatal to me.

"Perfectly a novice as I was, though I could sit with seeming safety on a quiet horse, I neither knew how to keep a firm seat, nor suddenly to seize one, and I was almost certain of being thrown if any thing that was but a little violent or uncommon happened. I was walking the dark grey filly quite a foot-pace in the forest, when in an instant something startled her, and made her spring aside: by which I was not only unseated and thrown, but unfortunately for me, my foot hung in the stirrup; her fright was increased, she began to kick and plunge violently, and I received a blow in the stomach, which, though it freed me from the stirrup, left me, as was supposed, for no inconsiderable time, dead. Somebody, I imagine, was riding with me, for the alarm

was soon given: I was taken up, carried home, treated with great humanity, and by bleeding and other medical means, signs of life at length became visible. All that I myself recollect of a circumstance so very serious, and so very near being mortal, was, that I was thrown, kicked, and dreadfully frightened; that some time afterwards I found myself very ill in bed, in a very neat chamber, and that I was spoken to and attended with great kindness till my recovery.

"This accident, however, put an end to my jockeyship in the service of Mr. Woodcock; he discovered a little too late, that the dark grey filly and I could not be trusted safely together. But though he turned me away, he did not desert me. He recommended me to the service of a little deformed groom, remarkably long in the fork, I think of the name of Johnstone, who was esteemed an excellent rider, and had a string of no less than thirteen famous horses, the property of the Duke of Grafton, under his care. This was acknowledged to be a service of great repute: but the shrewd little groom soon discovered that I had all my trade to learn, and I was again dismissed.

"After this new disappointment, I felt perhaps a more serious alarm than is usual with boys at such an age. For, independently of natural sensibility, I had seen so much of the world, had so often been intrusted with its petty affairs, depended so much upon my ability to act for myself, and had been so confident in my assurances to my father that I ran no risk in venturing alone into the world, that my fears were not trifling when I found myself so far from him, thrown out of place, and convicted of being unable

unable to perform the task I had so inconsiderately undertaken. Mr. Johnstone told me I must endeavour to get a place, but that for his part he could say little in my favour; however, he would suffer me to remain a few days among the boys. My despondency was the greater, because, the morning before, when a horse that I was riding shook himself in his saddle, as horses are sometimes observed to do, I fell from his back as much terrified as if he had been rearing, plunging, and kicking. To hardy grooms, and boys that delight in playing the braggart, this was a truly ridiculous instance of cowardice, and was repeated with no little malignity and laughter.

"The unforeseen relief, that has been given to misfortune under circumstances apparently quite hopeless, has frequently been remarked, and not seldom affirmed to be an incontestible proof of a particular providence.

"I know not where I got the information, nor how, but in the very heat of my distress, I heard that Mr. John Watson, training and riding-groom to Captain Vernon, a gentleman of acute notoriety on the turf, and in partnership with the then Lord March, the present Duke of Queensbury, was in want of, but just then found it difficult to procure, a stable-boy. To make this pleasing intelligence still more welcome, the general character of John Watson was, that, though he was one of the first grooms in Newmarket, he was remarkable for being good tempered: yet the manner in which he disciplined his boys, though mild, was effectual, and few were in better repute. One consequence of this, however, was, that if any lad was dismissed by John Watson,

it was not easy for him to find a place.

"With him Jack Clarke lived, the lad with whom I came from Nottingham: this was another fortunate circumstance, and contributed to inspire me with confidence. My present hopes were so strongly contrasted with my late fears, that they were indeed enviable. To speak for once in metaphor, I had been as one of those who walk in the shadow of the valley of death: an accidental beam of the sun broke forth, and I had a beatific view of heaven.

"It was no difficult matter to meet with John Watson: he was so attentive to stable-hours, that, except on extraordinary occasions, he was always to be found. Being first careful to make myself look as much like a stable-boy as I could, I came at the hour of four (the summer hour for opening the afternoon stables, giving a slight feed of oats, and going out to evening exercise), and ventured to ask if I could see John Watson. The immediate answer was in the affirmative. John Watson came, looked at me with a serious, but good-natured, countenance, and accosted me first with, 'Well, my lad, what is your business? I suppose I can guess; you want a place?'—'Yes, Sir.'—'Who have you lived with?'—'Mr. Woodcock, on the forest: one of your boys, Jack Clarke, brought me with him from Nottingham.'—'How came you to leave Mr. Woodcock?'—'I had a sad fall from an iron grey filly, that almost killed me.'—'That is bad indeed!—and so you left him?'—'He turned me away, Sir.'—'That is honest: I like your speaking the truth. So you are come from him to me?' At this question I cast my

my eyes down, and hesitated, then fearfully answered, 'No, Sir.'—'No! what, change masters twice in so short a time?'—'I can't help it, Sir, if I am turned away.' This last answer made him smile. 'Where are you now, then?'—'Mr. Johnstone gave me leave to stay with the boys a few days.' 'That is a good sign. I suppose you mean little Mr. Johnstone at the other end of the town?'—'Yes, Sir.'—'Well, as you have been so short a time in the stables, I am not surprised he should turn you away: he would have every body about him as clever as himself; they must all know their business thoroughly. However they must learn it somewhere. I will venture to give you a trial, but I must first inquire your character of my good friends, Woodcock and Johnstone. Come to-morrow morning at nine, and you shall have an answer.'

"It may well be supposed I did not forget the appointment; and a fortunate one I found it, for I was accepted on trial at four pounds or guineas a year, with the usual livery clothing. My station was immediately assigned me. Here was a remarkably quiet three years old colt, lately from the discipline of the breaker; and of him I was ordered to take charge, instructed by one of the upper boys in every thing that was to be done, and directed to back him and keep pace with the rest, when they went to exercise, only taking care to keep a straight line, and to walk, canter, and gallop the last. Fortunately for me his temper appeared to be so quiet (for he had been put into full training at an early age), that I found not the least difficulty in managing him. My reputation, therefore, among the boys, which is an

essential circumstance, suffered no stain.

"I ought to mention, that though I have spoken of Mr. Johnstone, and may do of more Misters among the grooms, it is only because I have forgotten their christian names: for, to the best of my recollection, when I was at Newmarket, it was the invariable practice to denominate each groom by his christian and surname, unless any one happened to possess some peculiarity that marked him. For instance, I remember a little man in years, grown timid from age, but otherwise supposed to be the best rider in England, and remarkable for his knowledge of almost every race-course, whose name, I think, was William Cheevers; and of whom it was the custom to speak, by calling him Old Will, The Old One, and the like. I mention this, as it may be now or hereafter, a distinctive mark of the changes of manners. I know not what appellations are given to grooms at Newmarket at the present day, but at the time I speak of, if any grooms had been called Misters, my master would certainly have been among the number; and his constant appellation by every body, except his own boys who called him John, was simply John Watson.

"With respect to me, his conduct seems to shew that he understood my character better than the grooms who had judged of it before: as I did not long ride a quiet colt at the tail of a string (on whose back he soon put a new-comer), but had a dun horse, by no means a tame or safe one, committed to my care. Instead of timidity, he must have remarked various traits of courage in me, before he would have ventured on this step. In corroboration of this I may cite the following proof.

proof. I continued to ride the dun horse through the winter. It was John Watson's general practice to exercise his horses over the flat, and up Cambridge hill on the west side of Newmarket; but the rule was not invariable. One wintry day he ordered us up to the Bury hills. It mizzled a very sharp sleet, the wind became uncommonly cutting, and Dun, the horse I rode, being remarkable for a tender skin, found the wind and sleet, which blew directly up his nostrils, so very painful, that it suddenly made him outrageous. He started from the rank in which he was walking, tried to unseat me, endeavoured to set off full speed, and when he found he could not master me so as to get head, began to rear, snorted most violently, threw out behind, plunged, and used every mischievous exertion, of which the muscular powers of a blood-horse are capable. I, who felt the un-easiness he suffered before his violence began, being luckily prepared, sat firm, as steady and upright, as if this had been his usual exercise. John Watson was riding beside his horses, and a groom, I believe it was old Cheevers, broke out into an exclamation—'By G-d, John, that is a fine lad!' 'Aye, aye,' replied Watson, highly satisfied, 'you will find some time or other there are few in Newmarket that will match him.' To have behaved with true courage, and to meet with applause like this, especially from John Watson, was a triumph, such as I could at this time have felt in no other way with the same sweet satisfaction. My horsemanship had been seen by all the boys,—my praises had been heard by them all.

"The feature in my character

which was to distinguish it at a later period of life, namely, some few pretensions to literary acquirement, has appeared for a time to have lain dormant. After I left Berkshire, circumstances had been so little favourable to me, that, except the mighty volume of Sacred Writ (which I always continued more or less to peruse, wherever I found a Bible) and the two small remnants of romance I have mentioned, letters seemed to have lost sight of me, and I of letters. Books were not then, as they fortunately are now, great or small, on this subject or on that, to be found in almost every house: a book, except of prayers, or of daily religious use, was scarcely to be seen but among the opulent, or in the possession of the studious; and by the opulent they were often disregarded with a degree of neglect which would now be almost disgraceful. Yet in the course of six or seven years, it can hardly be imagined that not a single book fell in my way; or that if it did, I should not eagerly employ such opportunity as I had to know its contents. Even the walls of cottages and little alehouses would do something; for many of them had old English ballads, such as Death and the Lady, and Margaret's Ghost, with lamentable tragedies, or King Charles's golden rules, occasionally pasted on them. These were at that time the learning, and often, no doubt, the delight of the vulgar. However, I may venture to affirm, that during the period we have passed, I neither had in my possession, nor met with any book of any kind which I had leisure and permission to read through. During my residence at Newmarket, I was not quite so much in the desert, though, as far as my limits extended, I was little

little removed : a tolerable estimate of the boundary may be formed from the remaining chapters of this book.

"Whether I had or had not begun to scrawl and imitate writing, or whether I was able to convey written intelligence concerning myself to my father for some months after I left him, I cannot say, but we were very careful not to lose sight of each other ; and following his affection, as well as his love of change, in about half a year he came to Newmarket himself, where he at first procur'd work of the most ordinary kind at his trade. There was one among his shop-mates whom I well remember, for he was struck with me and I with him : he not only made shoes, but was a cock-feeder of some estimation ; and what was to me much more interesting, he had read so much as to have made himself acquainted with the most popular English authors of that day. He even lent me books to read : among which were Gulliver's Travels, and the Spectator, both of which could not but be to me of the highest importance. I remember after I had read them, he asked me to consider and tell him which I liked best : I immediately replied, ' there was no need of consideration ; I liked Gulliver's Travels ten times the best.' ' Aye,' said he, ' I would have laid my life on it ; boys and young people always prefer the marvellous to the true.' I acquiesced in his judgment, which however, only proved that neither he nor I understood Gulliver, though it afforded me infinite delight. The behaviour of my father, who being at work, was present at this, and two or three other dialogues in which there was a kind of literary

pretension, denoted the pride and exultation of his heart. He remarked, ' that many such boys as Tom were not to be found ! It was odd enough ! He knew not where Tom had picked it up ; he had never had a brain for such things ; but God gave some gifts to some, and others to others, seeing He was very bountiful : but, if he had guessed rightly, He had given Tom his share !' My father was not a little flattered to find that the cock-feeder was inclined to concur with him in opinion. I remember little else of my literary cock-feeder ; yet the advantages I had gained from him in letting me know there were books like these, and introducing me, though but to a momentary view of Swift and Addison, were perhaps incalculable.

"That love of the marvellous which is natural to ill-informed man, is still more lively in childhood. I used to listen with the greatest pleasure to a tale of providential interference ; my blood thrilled through my frame at a story of an angel alighting in a field, walking to a worthy clergyman, telling him a secret known only to himself, and then persuading him to change his road, by which he avoided the murderers that were lying in wait for him. Yet I know not how it happened, but even at this time I refused to believe in witches ; and when stories of hobgoblins, of houses that were haunted, or of nightly apparitions were repeated, I remained incredulous. I had either invented or heard some of the plain arguments which shewed the absurdity of such opinions. It will be seen in the following chapter, that my incredulity in this respect was of use to me, though I cannot account for the manner in which I came by it at so early an age."

" Books

"Books of piety, if the author were but inspired with zeal, fixed my attention whenever I met with them: 'the Whole Duty of Man' was my favourite study, and still more, Horneck's 'Crucified Jesus.' I had not yet arrived at Baxter's 'Saint's Everlasting Rest,' or the Life of Francis Spira; but John Bunyan I ranked among the most divine authors I had ever read. In fact I was truly well-intentioned, but my zeal was too ardent, and liable to become dangerous.

"One day as I happened to be passing the church, I heard voices singing, which exercise I admired; and having, as I thought, a tuneful voice, I was desirous of becoming acquainted with so pleasing an art. I approached the church door, found it open, and went in, when I found my ear charmed with some heavenly addition to the sweet melody of music; and on inquiry was told, they were singing in four parts. At the head of them was a Mr. Langham, who could sing in a feigned soprano's voice, and who was their instructor in music; for they were all acknowledged learners except himself, and each of them paid him five shillings a quarter for his trouble in teaching them. Having stood with delight to listen some time, a conversation at length began, I was invited to try my voice, and after a ready compliance, both my voice and ear were pronounced to be good. Thus encouraged, I ventured to ask if I might come among them; and was answered, yes; they should be very glad to have me, for they much wanted a treble voice, and all they required was that I should conform to the rules of the society. I inquired what those rules were, and was told, they each paid five shillings en-

trance, and five shillings a quarter to Mr. Langham, another five shillings for Arnold's Psalmody; and that they paid forfeits of pennies and twopences, if they were absent on certain days, at certain hours, or infringed other necessary by-laws. An expense so great alarmed me: I would willingly have complied with their forfeits, because I depended on my own punctuality; but fifteen shillings was a vast sum, and I told them what it was that made me hesitate. As they were desirous to have me, they agreed that I should sing out of their books; and Langham, who had great good-nature, said, since I was but a boy, and my wages could not be great, he would give up the entrance-money. It was therefore agreed, that with the payment of five shillings a quarter to Mr. Langham, I should be instructed by him in the art of psalmody.

"From the little I that day learned, and from another lesson or two, I obtained a tolerable conception of striking intervals upwards or downwards: such as the third, the fourth, and the remainder of the octave, the chief feature in which I soon understood, but of course I found most difficulty in the third, sixth, and seventh. Previously however to any great progress, I was obliged to purchase Arnold's Psalmody; and studious over this divine treasure, I passed many a forenoon extended in the hay-loft. My chief, and almost my only difficulty, lay in the impenetrable obscurity of such technical words as were not explained either by their own nature, or by the author in other language. I was illiterate, I knew the language of the vulgar well, but little more. Perhaps no words ever puzzled poor mortal more than

than I was puzzled by the words, *major* and *minor keys*. I think it a duty, which no one who writes an elementary book ought to neglect, to give a vocabulary of all the words which are not in common use, in the language in which he writes; and to explain them by the simplest terms in that language; or, if that cannot be done, by a clear and easy paraphrase. The hours I spent by myself in mastering whatever belonged to notation, and in learning the intervals, occasioned my progress to be so very different from that of the others, that it excited the admiration of them all; and Mr. Langham, the great man whom I then looked up to, declared it was surprising. If any part was out, I heard it immediately, and often struck the note for them, getting the start of Mr. Langham. If he should happen to be absent, he said that I could set them all right; so that by this, and the clearness of my voice, I obtained the nick-name of the sweet singer of Israel.

"My quickness at whatever related to reading became so far known, that a man about fifty, who had many years kept a school in Newmarket, made me the offer, if I would become his scholar, to teach me gratis. Thoroughly glad of the opportunity, I thanked him kindly, and instantly complied. The next morning I went to his school, where I saw a number of boys, to whom I was introduced by the master, as one whom they ought to respect. 'I'll set him a word of six syllables,' said he, 'and I'll engage for him that he shall spell it instantly without the least mistake, or without ever perhaps having seen it before. Pray, my boy,' said he, 'how do you spell Mahershalalhashbas?' The boys first stared

at a word of so foreign a sound, and next at the immediate readiness with which I spelled it, though it would be difficult to find a word that could puzzle less: however, since they all wondered at me, it was very natural I should wonder at myself, and that I did most assuredly. The master shewed me the first seat as an honour to his school, where he assured me I might remain as long as he could teach me any thing, and he had by no means the character of ignorance. But, poor gentleman, he had another failing, which I could still less pardon, for every afternoon he was to be seen drunk in the streets, and that to such an offensive and shameful degree, that though I was very desirous to gain some little addition to my stock of knowledge, I felt myself so disgraced by my master, that I went but three times to his school.

"This plan, however, suggested another. By trade, Mr. Langham was a maker of leather-breeches, which were worn through all Newmarket: but he had by some means acquired rather a greater love of knowledge, and more of it than at that period belonged to his station; for I believe he was only a journeyman. Hearing me bewail the opportunity I had lost, and especially that of acquiring the first rudiments of arithmetic, he joined in my regret, saying that it was a pity he could not afford to teach me himself for nothing, and that I could not spare another five shillings a quarter out of my wages; otherwise he would have given me one lesson daily between stable hours. To this proposal, after turning it in my mind, I however agreed. I continued with him three months, and in that time mastered rule after rule so well, as to

to understand Practice and the Rule of Three. Except what I have already related, these three months, as far as others were concerned, may be truly called my course of education. At the age of two and three and thirty, indeed, when I was endeavouring to acquire the French language, I paid a Monsieur Raymond twenty shillings for a few lessons, but the good he did me was so little that it was money thrown away. At Newmarket I was so intent on studying arithmetic, that for want of better apparatus, I have often got an old nail, and cast up sums on the paling of the stable-yard. The boys prophesied I should go mad; in which sagacious conjecture our old maid and house-keeper, for she was both, joined them.

"While my music and my arithmetic were thus in some sort confusing my brain, I became not only ashamed of, but alarmed at myself; for being occasionally sent on errands, I found my memory absent, and made several blunders, a thing to which I had been wholly unaccustomed. One day, when John Watson was at home, I was sent only for two things, and forgot one of them, at which I heard him exclaim, without any reproach, — 'God bless me, what is come to the boy!' This startled me a little. As however I remember nothing more of the paroxysm, it could not have lasted very long.

"My father did not continue long at his trade, and was obliged to seek some other mode of subsistence. For some months during the middle part of the time that I remained as a stable-boy, he had the office at an inn of fetching and carrying the Royston mail; and being afterwards tired of this, he quitted New-

market for London, leaving me once more with much good advice, and no small degree of regret. I loved my father, and knew his intentions were honest: but almost from infancy, I was aware they were not wise.

"I suppose that the property of the mind, which creates certain indistinct forms and imaginary lines in the clear and visible appearances of things, is common to every person of a lively and active fancy, for I have it still; and now that I am old, much more in sickness than in health. I recollect an instance of this, which occurred about the time I am speaking of. The cowardly boys made bargains with each other to go in pairs, when their business called them to different parts of the yard and out-houses after it was dark: I determined always to go by myself. One evening, intending to fetch some hay from a hay-loft, as I was mounting the ladder, an object presented itself, that instantly stopped me. It was a clear moon-light night, and I beheld the perfect face of a man extended on the hay. He must be a stranger, and might be a robber, or a person of evil intentions. I had no idea of a ghost; and though alarmed, I reasoned on probabilities. The more I looked, the more thoroughly I was convinced I saw a real face. Still I continued to reason. I was half way up the ladder. If I returned, I must either fabricate a falsehood, or openly declare why, and this would have been cause of triumph to those whose actions betrayed their fears, and of the greater disgrace to me for having assumed a superiority. The man might be a beggar, who had only obtained entrance by some means, that he might rest comfortably: and even
if

if his designs were wicked, they could not be against me, for I had little to lose: so that at last I determined to proceed. As I have said, the light of the moon was bright: it shone into the loft through the holes and crevices of a side hanging door; and I had mounted three steps higher, before the vision totally disappeared, and was replaced by the rude and unmeaning lines of reality. No man was there, consequently no man's face could be seen. This incident was a wholesome lesson: it taught me to think much on the facility with which the senses are deceived, and the folly with which they entertain fear.

"The boys, who had paired off as mutual protectors to each other, had left my name-sake Tom, being the odd one, without a mate, and as he was much more remarkable for his cowardice than his valour, the best expedient he could think of was to offer me a halfpenny a night if I would go with him in the dark to get his hay. I believe nothing could have made him stir from the fire-side on a winter-night, but the fear of neglecting his stable-duties, which fear to all of us had something in it that was almost sacred. We had at this time in the stables a very beautiful male tabby cat, as remarkable for his familiarity with the horses and boys, as for his fine colours, symmetry, and strength. He would go through the stable night by night, and place himself on the withers, first of this horse, then of the next, and there familiarly take his sleep, till he had made the whole round. The boys had taught him several tricks, which he very willingly repeated as often as they gave the signal, without taking offence at the rogueries they

occasionally practised upon him; so that he was a general favourite with every one, from John Watson even to Old Betty. One evening as I was going with Tom to get his hay, and we approached the stable in which it happened then to be kept, Tom leading the road (for cowards are always desirous to convince themselves they are really valiant), a very sudden, vehement, and discordant noise was heard; to listen to which, Tom's valour was wholly unequal. Flying from the stable, he was at the back-door of the house in a twinkling. I was paid for my courage: pride and curiosity concurred to make me show it, and I remained firm at my post. I stood still, while the noise at intervals was several times repeated. It was the beginning of winter, and at one end of the stable a certain quantity of autumn wheat was stowed. I recollected this circumstance, and after considering for some time, at length the truth struck me, and I called, 'Come along, Tom, it is the cat and the rats fighting, but they will leave off when they hear us come into the stable.' We had neither candle nor lantern. It was a maxim with John Watson to trust no such things with boys, whose nightly duty it was to fetch trusses of straw and armfuls of hay; but I entered the stable, gave Tom his hay, loaded myself with my own, and confident in the valour of our favourite cat, said to him—'We shall find a rare number of dead rats to-morrow, Tom.' I knew not the power of numbers, nor the imbecility of an individual so exposed. The next morning we found our hero lying dead in the stable, with only three dead rats beside him. What the number of the wounded was, must remain a secret to posterity: though

of the value of this, and other secrets of the same kind, I have often entertained my doubts.

"John Watson remained a bachelor, and Old Betty was the only female, at least that I can recollect, in the family: she was very ignorant, and very angry when boys durst contend with her age and experience, but we did not greatly respect her anger. She was so strenuous an advocate for goblins, apparitions, and especially witchcraft, that she did not in the least scruple to affirm things the most extravagant. One of her positions was, that unthinking old women with less courage and sagacity than herself, were taken by surprise, and made witches against their will. Imps of the devil came slyly upon them, run up their clothes, caught some part of the breast in their mouths, and made teats for themselves. She provoked me very much, yet I could not help laughing; while she, to prove the truth of what she said, affirmed, she had seen them peeping out more than once; and that on a certain night, two of them made a desperate attempt on her, which she could no otherwise defeat, than by taking up first one, and then the other, with the tongs, and throwing them both into the red-hot part of the kitchen fire.

Stories like these are almost too ludicrous to be mentioned, but the one I am going to relate, was at that time to me as tragical as any thing that could happen to an individual.

"John Clarke, now about eighteen, was spending his evening before nine o'clock in his good natured way among the boys of Lord March, who lived opposite. One of them, (I forget his name), took down a fowling-piece that was hanging

over the kitchen chimney, and playing that trick which had been so repeatedly, and in my opinion so strangely played, said, 'Now, Jack, I'll shoot you.' As he spoke, he pulled the trigger, and the distance between them being short, Clarke was shot on the left side of his face, the middle half of which immediately became as frightful a wound as perhaps was ever beheld. The lads of both stables were there instantly: the grooms came the moment they could be found, and the terror and distress of the scene were very great, for every body felt kindness for Jack Clarke. Tom Watson was dispatched on horse-back to Cambridge in search of all the surgical and medical aid that could be obtained; and such was his speed, that the surgeon, the doctor, and himself, were back by midnight, and the medical men busy in probing, inquiring, and consulting, while poor Clarke lay groaning, extended on the bed of John Watson. The left cheek-bone, eye, and other parts, were shattered past hope: the case was thought precarious, there was a bare possibility that the patient, miserable as he was, and shocking to look at, might survive. When the physician and surgeon had done all that they could by dressing and giving orders, John Watson took them under his care for the night. Whether he found beds and entertainment for them at an inn, or at the house of a friend, I know not; but as I saw him no more, I suppose he remained with them to keep them company, for such scenes do not immediately dispose the mind to sleep. Among ourselves at home, however, a very serious question arose, no less than that of, who should sit up and watch with him all night? His sufferings were

were so incessant, his groans so terrifying, and the wounds (by which the inside of the head was made visible) had been so bloody, raw, and torn, being at the same time most frightfully spread all round with gun-powder, and black and red spots, that every person present frankly owned they durst not stay alone all night with him in the same chamber. When it was proposed to old Betty, she was in an agony. All the older boys expressed the terror it would give them: some sleep must be had, and it being winter, the stables were to open before four. What, therefore, could be done? I own I was almost like the rest, but I most truly pitied poor Jack Clarke. I had always felt a kindness for him, and to see him forsaken at so distressing a moment, left by himself in such a wretched state, no one able to foresee what he might want, overcame me, and I said, 'Well, since nobody else will, I must!' Besides, by an action so bold, performed by a boy at my age, I gained an undeniable superiority, of which any one of the elder boys would have been proud.—The medical men remained at Newmarket, or went and came as their business required, while Jack Clarke continued under their hands. I was truly anxious for his cure, though from what I had seen on the first night, and from my ignorance in surgery, I had supposed such a thing impossible. I was therefore surprised that he should seem at first to linger on, that afterwards the wounds should fill up, and assume a less frightful appearance, and that at length a perfect cure should be effected. It was certainly thought to do great honour to Cambridge. The left eye was lost, the appear-

ance of the bones was disfigured, and the deep stain of the gun-powder remained. But before I came away appearances varied, the marks of the gun-powder became less; and when I left Newmarket, Jack Clarke had been long restored to the stables, where he continued to live, apparently in good health.

"During these events and accidents, the trifling studies I might be said to have, were, as far as I had the means, pursued. That is, whenever I could procure a book, I did not fail to read it: I took pains to repeat, that I might well understand my rules in arithmetic; and as for music, Arnold was studied with increasing ardour. But the instructions of Arnold were only vocal: nay, they had a stricter limitation, they were confined to psalmody. Had I possessed any instrument, had I begun to practise, and had the means of obtaining a livelihood suggested themselves in this way, music would, most probably, have been my profession.

"Moral remarks do not escape the notice of boys whose minds are active, nor the moral consequences of things, so much perhaps as is supposed. They now and then discover how much they are themselves affected by them; and therefore are not only led to re-consider their own, but begin to ruminate on some of the practices of mankind. For myself, I looked up with delight to angelic purity, and with awful reverence to the sublime attributes of the Godhead. The first I considered as scarcely beyond the attainment of man; the second I considered it as the grand reward of saints and angels to be allowed to comprehend. Towards the future attainment of any such angelic perfection, I could not discover the
least

least tendency in the manners of Newmarket, or the practices of the people around me. When left to themselves, petty vulgar vices, such as their means could afford, were common among them: and at the grand periodical meetings of the place, I heard of nothing but cards, dice, cock-fighting, and gambling to an enormous amount.

"One anecdote which John Watson, who was no babbler, told his brother Tom, and which Tom was eager enough to repeat, struck me for its singularity and grandeur; as it appeared to me, who then knew nothing of vast money speculations, and who know but little at present. In addition to matches, plates, and other modes of adventure, that of a sweepstakes had come into vogue: and the opportunity it gave to deep calculators to secure themselves from loss by *hedging* their bets, greatly multiplied the bettors, and gave uncommon animation to the sweepstakes mode. In one of these, Captain Vernon had entered a colt or filly; and as the prize to be obtained was great, the whole stable was on the alert. It was prophesied that the race would be a severe one; for, though the horses had none of them run before, they were all of the highest breed; that is, their sires and dams were in the first lists of fame. As was foreseen, the contest was indeed a severe one; for it could not be decided,—it was a dead heat: but our colt was by no means among the first. Yet so adroit was Captain Vernon in hedging his bets, that if one of the two colts that made it a dead heat had beaten, our master would, on that occasion, have won ten thousand pounds: as it was, he lost nothing, nor would in any case have lost any thing. In the language of the turf,

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he stood ten thousand pounds to nothing.

"A fact, so extraordinary to ignorance, and so splendid to poverty, could not pass through a mind like mine without making a strong impression, which the tales told by the boys of the sudden rise of gamblers, their reverses, desperate fortunes, empty pockets at night, and hats full of guineas in the morning, only tended to increase. With my companions I repeated, *Never venture, never win*: and in this state of puerile avarice, I made bets to the amount of more than half my year's wages, the very next day on the race-ground, all to be decided within the week. Concerning the event, however, when it was too late, my mind began to misgive me. By each match, on which I had a venture, my fears were increased; for I generally found myself on the wrong side. My crowns and half-crowns were dwindling away; yet in the midst of my despair, I looked with some degree of surprise at myself, and said, 'How can these boys with whom I betted, who are so very ignorant, and over whom, even on the turf or in the stable, I feel my own superiority, have so much more cunning in laying bets than I have?'

"Like many of the tragical farces of life, this hastily formed scheme of mine was without a basis, formed on confused suppositions, and ending in total disappointment; for at the end of the week, the loss I had sustained was somewhat either over or under a guinea and a half. To me, who never before had ventured to bet sixpence, who now well remembered that all the good books I had read, held gambling in abhorrence; and

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and who recollected, with unspeakable anguish, that the sin and folly must be told to my father; that, face to face, I must avow what I had done (for how else could I account for the expenditure of money, for which I could find no equivalent?) to me, I say, these were excruciating thoughts, as will be proved by the desperate remedy I attempted. Well was it for me that the races were over, or my little purse would have been wholly emptied. As it was not therefore possible for me to recover my loss in this way, I began to consider whether there was no other, and despair at length suggested another; a wild one, it is true, but no one could deny its possibility. The race-week was just over; thousands of pounds had been betted; guineas and purses had passed in multitudes, from hand to hand, and pocket to pocket, over a vast area, extending from the Chair to the Devil's Ditch, and spreading to I know not what width: might not some stray guinea, nay, perhaps some weighty purse, be now lying there for the first fortunate comer? Or rather, was it not a thing exceedingly likely? I could not suppose the seeds of this golden fruit to be sown exceedingly thick, or that it would not require a long search: but I must not spare my labour: such good luck might befall me, and so eager was my mind to rid itself of its present anguish, that I was willing to believe I should be successful.

"The next morning the horses were no sooner dressed and fed, and the stables cleaned, than I hurried to execute my design. I began it by a most careful examination of the betting chair, round which I slowly walked a number of times, and finding no-

thing below, mounted, examined its crevices, and after often attempting to go, and as often lingering by some faint endeavour to renew hope, could not quit it at last, but with painful reluctance. Where should I seek next? The whole heath was before me; but which was the lucky spot? Groups of horsemen had assembled here and there: but to find each individual place? Oh that I had marks by which to discover!—Thus with my eyes fixed on the ground, wandering eagerly in every direction, I slowly paced the ground, wholly intent on the perplexing thoughts and fruitless pursuits, till increasing disappointment, and inquiry into the time of day, sent me back. This experiment of money-finding on Newmarket heath, might be thought sufficient, but, no! I had an hour in the evening: it was a fine moon-light night, and dejected as I was, I resolved again to try, and forth I went, but it was indeed on the forlorn hope. The incident however forcibly paints the nature of my feelings. I could not endure to confess to my father both my guilt, and evident inferiority in cunning to other boys; and to fabricate a lie, was perhaps equally painful. All that remained was to put off the evil day, and come to my account as late as might be. What I mean will be better understood, when it is known I had determined to leave Newmarket, and return to my father, not however without having first consulted him, and gained his approbation. My mind having its own somewhat peculiar bias, circumstances had rather occurred to disgust me, than to invite my stay. I despised my companions for the grossness of their ideas, and the total absence of every pursuit,

pursuit, in which the mind appeared to have any share. It was even with sneers of contempt that they saw me intent on acquiring some small portion of knowledge : so that I was far from having any prompter, either as a friend or a rival. As far as I was concerned with horses, I was pleased ; but I saw scarcely a biped, John Watson excepted, in whom I could find any thing to admire.

“ Having taken my resolution, I had to summon up my courage to give John Watson warning ; not that I in the least suspected he would say any thing more than, very well : but he had been a kind master, had relieved me in the day of my distress, had never imputed faults to me, of which I was not guilty, had fairly waited to give my faculties time to shew themselves, and had rewarded them with no common degree of praise when accident brought them to light. It was therefore painful to leave such a master. With my cap off, and unusual awkwardness in my manner, I went up to him, and he perceiving I was embarrassed, yet had something to say, began thus. ‘ Well, Tom, what is the matter now ? ’— ‘ Oh, Sir, nothing much is the matter : only I had just a word to say. ’— ‘ Well, well, don’t stand about it ; let me hear. ’— ‘ Nay, Sir, it is a trifle ; I only came to tell you, I think of going to London. ’— ‘ To London ? ’— ‘ Yes, Sir, if you please. ’— ‘ When do yo mean to go to London ? ’— ‘ When my year is up, Sir. ’— ‘ To London ! What the plague has put that whim into your head ? ’— ‘ I believe you know my father is in London. ’— ‘ Well, what of that ? ’— ‘ We have written together, so it is resolved on. ’— ‘ Have you got a place ? ’— ‘ I don’t want

one, Sir ; I could not have a better than I have. ’— ‘ And what are you to do ? ’— ‘ I can’t tell that yet, but I think of being a shoemaker. ’— ‘ Pshaw, you are a blockhead, and your father is a foolish man. ’— ‘ He loves me very dearly, Sir ; and I love and honour him. ’— ‘ Yes, yes, I believe you are a good boy, but I tell you, you are both doing a very foolish thing. Stay at Newmarket, and I will be bound for it, you will make your fortune. ’— ‘ I would rather go back to my father, Sir, if you please. ’— ‘ Nay, then, pray take your own way. ’— So saying, he turned from me with very visible chagrin, at which I felt some surprise ; for I did not imagine it would give him the least concern, should any one lad in the stables quit his service.

“ Spring and summer kept passing away : Arnold continued to afford me difficulties which I continued to overcome : my good-tempered, pleasant friend, (for so he was) the breeches-maker, and I, used often to consult together ; and his surprise that I should so soon have gone beyond him with respect to the theory of music, not a little flattered me. The honest psalm-singers were told I was about to leave them, and owned they were sorry to hear it, I gave them so much assistance. In short, such friends as a poor boy of fifteen, wholly unrelated in the town could have, all expressed a degree of regret at parting : my stable-companions were the only persons who expressed no emotion one way or the other. I must here, however, except poor Jack Clarke, who, as he was the first that introduced me to Newmarket, so he was the last, of whom I took leave.”

MR. HOLCROFT IN THE CHARACTER OF AN ACTOR.

[From the same.]

“ **A**T the expiration of his year, Mr. Holcroft left John Watson and his associates at Newmarket; and returned, as he had intended, to his father, who then kept a cobbler's stall in South-Audley-street. He was at this time near sixteen. He continued to work in the stall with his father, till the latter could afford to pay a journeyman shoemaker to instruct him in the business of making shoes, which in time he learned so well, as to obtain the best wages.

“ From his early childhood, however, he had eagerly read whatever books came in his way, and this habit did not now leave him: so that, though an exceedingly quick workman, it was rarely that he had a shilling to spare, except for absolute necessities; and when he had, it was spent at an old book-stall, and *his time was again idled away in reading.*—Such was the complaint continually made against him. At nineteen, he travelled to Liverpool with his father, who seems still to have retained his love of wandering, and who was most probably determined in this excursion by a desire to revisit his native country. This happened in the year 1764: and in the year following, Mr. Holcroft married. While he continued at Liverpool, he procured the humble office of teaching children to read, at a small school in the town. But in less than a year, he left the country, and came to London. Here he

continued to work at his trade as a shoemaker, yet gleaned knowledge with all the industry in his power. He had advanced as far as fractions in Arithmetic, knew something of geometry, could write a legible hand, and had made himself a complete master of vocal music. But the stooping position required in making shoes brought on a return of his old disorder, the asthma; and as he hated the trade, he made every effort to find out some other employment.

“ Mr. Holcroft had, through life, except during the time he was at Newmarket, felt the effects of poverty very severely: but they now preyed more upon his mind than his body. He continually ruminated on the advantages that would have resulted from a good education; and the consciousness that he had neither received one, nor could now pay for instruction, gave him the utmost uneasiness. He was not aware that the desultory materials which he had been at so much pains to collect, would at last form themselves into a consistent mass.

“ It seems however, that at this period he could not resist the inclination he occasionally felt to commit his thoughts to paper: he even found an editor of a newspaper (the Whitehall Evening Post,) who so far approved of his essays, as to pay him five shillings a column for them. One of them was transcribed into the Annual Register: but, according to

to his own account, it was much too jejune a performance to deserve any such honour. About this time, Mr. Holcroft attempted to set up a day-school somewhere in the country, where for three months he lived upon potatoes and buttermilk, and had but one scholar. At the expiration of the first quarter, he gave up his school, and returned to London. After this, he obtained admission into the family of Mr. Granville Sharpe, with whom he went to reside, partly in the character of a servant, and partly I believe as a secretary. It is not certain, whether he was introduced to the notice of this amiable but eccentric man, by his literary efforts, or by accident. Both before and after he went to live with Mr. S. he had been accustomed to attend a reading-room, or spouting-club, the members of which in turn rehearsed scenes and passages out of plays. His master did not think this the best mode of spending his time, and made some attempts to cure him of what he considered as an idle habit. These however proved ineffectual, and he was at length dismissed from the house of his patron.

"He now found himself once more in the streets of London, without money, without a friend, that shame or pride would suffer him to disclose his wants to, or a habitation of any kind to hide his head in. At last, as he was wandering along wherever his feet led him, his eye accidentally glanced on a printed paper pasted against the wall. This was an invitation to all those spirited young fellows, who chose to make their fortunes as common soldiers in the service of the East India Company. He read it with the greatest satisfaction, and was post-

ing away with all haste to enrol his name in that honourable corps, when he was met by one of the persons, whom he had known at the spouting-club. His companion, seeing his bundle and rueful face, asked him where he was going; to which Holcroft replied, that, had he inquired five minutes sooner, he could not have told him; but that, at present, he was for the wars. At this his spouting friend appeared greatly surprised, and told him, he thought he could put him upon a better scheme. He said, one Macklin, a famous London actor, was going over to play in Dublin; that he had been inquiring of him for a young fellow, who had a turn for the stage; and that, if Holcroft pleased, he would introduce him; observing that it would be time enough to carry the knapsack, if the sock did not succeed. This proposal was too agreeable to our adventurer to be heard with inattention. Accordingly, having thanked his acquaintance, and accepted his offer, the next day was fixed upon for his introduction to Macklin. The friend, on whom Holcroft had thus unexpectedly lighted, was, in fact, a kind of scout, employed by Macklin, to pick up young adventurers of promising talents: it being one of this actor's passions to make actors of others; though he was in some respects the worst qualified for the office of any man in the world.

"The next morning they proceeded to the place of appointment, when they found the great man seated on his couch, which stood by the fire; and on which, whenever he felt himself tired or drowsy, he went to rest, both day and night; so that he sometimes was not in bed for a fortnight together. As they
went

went in, they were followed by his wife, who brought him a bason of tea and some toast, with each of which he found fifty faults in the rudest manner. He afterwards called to her several times, upon the most frivolous occasions, when she was dignified with the style and title of Bess. His countenance, as it appeared to Mr. Holcroft at this interview, was the most forbidding he had ever beheld; and age, which had deprived him of his teeth, had not added to its softness. After desiring the young candidate to sit down, he eyed him very narrowly for some time, and then asked him, *What had put it into his head to turn actor?* The abruptness of the question disconcerted him; and it was some time before he could answer, in rather a confused manner, that he had *taken it into his head* to suppose it was genius, but that it was very possible he might be mistaken. 'Yes,' said he, 'that's possible enough; and by G—d, Sir, you are not the first that I have known so mistaken.' Holcroft smiled at his satire, and the other grinned ghastly with his leathern lips; for our tyro had not added to the beauty of his visage by repeating his words. While Macklin was drinking his tea, they talked on indifferent subjects; and as Holcroft did not happen to differ with him, but, on the contrary, had opportunities of saying several things which confirmed his opinions, he was pleased to allow that he had the appearance of an ingenious young man. When his beverage was finished, he desired him to speak a speech out of some play, which being done, he remarked that he had never in his life heard a young spouter speak naturally, and therefore he was not surprised that Holcroft did not:

but as he seemed tractable, and willing to learn, if he would call again on the morrow, he would hear and answer him further.

"When they had descended into the street, Holcroft's companion assured him *it would do*, for that he had met with a very favourable reception; which was indeed the case, considering the character of the person to whom their visit had been paid.

"According to the account Mr. Holcroft has left of this extraordinary man, the author of the comedy of the *Man of the World*, he was born in the century before the last, yet at the time of Mr. Holcroft's application to him (which was in the year 1770) his faculties did not seem in the least impaired. He was said to have been bred in the interior parts of Ireland, and in such utter ignorance, as not to be able to read at the age of forty. The progress, therefore, which he made afterwards, was an astonishing proof of his genius and industry. His body, like his mind, was cast in a mould as rough as it was durable. His aspect and address confounded his inferiors; and the delight he took in making others fear and admire him gave him an aversion to the society of those whose knowledge exceeded his own; nor was he ever heard to acknowledge superiority in any man. He had no respect for the modesty of youth or sex, but would say the most discouraging, as well as grossest things; and felt pleasure in proportion to the pain he gave. It was common with him to ask his pupils, why they did not rather think of becoming bricklayers than players. He was impatient of contradiction to an extreme; and when he found fault, if the person attempted to answer,

answer, he stopped him without hearing, by saying, 'Ha, you have always a reason for being in the wrong!' This impatience carried him still farther; it often rendered him exceedingly abusive. He could pronounce the words *scoundrel*, *fool*, *blockhead*, familiarly, without the least annoyance to his nervous system. He indeed pretended to the strictest impartiality, and while his passions were unconcerned, often preserved it: but these were so extremely irritable, that the least opposition was construed into an unpardonable insult; and the want of immediate apprehension in his pupils subjected them to the most galling contempt, which excited despair instead of emulation. His authority was too severe a climate for the tender plant of genius ever to thrive in. His judgment was, however, in general sound, and his instructions those of a master. 'In short,' says Mr. H. 'if I may estimate the sensations of others by my own, those despots, who, as we are told, shoot their attendants for their diversion, are not regarded with more awe than Macklin was by his pupils and domestics.' Such is the conclusion of his severe, but apparently faithful portrait of this singular character; and it will be seen in the sequel, that he had sufficient opportunity for rendering it accurate.

"Having finished their visit, Holcroft and his friend adjourned to the Black Lion, in Russell-street, which was at that time a place of resort for theatrical people. He here learnt that Mr. Foote was going to take a company to Edinburgh, after the close of the summer season. Being now anxious to secure himself an engagement, and the manner of Macklin having neither prejudiced

him much in his favour, nor given him any certain hopes of success, he resolved to apply to Mr. Foote. Accordingly, making some slight excuse to his companion, he hastened into Suffolk-street.

"He had the good fortune to find the manager at breakfast with a young man, whom he employed partly on the stage, and partly as an amanuensis. 'Well,' said he, 'young gentleman, I guess your business by the sheepishness of your manner; you have got the theatrical cacoethes, you have rubbed your shoulder against the scene: hey, is it not so?' Holcroft answered that it was. 'Well, and what great hero should you wish to personate? Hamlet, or Richard, or Othello, or who?' Holcroft replied, that he distrusted his capacity for performing any that he had mentioned. 'Indeed,' said he, 'that's a wonderful sign of grace. I have been teased for these many years by all the spouters in London, of which honourable fraternity I dare say you are a member; for I can perceive no stage varnish, none of your true strolling brass lacker on your face.' — 'No indeed, Sir.' — 'I thought so. Well, Sir, I never saw a spouter before, that did not want to surprise the town in Pierre, or Lothario, or some character that demands all the address, and every requisite of a master in the art. But, come, give us a touch of your quality; a speech: here's a youngster,' pointing to his secretary, will roar Jaffier against Pierre, let the loudest take both.' Accordingly, he held the book, and at it they fell: the scene they chose, was that of the before-mentioned characters in *Venice Preserved*. For a little while after they began, it seems that Holcroft took the hint Foote had thrown out, and restrained his
his

his wrath : but this appeared so insipid, and the ideas of rant and excellence were so strongly connected in his mind, that when Jaffier began to exalt his voice, he could no longer contain himself; but, as Nic. Bottom says, they both roared so, that it would have done your heart good to hear them. Foote smiled, and after enduring this vigorous attack upon his organs of hearing as long as he was able, interrupted them.

"Far from discouraging our new beginner, he told him, that with respect to giving the meaning of the words, he spoke much more correctly than he had expected. 'But,' said he, 'like other novices, you seem to imagine that all excellence lies in the lungs, whereas such violent exertions should be used but very sparingly, and upon extraordinary occasions; for (besides that these two gentlemen, instead of straining their throats, are supposed to be in common conversation,) if an actor make no reserve of his powers, how is he to rise according to the tone of the passion?' He then read the scene they had rehearsed, and with so much propriety and ease, as well as force, that Holcroft was surprised, having hitherto supposed the risible faculties to be the only ones over which he had any great power.

"Mr. Holcroft afterwards displayed his musical talents, which also met with the approbation of Foote; who, however, told him, that as he was entirely inexperienced with respect to the stage, if he engaged him, his salary at first would be very low. He said, it was impossible to judge with certainty of stage requisites, till they had been proved; and that if, upon consideration, he thought it expedient to ac-

cept of one pound per week, he might come to him again a day or two before the Theatre in the Hay-market shut up; but that if he could meet with a more flattering offer in the mean time, he begged he might be no obstacle.

"Mr. Holcroft came away from this celebrated wit, delighted with the ease and frankness of his behaviour, and elated with his prospect of success. But as he had promised Macklin to call again, he did not think it right to fail in his engagement. Accordingly, on his second visit, he gave him a part to read in a piece of which he himself was the author, and which had met with great success. Having finished this task apparently to the satisfaction of the author, the latter paid his visitor so high a compliment, as to read to him some scenes of a comedy, which he was then writing. They were characteristic and satirical, and met with Holcroft's sincere and hearty approbation, which, it may be supposed, did not a little contribute to prejudice Macklin in his favour. He, however, thought himself bound not to act with duplicity; and he therefore told Macklin of the offer he had had from Foote, excusing this second application from the necessity he was under of getting immediate employment. Macklin allowed the force of his excuse, but thought he might do better in Ireland. He inquired if Holcroft had any objection to become a prompter, adding that the office was profitable, and one, for which, from the good hand he wrote, and other circumstances, he might easily qualify himself. Holcroft answered that Macklin was the best judge of his fitness for the office, and that he had no objection to the situation, except that it would
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be more agreeable to his inclination to become an actor. This inclination the other said might be indulged at the same time, which would render him so much the more useful. Little parts would frequently be wanting; the going on for these would accustom him to face the audience, and tread the stage, which would be an advantage. Holcroft then demanded what salary would be annexed to this office; and received for answer, that, as there was a good deal of trouble in it, he could not have less than thirty shillings a week, especially if he undertook to perform small parts occasionally. Macklin also informed him, that he was not manager himself, he only went as a performer: but that Mr. —, one of the managers, was in town, to whom he would speak, and in two or three days return him a positive answer. In the interim he desired his *protégé* to call in the morning, and he would give him instructions in the part he had read to him, for he had some thoughts of letting him play it. After making proper acknowledgements for these favours, our young adventurer took his leave, much better pleased than at his first visit.

"It was not long before every thing was settled in the manner proposed by Macklin, and Mr. Holcroft was informed, that it was necessary for him to set off for Dublin, it being the intention of the proprietors to open the theatre about the beginning of October. In consequence of the desire he had expressed to appear in some character, Macklin had promised not only to procure him such an opportunity, but likewise to instruct and become his patron: and on Holcroft's representing to him his want of cash for

the journey, he lent him six guineas on the part of the managers, and gave him a letter to Mr. —, who would, he said, provide him with a lodging, and do him other trifling services, which would be agreeable to a person in his situation.

"Holcroft now rewarded his spouting friend with a guinea, redeemed his clothes, which he had been forced to pawn, and left London, elated with the most flattering hopes.—He arrived in Dublin about the latter end of September, 1770. The novelty of the scene, and the vast difference in the economy and manners of the people, made a strong impression on his imagination. The bar at the mouth of the Liffy renders the entrance up that river passable only to ships of small burthen, and to them only when the tide serves. It was low water when the packet arrived at the mouth of the river, and a boat came alongside of the vessel, into which most of the passengers went, rather than wait another tide, and our adventurer among the rest. The river divides the city, and the other passengers were set on shore on the quay; but Holcroft, as directed by his letter, inquired for Capel-street, which was on the opposite side. Thither, accordingly, he was carried; and his trunk and himself landed in a beer-house. He was rather astonished, when the watermen demanded five and five-pence, together with a quart of three-penny, for his conveyance from the packet: and the more so, as he had seen the other passengers give but a shilling each, and one or two of the meaner among them only sixpence. He remonstrated against the imposition, and quoted the precedent of the shilling; but in vain.

"The disorder of their looks, the smoothness of their tongues, and the

the possession they had taken of his trunk, on which one of them seated himself, while the other argued the case, induced our novice to comply with their demands: but what gave him the greatest astonishment was, that the landlord of the beer-house, who had sworn stoutly to their honesty, while he was paying them, no sooner saw their backs turned, than, according to his own phraseology, 'he pitched them to the *devil*, for a couple of cut-throat, *chating* rascals, that *deserved* hanging worse than a murderer.'

"The reflections to which this and similar scenes gave rise in Mr. Holcroft's mind, though trite, are not the less worthy of attention. He says, 'During my short stay in Ireland, I had but too many occasions to observe a shocking depravity of manners, which I attribute either to the laws, or the want of a due enforcement of them. The Irish are habitually, not naturally, licentious. They have all that warmth and generosity which are the characteristics of the best dispositions; and when properly educated, are an honour to mankind. Ireland has produced many first-rate geniuses; and in my opinion, nothing but the foregoing circumstance has prevented her from producing many more. It is the legislature which forms the manners of a nation.'

"When our traveller set out from London, he was assured that the house would open in the beginning of October, but it was November before the season commenced; so that his finances were once more exhausted, and he was obliged to apply to the friend to whom Macklin had recommended him, for a further supply. The acting manager was one D——, a busy, bustling fellow, void of all civility,

who pretended to carry the world before him.

"Mr. Holcroft soon discovered that there was an insurmountable antipathy between this man's disposition and his own. But the means of his subsistence were at stake; he endeavoured, therefore, to accommodate himself to the other's temper as much as possible, and waited for the arrival of Macklin with the utmost impatience. He understood that his engagement had been permanently fixed at thirty shillings a week: but, when he went to the treasury, he found it reduced to a guinea; and whenever he finished his engagement, received the most mortifying and insulting answers. He discovered the entire improbability of his becoming a favourite. None were such but those who could administer the grossest flattery, and who industriously listened to whatever was said in the theatre concerning this petty despot and his management, in order to repeat it in the ear of their employer.

"Holcroft had vainly imagined that the presence of Macklin would put an end to all his grievances: he looked up to him as his patron, as one who had been the occasion of his leaving England, who had pledged himself to be his friend, and was bound to protect him. Whether D—— had prejudiced him against Holcroft, or whether Macklin himself was aware of his deficiency in the honeyed arts of adulation, he could not determine; but he found him very cold in his interest, and far more disposed to browbeat than countenance him. He had, as we have seen, promised to teach him a part, and bring him out in it; but when he ventured to remind him of it, he received only
sarcastic

sarcastic remarks on his incapacity. Holcroft, however, persisted in asserting the positiveness of his agreement with respect to his salary, concerning which Macklin had the meanness to equivocate; but he succeeded in obtaining an addition of four shillings a week.

“ Unable to extricate himself, he endured the insults of malice and ignorance for five months, till the money which he had borrowed had been deducted from his stipend, and then D—— immediately discharged him. It would be no easy task to describe what he must have felt at this moment: he was not possessed of five shillings in the world, was in a strange country, and had no means, now that he was shut out from the theatre, of obtaining a livelihood. He saw nothing but misery and famine before him, and he uttered the bitterest exclamations against Macklin for the perfidiousness of his conduct. This he felt so strongly, that though

Macklin by the severity of his manner had gained an almost entire ascendancy over him, he went to his house, and with the utmost firmness, after observing that he would rather starve than incur any further obligations to him, displayed the impropriety and injustice of his conduct in such animated terms, that all his wonted sternness fled, and the cynic stood abashed before the boy.

“ There was another theatre open in Smock-Alley, under the direction of Mossop: but he was insolvent, and none of his people were paid. Here, however, as a last resource, Holcroft applied, and was engaged at the same nominal salary that he had in Capel-street.

“ It soon appeared that there was no probability of his being paid for his performance at Mossop's theatre: he was therefore forced to quit Dublin, and went on board the Packet for Parkgate, in March, 1771.

Voyages and Travels.

CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF PEOPLE.

SHIPWRECK AND SLAVERY OF ROBERT ADAMS AND HIS COMPANIONS ON THE AFRICAN COAST.

[From ROBERT ADAMS's Narrative.]

" **R**OBERT Adams, aged 25, born at *Hudson*, about one hundred miles up the North River, from New York, where his father was a sail-maker, was brought up to the seafaring line, and made several voyages to Lisbon, Cadiz, Seville, and Liverpool.

" On the 17th of June 1810, he sailed from New York in the ship *Charles*, John Horton master, of 280 tons, Charles Stillwell owner; laden with flour, rice, and salted provisions, bound to Gibraltar.

" The crew consisted of the following persons:

- " Stephen Dolbie, mate,
- " Thomas Williams,
- " Martin Clarke,
- " Unis Newsham,
- " Nicholas (a Swede),
- " John Stephens,
- " John Matthews,
- " James Davison,
- " Robert Adams,

shipped at New York.

" The vessel arrived in twenty-six days at Gibraltar, where the cargo was discharged. Here she

was joined by *Unis Nelson*, another sailor: she lay at Gibraltar about a month, and after taking in sand ballast, 68 pipes of wine, some blue nankeens, and old iron, proceeded on her voyage, the captain stating that he was bound to the Isle of May, for salt, but afterwards it appeared that he was going on a trading voyage down the coast. When they had been at sea about three weeks, Adams heard two of the crew, *Newsham* and *Matthews*, who were old sailors, speaking to the mate, stating their opinion that the captain did not know where he was steering: the ship's course was then south south-west: they said he ought to have steered to the northward of west. They had to beat against contrary winds for eight or nine days afterwards; and on the 11th of October, about 3 o'clock in the morning, they heard breakers; when *Matthews*, the man at the helm, told the mate who was keeping watch, that he was sure they were near the shore; to which the mate replied, that "he had better mind

mind the helm, or his wages would be stopped." An hour afterwards the vessel struck, but there was so much fog that the shore could not be seen. The boat was immediately hoisted out, and the mate and three seamen got into it, but it instantly swamped. The four persons who were in it swam, or were cast ashore by the surf: soon after a sea washed off four or five more of the crew, including Adams; but as all of the ship's company could swim, except Nicholas and the mate, they reached the shore without much difficulty; the latter two were nearly exhausted, but no lives were lost. When morning came, it appeared that the ship had struck on a reef of rocks that extended about three quarters of a mile into the sea, and were more than twelve feet above the surface at low water. The place, according to the captain's reckoning, was about four hundred miles to the northward of Senegal.

"Soon after break of day they were surrounded by thirty or forty Moors, who were engaged in fishing on that coast, by whom Captain Horton and the ship's company were made prisoners. The vessel bilged: the cargo was almost entirely lost; and what remained of the wreck was burnt by the Moors, for the copper bolts and sheathing; but as they had no tools wherewith to take off the copper, they saved little more than the bolts. The place, which was called *El Gazie*, was a low sandy beach, having no trees in sight, nor any verdure. There was no appearance of mountain or hill; nor (excepting only the rock on which the ship was wrecked) any thing but sand as far as the eye could reach.

"The Moors were straight hair-

ed, but quite black; their dress consisted of little more than a rug or a skin round their waist, their upper parts and from their knees downwards, being wholly naked. The men had neither shoes nor hats, but wore their hair very long: the women had a little dirty rag round their heads by way of turban. They were living in tents made of stuff like a coarse blanket, of goat's hair, and sheep's wool interwoven; but some of them were without tents, until they were enabled to make them of the sails of the ship; out of which they also made themselves clothes. The men were circumcised. They appeared to be provided with no cooking utensil whatever. Their mode of dressing fish was by drying it in the sun, cutting it into thin pieces, and letting it broil on the hot sand; but they were better off after the wreck, as they secured several pots, saucepans, &c. So extremely indigent were these people, that when unable to catch fish, they were in danger of starving; and in the course of fourteen days, or thereabouts, that they remained at *El Gazie*, they were three or four days without fish, owing to the want of proper tackle. Among the articles in a chest that floated ashore, was fishing tackle, which the crew of the *Charles* offered to shew the Moors how to use, and to assist them in fishing; but they refused to be instructed, or to receive any assistance. At length, having accumulated enough to load a camel, they raised their tents, and departed, taking with them their prisoners.

"Besides the Moors there was a young man in appearance a Frenchman, but dressed like a Moor. As captain Horton spoke French, he conversed

conversed with this man, who told him that about a year before he had made his escape from Santa Cruz, in the Canary Islands, in a small vessel, with some other Frenchmen; and that having approached the shore to procure goats, they had found it impossible to get the vessel off again, on account of the surf, and were taken prisoners; his companions had been sent up the country. As he associated, and ate and slept with the Moors, Adams was of opinion that he had turned Mohammedan, although he assured captain Horton that he had not done so.

"On the landing of the captain and crew, the Moors stripped all of them naked, and hid the clothes under ground, as well as the articles which they had collected from the ship, or which had floated ashore. Being thus exposed to a scorching sun, their skins became dreadfully blistered, and at night they were obliged to dig holes in the sand to sleep in, for the sake of coolness.

"This was not the only evil they had to encounter, for as the Moors swarmed with lice, Adams and his companions soon became covered with them.

"About a week after landing, the captain became extremely ill, and having expressed himself violently on the occasion of his being stripped, and frequently afterwards using loud and coarse language, and menacing gestures, he was at length seized by the Moors and put to death. The instrument they used on the occasion was a sword which they found in the cabin: the captain used no resistance; he was in fact so reduced by sickness, and was in such a state of despondency, that he frequently declared he wished for death. It was the

manner of the captain that gave offence, as the Moors could not understand what he said, any more than he could understand them. One thing in particular, about which Adams understood the Moors to quarrel with him was, that as he was extremely dirty, and (like all the party) covered with vermin, they wished him to go down to the sea to wash, and made signs for him to do so. But partly from an obstinacy of disposition, and partly from the lassitude brought on by sickness and despair, he refused to do as desired; and whenever pressed to do so, used the most threatening looks, actions, and words.

"When the vessel struck, the captain gave orders that the heads of the wine casks should be knocked in, in the hope of thereby making her float; and when he found that did not succeed, he ordered that the guns, flour, anchors, &c. should be thrown overboard, and the water started. In the confusion and alarm, the muskets and powder were also thrown overboard; otherwise the party might have had the means of defending themselves against the Moors who appeared on their first landing, the number of whom did not exceed forty or fifty people; but though the captain was a man of courage, he appeared to be utterly deprived of reflection after the vessel had struck. He was also an excellent navigator, but relied too much upon the mate.

"After they had remained about ten or twelve days, until the ship and materials had quite disappeared, the Moors made preparation to depart, and divided the prisoners among them, carefully hiding in the sand every thing they had saved from

from the wreck. Adams, the mate, and Newsham, were left in the possession of about twenty Moors, (men, women, and children,) who quitted the sea-coast, having four camels, three of which they loaded with water, and the other with fish and baggage. They travelled very irregularly, sometimes going only ten or twelve miles a day, but often considerably more, making upon an average about fifteen miles a day; occasionally going two or three days without stopping, except at night, at others resting a day or two; on which occasions they pitched the tents to recruit the camels.

"Except one woman, who had an infant, which she carried on her back, the whole of the party went on foot. The route was to the eastward, but inclining rather to the south than to the north of east, across a desert, sandy plain, with occasional low hills and stones. At the end of about thirty days, during which they did not see any human being, they arrived at a place, the name of which Adams did not hear, where they found about thirty or forty tents, and a pool of water, surrounded by a few shrubs, which was the only water they had met with since quitting the coast.

"In the first week after their arrival, Adams and his companions being greatly fatigued, were not required to do any work, but at the end of that time they were put to tend some goats and sheep, which were the first they had seen. About this time John Stephens arrived, under charge of a Moor, and was sent to work in company with Adams. Stephens was a Portuguese, about eighteen years of age. At this place they remained about a month.

"The mate offered the Moors

one hundred dollars to take the party to Senegal, which was called by the Moors Agadeer Bomba, which they refused; but, as Adams understood, they were willing to take them to a place named Suerra. Not being acquainted with this place, they objected to go thither; but when they began to learn the language, they found that what was called *Suerra*, meant *Mogadore*. The mate and Newsham remained only a few days at the place at which they were stopping, when they went away with some of the Moors in a northerly direction. It was very much the desire of Adams and Stephens to continue in company with the mate and the others, but they were not permitted.

"Some days after, it was proposed by the Moors to Adams and Stephens to accompany them in an expedition to Soudenny to procure slaves. It was with great difficulty they could understand this proposal, but the Moors made themselves intelligible by pointing to some Negro boys who were employed in taking care of sheep and goats; and as they frequently mentioned the word '*Suerra*,' Adams at last made out, that if he and Stephens would join in the expedition, they should be taken to that place. Being in the power of the Moors, they had no option, and having therefore signified their consent, the party, consisting of about eighteen Moors, and the two whites, set off for Soudenny, taking with them nine camels, laden with water and barley flour, procured at the place at which they had stopped. After proceeding two days, they were joined by twelve other Moors, and three more camels, and then the whole party set off to cross the Desert, proceeding south south-east; travelling at first

first at the rate of from fifteen to twenty miles a day. It was the expectation of the Moors, that by travelling at that rate for ten days, they should come to a place where water was to be procured; but the weather having been exceedingly hot, and the season dry, when they arrived at the spot (which they did in ten days) where the water was expected, which seemed to be a well about eight or nine feet deep, it was found quite dry. By this time their water running very short, they resorted to the expedient of mixing the remainder of their stock with the camels' urine, and then set out again on their journey to Soudenny, pursuing a course rather more southerly, in the neighbourhood of which they arrived in about four days more. About two days' journey from this place they appeared to have left the Desert, the country began to be hilly, and they met with some small trees.

"Soudenny is a small negro village, having grass and shrubs growing about it, and a small brook of water. The houses are built of clay, the roofs being composed of sticks laid flat, with clay on the top. For a week or thereabouts, after arriving in the neighbourhood of this place, the party concealed themselves amongst the hills and bushes, lying in wait for the inhabitants; when they seized upon a woman with a child in her arms, and two children, (boys), whom they found walking in the evening near the town.

"During the next four or five days the party remained concealed, when one evening, as they were all lying on the ground, a large party of Negroes, (consisting of forty or fifty men,) made their appearance, armed with daggers and bows and

arrows, who surrounded and took them all prisoners, without the least resistance being attempted, and carried them into the town; tying the hands of some, and driving the whole party before them. During the night, above one hundred Negroes kept watch over them. The next day they were taken before the Governor, or chief person, named Mahamoud, a remarkably ugly Negro, who ordered that they should all be imprisoned. The place of confinement was a mere mud wall, about six feet high, from whence they might readily have escaped (though strongly guarded,) if the Moors had been enterprising, but they were a cowardly set. Here they were kept three or four days, for the purpose, as it afterward appeared, of being sent forward to Tombuctoo, which Adams concluded to be the residence of the king of the country.

"The better order of natives at Soudenny wear blue nankeen, in the manner of a frock; but are entirely without shoes, hats, or turbans, except the Chief, who at times wears a blue turban. The distinguishing ornament of the Chief is some gold worked on the shoulder of his frock, in the manner of an epaulette; some of the officers about him were ornamented in a similar manner, but with smaller epaulettes. Their arms were bows and arrows; the former about four feet long, with strings made of the skin of some animal; the arrows were about a foot and a half long, and not feathered. The Negroes frequently practised shooting at small marks of clay, which they scarcely ever missed at fifteen or twenty yards distance.

"The houses have only a ground floor; and are without furniture or

or utensils, except wooden bowls, and mats made of grass. They never make fires in their houses. The lower order of people wear blankets, which they buy from the Moors. After remaining about four days at Soudenny, the prisoners were sent to Tombuctoo, under an escort of about sixty armed men, having about eighteen camels and dromedaries.

" During the first ten days, they proceeded eastward at the rate of about fifteen to twenty miles a day, the prisoners and most of the Negroes walking, the officers riding, two upon each camel or dromedary. As the prisoners were all impressed with the belief that they were going to execution, several of the Moors attempted to escape; and in consequence, after a short consultation, fourteen were put to death, by being beheaded at a small village at

which they then arrived: and as a terror to the rest, the head of one of them was hung round the neck of a camel for three days, until it became so putrid that they were obliged to remove it. At this village the natives wore gold rings in their ears, sometimes two rings in each ear. They had a hole through the cartilage of the nose, wide enough to admit a thick quill, in which Adams saw some of the natives wear a large ring of an oval shape, that hung down to the mouth.

" They waited only one day at this place, and then proceeded towards Tombuctoo, shaping their course to the northward of East; and quickening their pace to the rate of twenty miles a day, they completed their journey in fifteen days."

DESCRIPTION OF TOMBUCTOO.

[From the same.]

" UPON their arrival at Tombuctoo, the whole party was immediately taken before the King, who ordered the Moors into prison, but treated Adams and the Portuguese boy as curiosities; taking them to his house, where they remained during their residence at Tombuctoo.

" For some time after their arrival, the Queen and her female attendants used to sit and look at Adams and his companion for hours together. She treated them with

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great kindness, and at the first interview offered them some bread baked under ashes.

" The King and Queen, the former of whom was named *Woollo*, the latter *Fatima*, were very old, grey-headed people. The Queen was extremely fat. Her dress was of blue nankeen, edged with gold lace round the bosom and on the shoulder, and having a belt or stripe of the same material half way down the dress, which came only a few inches below the knees. The dress

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of the other females of Tombuctoo, though less ornamented than that of the Queen, was in the same short fashion, so that as they wore no close under garments, they might, when sitting on the ground, as far as decency was concerned, as well have had no covering at all. The Queen's head-dress consisted of a blue nankeen turban; but this was worn only upon occasions of ceremony, or when she walked out. Besides the turban, she had her hair stuck full of bone ornaments of a square shape, about the size of dice, extremely white; she had large gold hoop ear-rings, and many necklaces, some of them of gold, the others made of beads of various colours. She wore no shoes; and, in consequence, her feet appeared to be as hard and dry 'as the hoofs of an ass.'

" Besides the blue nankeen dress just described, the Queen sometimes wore an under dress of white muslin; at other times a red one. This colour was produced by the juice of a red root which grows in the neighbourhood, about a foot and a half long. Adams never saw any silks worn by the Queen or any other inhabitant of Tombuctoo; for, although they have some silks brought by the Moors, they appeared to be used entirely for purposes of external trade.

" The dress of the King was a blue nankeen frock decorated with gold, having gold epaulettes, and a broad waistband of the same metal. He sometimes wore a turban; but often went bare-headed. When he walked through the town he was generally a little in advance of his party. His subjects saluted him by inclinations of the head and body; or by touching his head with their hands, and then kissing their hands.

When he received his subjects in his palace, it was his custom to sit on the ground, and their mode of saluting him on such occasions was by kissing his head.

" The King's house, or palace, which is built of clay and grass, (not whitewashed) consists of eight or ten small rooms on the ground floor; and is surrounded by a wall of the same materials, against part of which the house is built. The space within the wall is about half an acre. Whenever a trader arrives, he is required to bring his merchandize into this space for the inspection of the King, for the purpose, Adams thinks, (but is not certain) of duties being charged upon it. The King's attendants, who are with him all the day, generally consist of about thirty persons, several of whom are armed with daggers and bows and arrows. Adams does not know if he had any family.

" In a store-room of the King's house Adams observed about twenty muskets, apparently of French manufacture, one of them double-barrelled; but he never saw them made use of.

" For a considerable time after the arrival of Adams and his companion, the people used to come in crowds to stare at them; and he afterwards understood that many persons came several days' journey on purpose. The Moors remained closely confined in prison; but Adams and the Portuguese boy had permission to visit them. At the end of about six months, there arrived a company of trading Moors with tobacco, who after some weeks ransomed the whole party. Adams does not know the precise quantity of tobacco which was paid for them, but it consisted of the lading of five camels,

camels, with the exception of about fifty pounds weight reserved by the Moors. These Moors seemed to be well known at Tombuctoo, which place, he understood, they were accustomed to visit every year during the rainy season.

" *Tombuctoo* is situated on a level plain, having a river about two hundred yards from the town, on the south-east side, named *La Mar Zarah*. The town appeared to Adams to cover as much ground as Lisbon. He is unable to give any idea of the number of its inhabitants; but as the houses are not built in streets, or with any regularity, its population, compared with that of European towns, is by no means in proportion to its size. It has no walls, nor any thing resembling fortification. The houses are square, built of sticks, clay, and grass, with flat roofs of the same materials. The rooms are all on the ground floor, and are without any article of furniture, except earthen jars, wooden bowls, and mats made of grass, upon which the people sleep. He did not observe any houses, or any other buildings, constructed of stone.

" The river *La Mar Zarah* is about three quarters of a mile wide at Tombuctoo, and appears to have, in this place, but little current, flowing to the south-west. About two miles from the town to the southward it runs between two high mountains, apparently as high as the mountains which Adams saw in *Barbary*: here it is about half a mile wide. The water of *La Mar Zarah* is rather brackish, but is commonly drunk by the natives; there not being, as Adams believes, any wells at Tombuctoo. The vessels used by the natives are small canoes for fish-

ing, the largest of which is about ten feet long, capable of carrying three men: they are built of fig-trees hollowed out, and caulked with grass; and are worked with paddles about six feet long. The river is well stored with fish, chiefly of a sort which Adams took for the red mullet: there is also a large red fish, in shape somewhat like a salmon, and having teeth; he thinks it is the same fish which is known in New York by the name of 'sheep's-head.' The common mode of cooking the fish is by boiling; but they never take out the entrails.

" The principal fruits at Tombuctoo are cocoa-nuts, dates, figs, pine-apples, and a sweet fruit about as large as an apple, with a stone about the size of a plumb-stone. This latter was greatly esteemed; and being scarce, was preserved with care for the Royal Family. The leaves of this fruit resembled those of a peach.

" The vegetables are carrots, turnips, sweet potatoes, negro beans, and cabbages; but the latter are eaten very small, and never grow to a solid head.

" The grain is principally rice and guinea-corn. The cultivation of the soil at Tombuctoo requires very little labour, and is chiefly performed with a kind of hoe which the natives procure from the Moors, and which appears to be their only implement of husbandry. Adams never observed any cattle used in agriculture.

" The guinea-corn grows five or six feet high, with a bushy head as large as a pint bottle, the grain being about the size of a mustard seed, of which each head contains about a double handful. This they beat upon a stone until they extract all the seed, and then they put it be-

tween two flat stones and grind it. These operations are performed by one person. The meal, when ground, is sifted through a small sieve made of grass. The coarse stuff is boiled for some time, after which the flour is mixed with it, and when well boiled together it makes a thick mess like burgoo. This is put into a wooden dish, and a hole being made in the middle of the mess, some goat's milk is poured into it. The natives then sit on the ground, men, women, and children, indiscriminately round the mess thus prepared, and eat it with their fingers. Even the King and Queen do the same, having neither spoons, knives, nor forks. In the preparation of this food for the King and Queen, they sometimes use butter, which is produced from goat's milk; and though soft and mixed with hair, it appeared to be considered a great dainty. Some of the bowls used of which the natives eat are made of cocoa-nut shells; but most of them are of the trunk of the fig-tree hollowed out with chisels.

"The animals are elephants, cows, goats, (no horses), asses, camels, dromedaries, dogs, rabbits, antelopes, and an animal called *heirie*, of the shape of a camel, but much smaller. These latter are only used by the Negroes for riding, as they are stubborn, and unfit to carry other burdens: they are excessively fleet, and will travel for days together at the rate of fifty miles a day. The Moors were very desirous of purchasing these animals, but the Negroes refused to sell them.

"The elephants are taken by shooting with arrows pointed with a metal like steel, about a foot long, and exceedingly sharp. These arrows are steeped in a liquid of a

black colour; and when the animal is wounded they let him go, but keep him in sight for three or four days, at the end of which he expires from the effects of the wound. Adams never saw more than one killed, which was at the distance of about two miles from the town. He was one evening speaking to a Negro, when they heard a whistling noise at a distance: as soon as it was heard, the Negro said it was an elephant, and next morning at day-light he set off with his bow and arrows in pursuit of him. Adams, the Portuguese boy, and many of the town's people accompanied him, until they came within about three quarters of a mile of the elephant, but were afraid to go any nearer on account of his prodigious size. The Negro being mounted on a *heirie*, went close to him, riding at speed past his head: as he passed him he discharged an arrow, which struck the elephant near the shoulder, which instantly started, and went in pursuit of the man, striking his trunk against the ground with violence, and making a most tremendous roaring, which 'might have been heard three miles off.' Owing to the fleetness of the *heirie*, which ran the faster from fear, the elephant was soon left at a distance, and three days afterwards was found lying on the ground in a dying state, about a mile from the spot where it was shot. According to the best of Adams's recollection, it was at least twenty feet high; and though of such an immense size, the natives said it was a young one. The legs were as thick as Adams's body. The first operation of the Negroes was to take out the *four* tusks, the two largest of which were about five feet long. They then

then cut off the legs, and pieces of lean from the hinder parts of the body, and carried them home; where they skinned the flesh, and then exposed it to dry in the sun for two days. It was afterwards boiled, but proved to Adams's taste very coarse food, the grain of the meat being as thick as a straw, and of a very strong flavour. The only thing eaten with it was salt, which is procured from a place called Tudenney Wells, which will be spoken of hereafter. Upon the occasion of the elephant being killed, the Negroes were greatly delighted: and Adams frequently laughed with them, at the recollection of their appearance as they stood round the dead carcase, all laughing and shewing their white teeth at once, which formed a ridiculous contrast with their black faces.

"The other wild animals which Adams saw, were foxes, porcupines, baboons, wolves, and a large species of rat which frequents the river. He does not appear to have seen either hippopotami or alligators.

"Besides these, there is in the vicinity of Tombuctoo a most extraordinary animal named *courcoo*, somewhat resembling a very large dog, but having an opening or hollow on its back like a pocket, in which it carries its prey. It has short pointed ears, and a short tail. Its skin is of an uniform reddish-brown on its back, like a fox, but its belly is of a light grey colour. It will ascend trees with great agility and gather cocoa-nuts, which Adams supposes to be a part of its food. But it also devours goats, and even young children, and the Negroes were greatly afraid of it. Its cry is like that of an owl.

"The wolves are destructive to asses as well as goats. The foxes

frequently carry off young goats and guinea-fowls, particularly the former. Although he never saw either lions, tigers, or wild cats, yet the roaring of animals of these descriptions was heard every night in the neighbouring mountains.

"The domestic birds are guinea-fowls. The wild birds are ostriches, eagles, crows, owls, green parrots, a large brown bird that lives upon fish, and several smaller birds. He does not recollect to have seen any swallows.

"The ostriches are about double the size of a turkey, quite wild, and go in flocks. When any are observed in the day time, the place where they resort is marked, and they are caught at night by men mounted on heiries, who strike them with sticks. When they are first caught their feathers are very beautiful. The flesh of the ostrich is cooked without being previously dried in the sun, and is good eating, as well as the eggs, which are boiled: in fact, almost every thing which the Negroes of Tombuctoo eat is boiled.

"The principal animal food eaten by the Negroes is goats' flesh. Adams did not see more than one cow killed during his stay; and then, he thinks, it was on account of the animal's being in a declining state. The cows are very small, and but few in number: some of them are milk-white; but the colour of the greater part is red.

"There are two sorts, of ants at Tombuctoo; the largest black, the smallest red; which appear at times in prodigious numbers. He has also seen bees there; but he has no recollection of having seen any honey.

"Having occasionally at night, seen a light like fire on the mountain

tains to the southward of the town, Adams had the curiosity to visit them, and found a considerable quantity of sulphur, which the natives collected. The only use to which he has seen them apply this mineral, was to mix it with a substance in black lumps which looked like opium, for the purpose of making a liquid into which they dipped the heads of their arrows. It was with an arrow so prepared that the elephant, before spoken of, was killed.

"The natives of Tombuctoo are a stout, healthy race, and are seldom sick, although they expose themselves by lying out in the sun at mid-day, when the heat is almost insupportable to a white man. It is the universal practice of both sexes to grease themselves all over with butter produced from goat's milk, which makes the skin smooth, and gives it a shining appearance. This is usually renewed every day; when neglected, the skin becomes rough, greyish, and extremely ugly. They usually sleep under cover at night; but sometimes, in the hottest weather, they will lie exposed to the night air with little or no covering, notwithstanding that the fog which rises from the river descends like dew, and in fact, at that season, supplies the want of rain.

"All the males of Tombuctoo have an incision on their faces from the top of the forehead down to the nose, from which proceed other lateral incisions over the eyebrows, into all of which is inserted a blue dye, produced from a kind of ore which is found in the neighbouring mountains. The women have also incisions on their faces, but in a different fashion; the lines being from two to five in number, cut on each

cheek bone, from the temple straight downwards: they are also stained with blue. These incisions being made on the faces of both sexes when they are about twelve months old, the dyeing material which is inserted in them becomes scarcely visible as they grow up.

"Except the King and Queen and their companions, who had a change of dress about once a week, the people were in general very dirty, sometimes not washing themselves for twelve or fourteen days together. Besides the Queen, who, as has been already stated, wore a profusion of ivory and bone ornaments in her hair, some of a square shape and others about as thick as a shilling, but rather smaller, (strings of which she wore about her wrists and ankles) many of the women were decorated in a similar manner; and they seemed to consider hardly any favour too great to be conferred on the person who would make them a present of these precious ornaments. Gold earrings were much worn. Some of the women had also rings on their fingers: but these appeared to Adams to be of brass; and as many of the latter had letters upon them (but whether in the Roman or Arabic characters Adams cannot tell) he concluded both from this circumstance, and from their workmanship, that they were not made by the Negroes, but obtained from the Moorish traders.

"The ceremony of marriage amongst the upper ranks of Tombuctoo is for the bride to go in the day time to the King's house, and to remain there until after sunset, when the man who is to be her husband goes to fetch her away. This is usually followed by a feast the same night, and a dance. Adams did

did not observe what ceremonies were used in the marriages of the lower classes.

"As it is common to have several concubines besides a wife, the women are continually quarrelling and fighting. But there is a marked difference in the degree of respect with which they are each treated by the husband; the wife always having a decided pre-eminence. The Negroes, however, appeared to Adams to be jealous and severe with all their women, frequently beating them for apparently very little cause.

"The women appear to suffer very little from child-birth, and they will be seen walking about as usual the day after such an event. It is their practice to grease a child all over soon after its birth, and to expose it for about an hour to the sun: the infants are at first of a reddish colour, but become black in three or four days.

"Illicit intercourse appeared to be but little regarded amongst the lower orders; and chastity amongst the women in general seemed to be preserved only so far as their situations or circumstances rendered it necessary for their personal safety or convenience. In the higher ranks, if a woman prove with child the man is punished with slavery, unless he will take the woman for his wife and maintain her. Adams knew an instance of a young man who, having refused to marry a woman by whom he had a child, was on that account condemned to slavery. He afterwards repented; but was not then permitted to retract his refusal, and was sent away to be sold.

"The practice of procuring abortion is very common. Adams

was informed that in cases of pregnancy from illicit intercourse, where the woman would not submit to this alternative, it was no unusual thing for the father secretly to poison her.

"The Negroes of Tombuctoo are very vehement in their quarrels. When they strike with their fists they use the under part of the hand, as if knocking with a hammer; but their principal mode of offence is by biting. On the whole, however, they are a good-natured people; and always treated Adams with the greatest kindness.

"It does not appear that they have any public religion, as they have no house of worship, no priest, and, as far as Adams could discover, never meet together to pray. He has seen some of the Negroes who were circumcised; but he concluded that they had been in the possession of the Moors, or had been resident at Tudenny.

"The only ceremony that appeared like the act of prayer, was on the occasion of the death of any of the inhabitants, when their relatives assembled and sat round the corpse. The burial is unattended with any ceremony. The deceased are buried in the clothes in which they die, at a small distance to the south-west of the town.

"Adams does not believe that any of the Negroes could write, as he never saw any of them attempt it; their accounts appeared to be kept by notching sticks. Almost all the Moors, on the contrary, are able to write.

"Their only physicians are old women, who cure diseases and wounds by the application of simples. Adams had a wen on the back of his right hand, the size of a large

large egg ; which one of the women cured in about a month by rubbing it and applying a plaister of herbs. They cure the tooth-ache by the application of a liquid prepared from roots ; which frequently causes not only the defective tooth to fall out, but one or two others.

" He never saw any of the Negroes blind but such as were very old ; of these, judging from their appearance, he thinks he has seen some upwards of one hundred years of age. Children are obliged to support their parents in their old age ; but when old people are childless, there is a house for their reception, in which they live, four or five in a room, at the cost of the King.

" The only tools which the Negroes appeared to possess (besides the hoes and chisels previously mentioned) were knives and small hatchets with which they cut their timber, and a few other rough instruments of iron which they procured from the Moors. Adams does not remember ever to have seen a saw.

" Their musical instruments are, 1st, a sort of fife made of reeds ; 2d, a kind of tambourine covered with goat's skin, within which are ostrich quills laid across in such a manner that when the skin is struck with the hand the quills jar against it ; 3d, an instrument which they call *bandera*, made of several cocoa-nut shells tied together with thongs of goat-skin, and covered with the same material ; a hole at the top of the instrument is covered with strings of leather or tendons, drawn tightly across it, on which the performer plays with the fingers in the manner of a guitar.

" Their principal and favourite

amusement is dancing, which takes place about once a week in the town, when a hundred dancers or more, assemble, men, women, and children, but the greater number men. Whilst they are engaged in the dance they sing extremely loud to the music of the tambourine, fife, and *bandera* ; so that the noise they make may be heard all over the town. They dance in a circle, and (when this amusement continues till the night) generally round a fire. Their usual time of beginning is about two hours before sunset, and the dance not unfrequently lasts all night. The men have the most of the exercise in these sports whilst daylight lasts, the women continuing nearly in one spot, and the men dancing to and from them. During this time the dance is conducted with some decency : but when night approaches, and the women take a more active part in the amusement, their thin and short dresses, and the agility of their actions, are little calculated to admit of the preservation of any decorum.

" It has been already stated, that Adams can form no idea of the population of Tombuctoo ; but he thinks that once he saw as many as two thousand persons assembled at one place. This was on the occasion of a party of five hundred men going out to make war in Bambara. The day after their departure they were followed by a great number of camels, dromedaries, and heuries, laden with provisions. Such of these people as afterwards returned, came back in parties of forty or fifty ; many of them did not return at all whilst Adams remained at Tombuctoo ; but he never heard that any of them had been killed.

" About

"About once a month a party of a hundred or more armed men marched out in a similar manner to procure slaves. These armed parties were all on foot except the officers; they were usually absent from one week to a month, and at times brought in considerable numbers. The slaves were generally a different race of people from those of Tombuctoo, and differently clothed, their dress being for the most part of coarse white linen or cotton. He once saw amongst them a woman who had her teeth filed round, he supposes by way of ornament; and as they were very long, they resembled crow-quills. The greatest number of slaves that he recollects to have seen brought in at one time, was about twenty, and these he was informed were from the place called Bambara, lying to the southward and westward of Tombuctoo; which he understood to be the country whither the aforesaid parties generally went in quest of them.

"The slaves thus brought in were chiefly women and children, who, after being detained a day or two at the King's house, were sent away to other parts for sale. The returns for them consisted of blue nankeens, blankets, barley, tobacco, and sometimes gunpowder. This latter article appeared to be more valuable than gold, of which double the weight was given in barter for gunpowder. Their manner of preserving it was in skins. It was however never used at Tombuctoo except as an article of trade.

"Although the King was despotic, and could compel his subjects to take up arms when he required it, yet it did not appear that they were slaves whom he might

sell, or employ as such generally; the only actual slaves being such as were brought from other countries, or condemned criminals. Of the latter class only twelve persons were condemned to slavery during the six months of Adams's residence at Tombuctoo. The offences of which they had been guilty were poisoning, theft, and refusing to join a party sent out to procure slaves from foreign countries.

"Adams never saw any individual put to death at Tombuctoo, the punishment for heavy offences being, as has just been stated, slavery; for slighter misdemeanours the offenders are punished with beating with a stick; but in no case is this punishment very severe, seldom exceeding two dozen blows, with a stick of the thickness of a small walking cane.

"Adams did not observe any shops at Tombuctoo. The goods brought for sale, which consisted chiefly of tobacco, tar, gunpowder, blue nankeens, blankets, earthen jars, and some silks, are obtained from the Moors, and remain in the King's house, until they are disposed of. The only other objects of trade appeared to be slaves.

"The principal articles given in exchange in trade by the people of Tombuctoo, are gold-dust, ivory, gum, cowries, ostrich feathers, and goat skins; which latter they stain red and yellow. Adams has seen a full-grown slave bought for forty or fifty cowries. He never saw the Negroes find any gold, but he understood that it was procured out of the mountains, and on the banks of the rivers, to the southward of Tombuctoo.

"The Negroes consume the tobacco both in snuff and for smoking;

ing; for the latter purpose they use pipes, the tubes of which are made of the leg bones of ostriches.

"The chief use to which they apply the tar brought by the Moors is to protect the camels and other animals from the attacks of large green flies, which are very numerous, and greatly distress them. Adams has sometimes seen tar-water mixed with the food of the natives as medicine, which made it so nauseous to his taste that he could not eat it. The Negroes, however, did not appear to have the same dislike to it; from which he infers, that the use of tar-water in their food was frequent, though he only saw it four or five times. None of the persons whom he saw using it were in bad health at the time.

"During the whole of Adams's residence at Tombuctoo, he never saw any other Moors than those whom he accompanied thither, and the ten by whom they were ransomed; and he understood from the Moors themselves, that they were not allowed to go in large bodies to Tombuctoo. He did not see any mosque or large place of worship there; and he does not think that they had any.

"Neither Adams nor the Portuguese boy were ever subjected to any restraint whilst they remained at Tombuctoo. They were allowed as much food, and as often as they pleased; and were never required to work. In short, they never experienced any act of incivility or unkindness from any of the Negroes, except when they were taken prisoners in company with the Moors engaged in stealing them. Adams could not hear that any white man but themselves had ever been

seen in the place; and he believes, as well from what he was told by the Moors, as from the uncommon curiosity which he excited (though himself a very dark man, with short, curly, black hair), that they never had seen one before.

"There was no fall of rain during his residence at Tombuctoo, except a few drops just before his departure; and he understood from the Negroes that they had usually little or none, except during the three months of winter, which is the only season when the desert can be crossed, on account of the heat. In some years, Adams was informed, when the season had been unusually dry, there was great distress at Tombuctoo for want of provisions: but no such want was felt whilst he was there.

"He never proceeded to the southward of Tombuctoo, farther than about two miles from the town, to the mountains before spoken of; and he never saw the river Joliba: but he had heard it mentioned; and was told at Tudenny, that it lay between that place and Bambarra.

"Being asked the names of any other places which he had heard mentioned, he recollected that the people of Tombuctoo spoke of *Mutnongo*, and of a very considerable place to the eastward called *Tuarick*, to which they traded. He had also often heard them mention *Mandingo* and *Bondou*; but he cannot recollect what was said respecting these places.

"The following is a list of some of the words which Adams recollected in the language of Tombuctoo.

"Man . . . *Jungo*.
Woman . . . *Jumpa*.

Camel

Camel . . .	So.	Water . . .	Boca.
Dog . . .	Killab.	Mountain . . .	Kaddear.
Cow . . .	Fallee.	Tree . . .	Carna.
Goat . . .	Luganam.	Date Tree . . .	Carna Tomar.
Sheep . . .	Nauusk.	Fig Tree . . .	Carna Carmoos.
Elephant . . .	Elfeel.	Gold . . .	Or.
House . . .	Dah.	A Moor . . .	Seckar."

RISE, PROGRESS, AND GOVERNMENT OF ALI PACHA.

[From Mr. WALTON's Translation of VAUDONCOURT's Memoirs of the Ionian Islands.]

"FROM the description of the governments and extent of country now dependent on Ali Pacha, which we have just given, it is easy to see that he is at present the most powerful European ruler of the Ottoman empire. The provinces of which he disposes, and which with reason may be called his states, or dominions, constitute a good third of all Turkey; and the offices of Dervendgi-Pacha and Roumeli-Valachi, which he has already held, and can again obtain whenever he chooses, through the means of his arts and intrigues, would still leave at his disposal another third of this extended empire. He is not, nevertheless, the titular chief of all the Sandgiaks or Pachalics with three tails, otherwise called Vizirships, which we have just enumerated. The governments of which he holds the *Firman*, or imperial diploma, are, 1st, The Vizirship of Joannina, to which he has since added several districts, wrested from those of Delvino and Avlona. 2d, The Sandgiak of Avlona, reduced to the sole district of this

city, and which is governed in his name by a pacha dependent on him. 3d, The Vizirship of Ochrida, excepting the cantons of Mat, Ischim, and Akhissar, which are placed under the dominion of the Pacha of Scutari, and that of Kolonia, dependent on the Vizir of Elbassan, who resides at Rerat. 4th, The Vizirship of Karli-Ili, whose Vizir formerly resided at Arta. 5th, The Vizirship of Trikala, with the exception of Larissa, whose Beys, in great measure, hold themselves in a state of independence.

"The districts dependent on the Sandgiak of Kapuden-Pacha, which he before governed in a direct manner in his quality of Roumeli-Valachi, have now Beys, who obey and hold their authority from him. The Vizir of Egribos is reduced to the three jurisdictions of the island of Eubœa; and those of the mainland are governed by Pachas or Beys, whom he causes to be named or names, and they are all subservient to his orders. The Vizirship of Lepanto has been bestowed on Mouktar Pacha, his eldest son; and that

that of the Morea is administered by Veli Pacha, his second son. The Vizirship of Delvino, of which at length he divested Mustapha Pacha, has also been granted to Sally Bey, his third son, scarcely passed his infancy, and the only child born in his harem that he has legitimatized. It is impossible, as we shall hereafter show, for his sons to withdraw themselves from his direct authority: it would be the forfeit of his life to any one of the governors depending on him who should dare to disobey him. In all the above provinces he disposes, at his own pleasure, of the civil and judiciary administration, as well as of the finances and military forces. It therefore may be said that he really reigns as a sovereign, though in appearance a vassal of the Ottoman empire, to whom he pays his tribute with exactitude, and whose orders he obeys when they are combined with his own agents, or answer his views.

"The small town of Tepeleni, of which Ali Pacha's ancestors were Beys, that is, lords, is inhabited by Greeks and Albanian Mussulmans, of the tribe of the Toczides. The family of Ali had always furnished the chiefs of this band of ferocious but courageous mountaineers. War with their neighbours and pillage were the only occupations. The family of Ali Pacha had lived in obscurity since the time of Scanderbeg, under whose government it was most probably Christian, as well as a great number of other Albanian families, which at the time of the conquest of their country by the Ottomans embraced Islamism, in order to preserve their property. The grandfather of Ali, one of the Turkish generals employed at the siege of Corfu, was killed there; and he is the first of

this family whose name occurs in the chronology of the Ottoman empire. His father, Veli, had been Sandgiak of Delvino, but having fallen under the displeasure of the Porte, he had been deprived of his office, and replaced by Selim Bey, on whom Ali avenged himself, as we shall hereafter have occasion to notice. Veli Bey, persecuted by the Divan, was also attacked by his neighbours, who were the Beys of Kaminitza, Klissoura, Premiti, and Argiro-Castro. Too weak to resist them alone, notwithstanding a most courageous defence, he was under the necessity of yielding; and having been despoiled of the greatest part of his inheritance, he died of fatigue and a broken heart, leaving several young children, among which were two sons, one of whom was Ali. This occurrence happened about the year 1760, when Ali was thirteen years old.

"The widow of Veli Bey was a woman whose courage was only equalled by her ambition. No enterprise appeared impossible to her; no means whatever were too much to attain her end. Successful policy, and the most impenetrable dissimulation, blended with cruelty, constituted the leading traits of her character. Far from bending under or seeking to avoid the misfortunes which bore down her family, by flying with her children and the remainder of her treasures, she boldly withstood the ills of fortune, and opposed the torrent which widely threatened her with impending destruction. No other than her faithful Toczides now remained, whom nothing had been able to estrange or sever from the family of their chiefs, and whose blind obedience had prepared them for every sacrifice that might contribute

tribute to its defence. With a bandful of followers Veli's widow defended the remainder of her dominions, checked her enemies, administered the small portion of property that still remained to her, saved her children from the efforts of violence and the attempts of treason, at the same time that she schooled them in the arts of dissimulation and revenge. It was about this time that she was taken prisoner by the inhabitants of Goritza, when her ransom absorbed the greatest part of the treasures she had been able to save.

" Her lessons and example had their due effect on her children, but more so on the mind of Ali than his brother. In policy, Ali soon became equal, if not superior, to his mother. Nature had bestowed on him all those qualities which afterwards enabled him to create a formidable power and preserve it; and the energies of his mind were distinguished by a most early display. At the age when the bulk of mankind scarcely begin to think, he already foresaw the possibility of laying the foundation of his own tranquillity, and raising his power on the depression of his neighbours. He had already seized and combined the means of commanding his equals, and reducing his inferiors to slavery.

" Scarcely had Ali attained his sixteenth year, when he was seen defending the inheritance of his father by the force of arms. He was not, however, the chief: his mother still governed, and, under her orders, two old servants commanded, possessed both of fidelity and experience. Her son was still no other than a subaltern in the ranks. His courage, which was always calm and intrepid, caused him to be beloved by his

mother's soldiers; whilst his address in flattery, and the apparent sweetness of his character, gained him the regard of the principal vassals or servants or his house. His avidity to discover all kinds of useful knowledge found encouragement among them; and he soon informed himself, in the greatest detail, of the strength, character, and connections of his enemies. He studied and learnt all the circumstances of the history of his own family, as well as that of the glorious acts of his fellow-countrymen. This study afterwards proved to him of the greatest utility; it contributed to cultivate and perfect the prodigious memory with which he had been gifted, and served to him as an infallible guide in all his political difficulties. He has always continued this same species of study, and even now he relates the principal facts and events which have taken place in all the provinces under his control, and quotes the dates without the smallest hesitation.

" Such were his youthful occupations, and such the limits to which his command was at first confined. The old servants of his father loved and esteemed him, but his too great youth at that time removed all idea of obedience, and withheld all confidence in his talents. Burning, nevertheless, with a desire to break through the trammels of dependence, so little congenial to his restless character, and anxious at the same time to raise himself from an inferiority opposed to his pride, he was not long before he unbosomed himself to his mother, and confided to her part of his designs, as well as the deep and daring project he had formed of dividing his enemies, and defeating them

them in detail. The widow of Veli Bey could not fail being enchanted with the progress her lessons and exhortations had made in the heart of her son. Her means were, however, reduced greatly beneath what they were at the death of her husband. A continued struggle, the success of which had been varied, and whose happiest result was merely to enable her to sustain herself, had exhausted her resources and cut off part of her warriors. She hesitated to give up the command, and feared to weaken her forces by dividing them with Ali, for the purpose of rushing into an enterprise that did not appear so certain in her eyes as those of her son, and in which one misfortune could not fail to bring total ruin. She did not disapprove of the plan, nor discourage the first sallies of an enterprising and fearless mind, but certain it is, she furnished him with no means.

"Ali was in no way disheartened; and, perhaps believing himself possessed of more credit than he really had, he abandoned the castle of Tepeleni with a small number of devoted followers, and took the field. In his first expeditions he evinced all the courage and skill of which he was capable, and of which he gave such striking proofs after his first efforts had failed in their success. The savage hordes he led on to daring deeds, were, through their ignorance, too far behind him to be able to conceive the wisdom of his plans, and measure the depth of his designs. Accustomed to a mechanical method, and to a reliance on no other than the force of arms, or at most on some local stratagems, they still doubted the effects of the promises of their young chief. Among the Albanians, as

well as among all other uncivilized nations, age and practical experience overcome every other consideration, and genius itself, which so advantageously makes up for both, is devoid of credit. Ali experienced the fatal effects of this ignorance, and of the prejudices to which it gives rise. He was able to assemble only a small number of troops, not having sufficient money to pay more, since he could alone offer to his soldiers hopes which were founded on a basis it was impossible for them to comprehend. He nevertheless attempted expeditions against the enemies of his house. His forces were, however, too disproportioned, and he was several times beaten. Having commenced military operations against the Sandgiak of Avlona, he was taken prisoner in an unfortunate attack. The Vizir, Kourid Pacha, was an old man, of a mild and easy character, and also humane and generous. The youthful air of Ali Bey, the beauty and sweetness of his physiognomy, his lively and natural talents, so superior to his age, and still more so to the generality of his countrymen, created an interest in the Sandgiak. He was satisfied with reprimanding him, and sent him away.

"Ali was then obliged to enter again under the guardianship of his mother, who reproached him in bitter terms, and even treated him in a harsh manner. Habituated to dissimulation, he bore all in silence; but the indefatigable perseverance which constitutes one of the leading features of his character, and causes him always to resume the execution of an interrupted project as soon as a favourable opportunity offers, restrained him in this first trial of his mind. He attached himself still

still more to the soldiers of his mother, as well as to their chiefs: he gave them an account of his operations, and endeavoured to make them taste and approve his future designs. Wishing no longer to depend on his mother, it was not so much in her eyes that he sought his justification, but rather among the ancient servants of his father, whom he was anxious to bind to his future interests. He did not forget this necessary precaution, in order to counteract the discredit which accompanies unsuccessful genius in the eyes of the vulgar. He did not, however, entirely withdraw from his mother; on the contrary, he renewed his solicitations and remonstrances before her. His suit was long disregarded; at length, however, he obtained a supply of money: whether it was that she wished to rid herself of his importunities, or rather, being herself gifted with a great share of perspicacity, she accorded a certain degree of approbation to his projects. Ali again levied troops, and entered into a fresh campaign.

“ Fortune, which, beyond doubt, wished to put him to the trial before she bestowed her favours, and sought to strengthen that perseverance which is superior to the greatest misfortunes, and could alone lead him to the attainment of his object, was a second time adverse to him. Compelled to collect money in order to unite the troops he required for success, he now undertook the pursuits of a robber. This was the kind of life pursued by such characters as Gerio, Cacus, Seyros, and Procrustes, destroyed by Hercules and Theseus; it was also the habitual occupation of the inhabitants of Mount Tomarus, as well as of the Pindus and Lacmus,

among whom the name of Klephtes, (*Κλεφτής*), or robber, is no dishonour. In this new calling Ali was not fortunate. After some success gained near Tepeleni he directed his steps towards the chain of the Pindus, but he was defeated there and taken prisoner by the Vizir of Joannina. The character of the chief of Avlona saved him the first time; the policy of that of Joannina saved him the second. The Beys of Joannina, of Argiro-Kastro, and Premiti, as well as Selim, Pacha of Delvino, insisted on capital punishment being inflicted upon him. The Vizir, however, of Joannina dreaded the Beys of the very section over which he himself presided, at all times ripe for a revolt; and he could not confide in those of Argiro-Castro and Premiti, and much less in Selim, Pacha of Delvino, whose connections with the Venetians rendered him extremely liable to suspicion. He was not sorry to have it in his power to afford them fresh occupation, and he released Ali, who gave him no further cause for inquietude during the remainder of his days. Ali, nevertheless, having collected the remains of his scattered troops, again sought to keep the field. He was beaten afresh near the sources of the Chelydnus, and his soldiers in such manner killed or dispersed, that he was obliged to seek refuge alone on Mount Mertzika. There he found himself reduced to such extreme want as to be under the necessity of pledging his scymitar, all he had been able to save, in order to procure barley for his horse, no longer able to carry him.

“ On returning to Tepeleni with a small number of confidential followers, who rejoined him after his flight, he was again treated by his mother

mother in a harsher manner than before. She not only complained loudly of the repeated disasters, and the exaggeration of his projects, so much above his strength and age, but she also reproached him with imprudence and cowardice, and went so far as to threaten to make him assume a woman's dress, and employ him in the internal occupations of the harem. Ali dissembled his indignation, and was thereby rendered more ardent in his wishes to withdraw from a yoke which pressed heavily upon him. He employed all the resources of his mind to soften his mother, and sought by all imaginable means to justify his conduct in her eyes, and to render her again favourable to his views. At length he succeeded; and, through the force of solicitations, obtained a sum of money, accompanied with an admonition not to expect any other aid, as well as an injunction to conquer or die, and not again appear as a fugitive amidst the tombs of his ancestors and countrymen.

"Ali immediately raised six hundred men with the money his mother had supplied, and directed his march through the Chelydnus valley towards Mount Mertzica and Premiti. His first battle was again unsuccessful to him, and he was obliged to retire with loss. Having encamped the remnant of his troops in the vicinity of a deserted chapel, not far from Valera, which was shown to the Author during his abode in Albania, he entered into the solitary pile to repose, as well as to meditate on his bereft situation. There, he said, (for it was from himself that the whole of this narrative was obtained,) that reflecting on that fortune by which he was persecuted, calculat-

ing the enterprises he was still able to attempt, and comparing the weakness of his means with the forces he had to combat, he remained a long time in a standing posture, mechanically frowning up the ground with his stick, which the violence of the sensations he experienced caused him to press forwards in a stronger manner, and frequently to strike with great force. The resistance of a solid body, and the sound which issued from it, recalled his attention from the objects with which he had been so long absorbed. He bent down and examined the hole he had made, and having dug further into the ground, he had the happiness to find a casket, concealed, no doubt, during one of the revolutions which have so frequently desolated that country. The gold which the casket contained enabled him to levy 2000 men; and having been successful in a second battle, he returned victorious to Tepelehi. From this period fortune has never abandoned him during a lapse of nearly fifty years of war and enterprise of every kind.

"His new fortune, the victorious troops he led back with him, his constancy, and even his past misfortunes, created an interest in his favour. He had the address to gain over the principal chiefs of Tepelehi, and the multitude followed the impulse of their leaders. He instantly threw off the mask, seized on the authority, and confined his mother to the harem. It was about this time that his brother perished. The partizans of Ali Pacha assert that this brother was the elder, by a previous marriage, and that Ali's mother caused him to be poisoned, in order to secure to her own son the remains of his father's inheritance,

tance, and free him from a dangerous rival. This report is, at least, most prevalent throughout the whole of his states. His enemies, on the contrary, affirm that it was he himself who stabbed his brother, having persuaded the multitude that he was treacherous to his country, and under a correspondence with their enemies. It is thus also that the story is related in the Seven Islands. Let this be as it may, the death of this competitor was a fresh step towards the elevation of Ali Pacha. It must not, however, be understood, that it is the intention of the Author to justify him on this head. Notwithstanding a brilliant throne has too frequently caused the cotemporary generation even to forget the crime of a parricide, the Author is of opinion that the suspicion which hangs over Ali Pacha, of having been capable of a fratricidal act, is an indelible stain imprinted on his memory. After the death of her son, or son-in-law, the political career of the widow of Veli Bey was at an end, and she did not afterwards appear on the scene.

“ Become sole master in his small dominion, Ali thought of nothing else than extending its limits; but for this purpose he required troops, and to have a sufficient body he stood in need of more money than his coffers contained. His means scarcely enabled him to keep up an army of 2000 men, and even this he would not have been able to continue long. With so weak a force he would indeed have been able to overcome one of his enemies, but not the league which would have been formed against him. He therefore resolved to continue his trade of robber, and besieged with his troops the whole of the

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defiles leading from the summits of the Pindus chain into Thessaly, the Epirus, and Macedonia, pillaging and ransoming travellers and caravans, levying contributions on the villages, and sacking several defenceless towns of minor import. The ravages he committed awakened the attention of the Divan, and the Dervendgi-Pacha, or Inspector-General of the High-Roads, received orders to march out against him. The Vizir of Avlona, Kourd Pacha, was at this time invested with this office; he took the field, but Ali Bey was by this time become too strong, and his military talents, as well as the valour of his soldiers, secured him the victory in all his rencounters.

“ Kourd Pacha was, in fact, soon obliged to enter into negotiations. It was then that the superiority of Ali's genius met with the first opportunity of displaying itself. He employed all his eloquence to captivate the man who was to be his judge, and he even succeeded. Kourd Pacha not only ceased to persecute Ali, but he even entered into direct and friendly relations with him. Some persons pretend that Ali himself caused a report to be circulated that Kourd Pacha wished to bestow his daughter on him in marriage; and his enemies add, that the dervises opposed this measure, in consequence of the imputed assassination of his brother. Soon after this new connection he united his forces to those of Kourd Pacha, at that time in a state of warfare against the Vizir of Skutari, Mahmoud Pacha. The military exploits of Ali secured victory to the banners of the Vizir of Avlona, who was, thereby enabled to make an advantageous peace. Such important services obtained for Ali the most efficacious protection of his

G

his

his suzerin, or supreme feudal chief, now become his ally; and, dexterous in availing himself of circumstances, he took possession of his father's inheritance, and soon proceeded to humble the Bey of Kaminitza and the town of Goritza, which he took and pillaged. On retiring to Tepeleni, he directed his attention to the search of an alliance by means of marriage. At that time he was rich, powerful, and held in high consideration. The Pacha of Argiro-Kastro granted his daughter to him, by whom he had his two eldest sons, Mouktar and Veli. When he married he was only twenty years of age.

"Some years after his marriage a dissention took place between the two sons of the Pacha of Argiro-Kastro, of which possibly Ali was the instigator. The regret and anxiety of these domestic discords occasioned the death of the father, and his eldest son, who succeeded him, was assassinated by his brother. Ali, attentive to his own interests, hastened to allay the civil war this murder had given rise to; but the people, who had penetrated his design, opposed him by force, and he was compelled to withdraw and wait for another opportunity, which the wisdom of the above inhabitants has hitherto prevented from taking place.

"About this period he is stated to have commenced a war with the Greek inhabitants of Liebovó, who, after several years' resistance, were at length obliged to submit. Near the same time a civil war which broke out in the town of Charmova furnished him with the means of making himself master of the place, when he made away with the chief of the country, Papas Oglou, (the son of a priest, and in Albanian

Krauz-Prifti,) massacred or dispersed the inhabitants, and destroyed the town. These two expeditions made him master of the whole valley of the Chelydnus in front of Argiro-Kastro, which he held under observation, and whose inhabitants, on their side, established a species of redoubt, and a post of 500 men on the bridge situated below the city. He also availed himself of the above conquests, which had brought him nearer to Joannina, to make attempts on the latter city, as well as on Arta, but he was repelled. The ancient Pacha of Joannina, to whom he was under personal obligations, at that time no longer existed there.

"A little time afterwards the Porte entertained a wish to rid itself of the Sandgiak of Delvino, Selim Pacha. This governor had delivered over, or rather sold, to the Venetians, the town and territory of Bucintró, which ought to have been yielded up to them by the last treaty, but which the Turks still retained. Ali Bey offered to take charge of this commission, on condition of his being named Sandgiak of Delvino, which is a Pachalic with two tails. Having succeeded in his demand, he took an opportunity of introducing himself to Selim, and having insinuated himself into his confidence, as well as that of his son Mustapha, he was enabled to surround them with his own satellites. He then caused the father to be beheaded, and the son to be arrested, but soon afterwards he was compelled to fly, in order to escape from the indignation and vengeance of the vassals of Selim, and he indeed lost the fruits of his perfidy.

"In this interval Kourd Pacha had been disgraced, and this event dismembered

dismembered the Sandgiak of Avlona, of which several districts passed under the control of the Vizir of Skutari, and others were united to the Sandgiak of Elhassan, whose Pacha was named a Vizir, and fixed his residence at Berat. The district of Tepeleni, together with the acquisitions of Ali along the Drino, then became independent. Viezy Ali Pacha, a native of Constantinople, was at that time created Dervendgi-Pacha. He was a weak and narrow-minded man, and unable to adopt the proper means of fulfilling the duties of his charge. Ali caused himself to be proposed as his lieutenant, and the Dervendgi-Pacha, dazzled by the illusive hope of dissipating the brigands by employing the most celebrated of them, named him to the office. At that time the chiefs of the Klephtes became legitimate conquerors, provided with the diplomas of Ali Depedelengi, the surname given to the hero of our narrative, from the place of his birth, called in Turkish Depeleden, to whom the douceurs of the above chiefs, and his own exactions, brought in a sum estimated at 150,000 piastres, or 300,000 francs. This traffic, however, did not last longer than about six months, at the end of which the Divan, finding that no road in European Turkey was any longer free, was under the necessity of divesting the new Dervendgi-Pacha of his office.

“ At this period (1787) a war broke out between Austria, Russia, and Turkey. The money Ali Bey had been able to collect served him to pay agents at Constantinople, and to obtain an employment. He served with his Albanian corps in the army of the Grand Vizir, Jousouf Pacha. His conduct during this war was brilliant; his military

talents, and the valour of his soldiers, injured by twenty years of war and victory, obtained for him general esteem, and at the same time tended greatly to enrich him. But his attention to the war and the interests of the Ottoman empire did not, however, withdraw him from his ambitious projects. Hitherto he had no government; he was without a title, and he wished to be a sovereign, whatever was the sacrifice. Knowing the projects of Russia on Greece, and fully aware of the secret measures of the Russian government in Albania, the Epirus, and Morea, he resolved to turn himself on that side, in order to secure to himself a point of support in case the war proved disadvantageous to the Porte, as well as in every other circumstance that might favour his views or interests. Under the pretext of obtaining the release of Mahmoud Pacha, one of his nephews who had been made prisoner, he entered into correspondence with Prince Potemkin. This correspondence soon became active, and took a direction favourable to the interests of Russia, who at that time could rely on Ali Bey in case of a fresh expedition in the Mediterranean. The Author himself saw at Joannina a watch set in diamonds which Prince Potemkin caused to be presented to Ali, after peace was signed, as it was then said, in testimony of his esteem for his bravery and talents. The correspondence of Ali with Russia lasted till he himself became master of Joannina, as well as nearly of all Albania, when he had no longer any direct interest in aiding the above power to establish itself in his vicinity.

“ After the peace, finding himself possessed of considerable riches, and at the head of a small army

inured to war and devoted to him, Ali Bey obtained sufficient credit at Constantinople to have himself named Pacha of Trikala, in Thessaly. His vicinity terrified the Beys of Joannina, and particularly the Greek merchants of the latter city, who feared his exactions, and above all, lest he should take possession of their city, whose government was at that time vacant. Both the above two parties negotiated near the Divan, in order to remove this danger. During this time he was establishing himself as absolute master in all Thessaly except Larissa, where he was unable to enter, being obliged to be satisfied with the tributes the Beys thereof paid to him.

"The most complete anarchy, however, reigned at Joannina. The Beys, divided in their interests, carried on war among themselves, and the inhabitants compelled to take part in these quarrels were reciprocally ransomed by all parties. The opportunity was too favourable for Ali not to hasten to avail himself of it. He presented himself almost unexpectedly before the city, whilst, through his agents at Constantinople, he solicited the *firman* which was to confer upon him the title of its Sandgiak. The Beys united at the first news of his approach, and marched out to meet him. They were beaten, but Ali Pacha was unable to enter the city. The Joannina agents near the Divan had, nevertheless, obtained a *firman* forbidding him from entering into the city; the Beys had received advice of the circumstance, and the courier was hourly expected. He at length arrived, and delivered his dispatches to Ali. They were publicly read, and nothing could equal the surprise of the inhabitants when they heard

their contents. He had been created Dervendgi-Pacha, and received the order to enter Joannina without any delay. They were agitated with alarm, but the alternative of obedience alone remained.

"Ali Pacha, judging that the favourable moment was not yet come to display the severity and also the harshness of his character, entered in a friendly manner, promised the inhabitants to protect them against the Beys, and the latter to preserve their fortunes and honours; after which he posted a strong garrison in the Kastron and returned to Trikala. A short time afterwards it was discovered that the *firman* of which he had made use had been forged by himself, on the advice he transmitted by his agents of the real orders he was about to receive from the Porte. But he was now master of the city, and it was no longer possible to drive him out. Nevertheless, partly through caresses, and partly through menaces, he obtained from the inhabitants a petition, soliciting the Sandgiak of Joannina for him. This petition, and the money he was enabled to lavish, did in fact obtain for him the above government, as well as the office of Dervendgi-Pacha. The latter charge, by giving him the superintendence of the police of the high roads, and placing under his orders the governors of several provinces, has singularly aided him to extend his power, and increase his riches. Soon afterwards he married his two sons to two daughters of the Vizir of Berat; Ibrahim Pacha, and himself espoused the rich widow of a Pacha, who brought to him a considerable dowry of lands in the Epirus.

"At this time being apprehensive of the jealousy of the Porte, as well

well as of the intrigues of his enemies at Constantinople, he sought out the protection of France, which he obtained through the means of the Consul at Prevesa, and thus dissipated the storm by which he was threatened. After this he endeavoured to enter into a correspondence similar to that he had kept up with Russia, and even wrote to Louis XVI.; but the French minister declined accepting his propositions, by reminding him that he was a subject of the Ottoman empire. Furious at an answer so little satisfactory, he made the whole weight of his anger fall on the French Consul at Arta, and by his ill-treatment compelled him to fly in order to secure his life. Whilst he was carrying on this fruitless negotiation he did not lose sight of his project of rendering himself master of Southern Albania. He at first directed his attention towards Klissoura, an important post, and too near the place of his nativity to be indifferent to him: and it was, besides, the key of the dominions of the Vizir of Berat. The first step he took was to give one of his nieces in marriage to one of the sons of Veli Bey, chief of the country, and who had just died. Once introduced into the family, he soon planted dissensions among its members, and making use of this pretext to draw the young beys to his court, he made away with them, and seized on Klissoura, as well as their property. The capture of Klissoura facilitated to him the means of possessing himself of the canton of Premiti, which made him master of the whole course of the Vojutza, and paved the way to the invasion of Avlona, which he enveloped on all sides. Whilst he was thus extending himself towards the N.,

Ali Pacha attacked and dispossessed the Pacha of Arta, established it is true in one of the districts of the Sandgiak of Joannina, but from whom he also carried off the government of Acarnania. He engaged in a war against the Souliots and Philates, and deprived the Pacha of Delvino of the districts of Paramithie and Margariti, which, however, he was not able to reduce into entire submission.

“ As soon as the peace of Campo Formio had united the Seven Islands under the protection of France, this new vicinity forcibly attracted the attention of Ali. He saw, or thought he saw, a storm preparing against Turkey. The change of government and the conquests of France appeared to him to forebode events which must necessarily change the relations of the latter with the Ottoman empire. Nothing more was wanting to induce him to enter into correspondence with Napoleon, at that time General in Chief of the army of Italy. He at least hoped thereby to secure to himself the support and protection of the Governor of Corfu, and obtain instructions for the latter that might be favourable to him, of which he might avail himself for the promotion of his own interests. He succeeded, and the first fruits of these new connexions were the possession of the Greek towns of the coast, which brought him nearer to Chimara placed him in communication with the sea, and furnished him with fresh means against the Sandgiak of Delvino, Mustapha Pacha, son of Selim. He was not deceived in the whole of his calculations, since, in fact, France entered into hostilities with the Ottoman empire through the invasion of Egypt. The consequence could not fail of being
a de-

a declaration of war on the part of the Divan; it indeed took place, and Ali Pacha availed himself of it, in order to complete the consolidation of his own power. Even at the time that he was in intimate relation with the French Governor of the Seven Islands, a command then held by General Chabot, at Constantinople he was making a parade of the zeal with which he had proceeded to reduce the faithless towns of the coast, and to subject them to the Ottoman laws. For this he again obtained fresh rewards.

“ Shortly afterwards, in order to sustain his credit at Constantinople, he marched troops to Vidin, against Passvan Oglou. He was engaged in this expedition when he received advices of the capture of Malta, and the landing of the French army in Egypt. He was still employed in the same service when he learned that the Porte was about to declare war against the French republic, and to take part in the league formed against it. He foresaw that France was on the eve of losing the Seven Islands; that she was unable to resist the forces preparing to attack them, and he resolved to be in readiness to avail himself of the events that might occur in his favour. He therefore returned rapidly to Joannina, and, as a better guidance to the line of conduct he had to observe, his first care was to learn the exact state of defence in which Corfu was left, in order that he might not uselessly quarrel with the French in case they were able to hold out in the above place, and thus partly retain possession of the Seven Islands. As soon as he arrived, he caused General Chabot to be informed of the declaration of war about to be published, and the ex-

pected arrival of a combined Russian and Turkish fleet. He at the same time feigned to be extremely apprehensive with regard to his own personal safety from the arrival of the Russians, and the presence of an Ottoman army in that quarter; and he proposed to the General to send a person to him with whom he might discuss and fix the basis of a treaty of alliance with France. This fear appeared so much the more natural, because it was well known that the political conduct of Ali, his rapid aggrandizement, and the violence with which he had dispossessed, or rather stripped, the governors established by the Porte, must have displeased the latter government. With regard to the Russians, their known projects on Greece, and the hopes which the Greeks openly built on their succour, rendered the apprehensions of Ali extremely well founded.

“ The Adjutant General Rose was selected by General Chabot, and sent to Joannina; and the choice preferably fell upon him because he had married a Greek woman of the latter city, and had connections there which it was supposed might prove useful to him. Ali Pacha entered into negotiation; but every thing was delayed, in order to gain time, and to place him in a situation of ripening his projects and fixing his determinations. Repeated and prolonged discussions, as well as studied and coincident objections, obliged the Adjutant General Rose successively to develop to him the means of defence held by Corfu, and to make him acquainted with the real situation of the French republic. Perhaps this officer, extremely estimable in other respects, was not possessed of sufficient address or mistrust of the character

racter of Ali Pacha to obviate capacious questions, or to answer them conformably to the interests of his government. Let this be as it may, Ali Pacha acquired the conviction that Corfu was unable to make a long defence, and that France was not in a situation to succour the troops she had there. From that time his resolution was formed, and he was under no further apprehensions of throwing off the mask. He caused the Adjutant General Rose to be arrested, loaded him with irons, and had him conveyed to Constantinople, where this officer did of the ill-treatment he had experienced. To the Porte Ali enhanced the great service he had rendered by arresting, as he represented the affair, a spy who had obtained access to Joannina. However, in order to retain at all times the means of obviating the ill consequences of such conduct, in case he should hereafter stand in need of the French government, he caused it to be reported in his dominions that this arrest was no other than a reprisal for the seizure of an imaginary vessel richly laden for his account, of which the said General Chabot had deprived him. At a later period he sustained this untruth, and even had sufficient address to cause it to be believed by M. Pouqueville, the Consul General sent to him by the Emperor Napoleon.

“ Soon after this violation of the rights of nations, he attacked and took Prevesa, as we shall have occasion to notice. The subsequent siege and capture of Corfu also gave him possession of Vonitza, Gomenitza, and Bucintró. He willingly would have had St. Maura and Parga, but he was not sufficiently strong for such an enterprise. The treaty of 25th March, 1800, placed the

above four towns under his oppressive protection; the fifth ought likewise to have experienced the same fate, and he did not fail to claim it on several occasions. But the courageous opposition of the brave inhabitants of Parga prevailed, and hitherto he has never been able to gain entrance into their town.

“ Previous to his obtaining a powerful establishment in Albania he had sought the protection of Russia, as we have already pointed out; but as soon as he had secured to himself the government of Joannina, and had extended his dominions, he neglected his relations with the above power, whose protection would have become dangerous to him if he had aided its establishment in his own vicinity. As long as he saw the Russians in the Seven Islands, he was jealous and hated them. His conduct towards them in this particular has always been constant, and the motives of his actions are only to be found in his own interests, or originate in his ambition. The clauses of the treaty of 25th March had placed the Ionian republic under the joint protection of Russia and Turkey, and the Russian forces, in fact, soon afterwards retired. In these two circumstances Ali conceived the possibility of seizing on Corfu and St. Maura, situated opposite to his own dominions, the possession of which would have consolidated his power on the neighbouring continent. It was he who, under pretext of sustaining the pretensions of the nobility, excited the first commotions which broke out in the islands, with an intention of availing himself of them. He therefore took this opportunity to represent to the Porte that the only means of restoring tranquillity would be

be to allow him to garrison Corfu, Parga, and St. Maura.

His representations and his gold nearly prevailed at Constantinople over the opposition of the Ionian senate, and he was on the point of obtaining the order he solicited. The Russian agents, however, who on their side had favoured the popular party, prevented him; and at their instigation the senate threw themselves into the arms of Russia; and, fortunately for the Seven Islands, the troops of the latter power arrived and established themselves there. This measure, which overturned all his projects, did not fail to increase his jealousy against the Russians, and from that moment he directed his thoughts to the means of securing the protection of another power. He long hesitated between France and England, but the first was then too far removed from him; and the First Consul, with whom he had already been under relations, was, besides, too much occupied for him to rely on an efficacious protection. The presence of a British squadron, which had approached Corfu, and held the Ionian republic under maritime control, enabled Ali to fix his resolves. He succeeded in establishing a correspondence with the British Admiral, and afterwards extended his relations, and even prevailed in having the Consul belonging to the Morea deputed to confer with him at Joannina. It was at that time pretended that he had concluded a secret convention with the British government, but no official document has transpired to prove the fact. All these measures were reduced to attempts and negotiations, which the exaggeration of his pretensions, and the political situation under which England stood with

regard to Russia and Turkey, rendered inadmissible.

Whilst his future projects, and a wish to consolidate his power, as well as to figure among the powers of Europe, made him follow up these various intrigues and negotiations, which at each moment changed aspect without their object being in any way altered, his ambition, always restless and on the alert, did not suffer him to lose sight of his own aggrandizement, or the means of amassing fresh riches. The influence he was anxious to retain with the Divan, the agents he kept up in all the neighbouring provinces, and those he employed in the interior police of his country, cost him considerable sums, and these he was desirous to replace. The expences he was under at Constantinople ought to have diminished in proportion to the increase of his power; not only because a weak government like that of the Ottomans is under the necessity of temporizing with its powerful vassals, but because by multiplying the offices of which it could dispose it increased the number of its own creatures. These two considerations engaged him to avail himself of the favourable opinion of the Divan, which he had acquired by his conduct since the year 1799, and particularly through the manner in which he had caused his operations to be viewed.

In conformity to his endeavours, he next obtained the office of Roumeli Valachi, which, united to that of Dervendgi Pacha, placed him in a situation to raise his power to that height on which it now stands. In fact the latter office, by entrusting to his care the superintendence of the police of the highroads, placed in his hands the interior

rior police of the provinces, which could only be exercised by agents entirely subservient to his influence. The first office, which corresponds with that of military governor-general of all Roumelia, that is, with the exception of the districts of Constantinople, Bosnia, and Servia, of all the rest of European Turkey, gave him the supreme authority over all the governors of the various provinces. He well knew how to improve the tenure of both commands to his own advantage. Compelled by the duties of his office to visit the provinces under his jurisdiction, he did not fail to comply with an obligation which brought him in immense treasures. It was at this time that he pillaged the city of Monastir, and carried away for his own account nineteen waggons laden with gold, silver, and other valuable effects. Being charged to collect into the imperial treasury the arrears of contributions, as well in money as in kind, he increased them in the proportion of from three to five. The terror his name inspired forced the inhabitants of the provinces on which the same had been imposed, to pay without delay, and the surplus of two-fifths remained to himself for his expences of collection. On this occasion, besides money and other articles, 20,000 sheep were added to his other numerous flocks. In a word, his exactions then wrested from the provinces are estimated at 10,000,000 of piastres, or 20,000,000 of francs, and this calculation is by no means exaggerated. Yet this was not the only advantage he derived by the offices he had solicited and obtained. They left at his disposal all the districts of Macedonia, and of the Sandgiak of Negropont,

which hitherto he had not been able to control, but of which a descriptive outline has been given in a preceding chapter.

“ The victory of Austerlitz, and the peace of Presburg, recalled his attention towards France. The union of Dalmatia and Venetian Albania to the kingdom of Italy, and the presence of a French army, which guarded these countries and occupied Ragusa, brought him almost in contact with a power with which he had already twice entered into negociations, though the first time without success. He considered, and with just reason, that in politics the remembrance of the past ought always to disappear before present interests; and that an infraction, and even an anterior offence, must be forgotten, when compared to the advantage a new connection with him might offer. France was then in a state of hostility with Russia, who had just seized on Cattaro; and the means of creating inquietude to the latter power in the Seven Islands could not fail to be agreeable to the first. Such was his calculation; and he was not deceived. He secretly sent agents to the Emperor Napoleon, soliciting that a resident consul might be sent near him, through the medium of whom he might be able more easily to correspond with the French government. His request was granted; and soon afterwards M. Bessieres, who had formerly been his prisoner, proceeded to Joannina, accompanied by M. Pouqueville, who, after passing some days in the capacity of a simple traveller, obtained a special audience; after which he assumed the character of consul-general, resident at Joannina, and not at Arta
or

or Prevesa, like his predecessors, who, besides, had held no other than the title of simple consuls.

"At this time the credit of Ali increased still more at Constantinople, through the open protection he enjoyed from the French government. Of this he availed himself without loss of time, and obtained for his eldest son, Mouktar, the Sandgiak of Lepanto; and for his younger son, Veli, that of the Morea. This unequal distribution was founded on the rank they held in his opinion and affection with regard to their respective characters.

"The war which then broke out between Turkey and Russia placed Ali Pacha in a state of open hostilities with the Seven Islands. This event again awakened in him his old anxiety to obtain possession of these islands, or at least of those which were within his reach; and might secure to him the means of subjecting the clans situated on the coast, whom hitherto he had been unable to reduce, and thus affiance his sway on that part of the continent. He pressed the French consul-general in the most urgent manner to induce his government to send him officers, cannoniers, vessels, and more especially pieces of artillery, as well as military stores, of which he stood in need. He engaged to push the war vigorously against the Russians who were in the Seven Islands, and to prevent them, by that means, not only from troubling the French army in Dalmatia, but also to defend or succour Cattaro. It was only at the commencement of 1807 that he was enabled to obtain what he desired. At this period 30 artillerymen, several officers, one gun-boat, one corvette, and ordnance and

military stores were sent to him from Italy and the kingdom of Naples. He availed himself of this succour to his own advantage. At the same time that he undertook by land the siege of St. Maura, of which he was anxious to acquire possession, and considered the conquest as by no means difficult, he caused the forts and batteries existing in the interior of his states to be repaired and armed. At the entrance of the road of Porto Palermo he established a fort, which perfectly defends it; and did the same at Prevesa; and in the city of Joannina he fortified the second citadel of Lатарitza.

"Notwithstanding his attention was divided, in consequence of the conduct of the Tziamides, Faramithians, and Acarnanians, secret allies of the Ionians and Russians, the siege of St. Maura was pushed with vigour. The explosion of a powder magazine having dismantled one of the forts, a landing point was thereby left uncovered, but the construction of a sufficient number of flat-bottomed boats was pressed with activity; indeed every thing was ready for the arrival of a corps of 10,000 Albanians, when the peace of Tilsit caused hostilities to cease. Ali Pacha wished them still to continue, but the French officers formally refused to consent, and deprived of the aid of their artillerymen, he was compelled to abandon his design. He then changed his line of conduct, and hastened to conclude an armistice with General Szeuer, who commanded at St. Maura.

"During this time, however, he did not lose sight of his political negotiations. Desirous to derive the greatest possible advantage from the situation in which he stood with regard

regard to France, he conceived it necessary to have an agent near the Emperor Napoleon, through whose means he might correspond without the intervention of the minister of foreign affairs, which appeared to him too long. As soon as he heard the news of the total invasion of Prussia and of the entry of the French armies into Poland, he despatched to the Imperial headquarters his confidential secretary and a member of his Divan, whom at his own court he decorated with the title of ambassador. This minister, whose Turkish name is Mollah Mehemet Effendi, was an Italian and a new convert to the Mussulman faith. Formerly sent to Malta by the Inquisition of Rome, in this island he exercised the functions of Father Inquisitor, at the time the French took possession of it. He was a very good master of the Oriental languages, and being of an intriguing character, he willingly accepted the proposition of the General in Chief, Buonaparte, who attached him to his headquarters in quality of interpreter. Some time after the battle of Aboukir, having obtained permission to return to Europe, he embarked at Alexandria with some scavants who had accompanied the expedition, and was taken at sea by a Dolcignot privateer, called Orucz, who made a present of him to Ali Pacha. Soon after his arrival at Joannina, he changed his religion: and after remaining some years in a state of obscurity, obtained the good graces of Ali, who made him his secretary, gave him a place in his Divan, and in consequence of the employment he had once held near Napoleon, he preferably made choice of him to send him on the above mission to the army. In conformity to the

instructions of his master, Mehemet Effendi used all possible exertions with the Emperor of the French, in order to obtain a promise that when peace was carried into effect, at least Parga and St. Maura should be delivered over to Ali Pacha. These solicitations having failed of success, Mehemet intrigued at Tilsit with the French and Russian plenipotentiaries, in order to have the interests of his master taken into consideration; but the integrity of the Ionian republic being one of the bases of the negotiations resolved on, his object was defeated. On his return to the court of Ali, the ill success of his mission brought upon him the momentary displeasure of his employer.

“As soon as Ali beheld the Ionian Islands occupied by French troops, having lost all hopes of aggrandizing himself in that quarter, France in his eyes no longer held the rank of a favourite power, since she was of no further utility in the promotion of his interests. Shortly the same hatred and jealousy which for the preceding years he had entertained against Russia were transferred to her. He did not, however, manifest his rankled feelings in an avowed and formal manner. He had already once succeeded by surprising the good faith of a French general, in obtaining possession of the Greek towns of the coast, and hereafter he hoped to obtain his object by some similar artifice, and eventually seize upon Parga. He sent to Corfu, immediately after the arrival of General Cesar. Berthier there, another member of his Divan, Mehemet, the Sheik-Islam (or chief of the religion) of Joannina, together with a secretary originally belonging to Corfu, named Psalidi. These two agents

agents were charged to claim the town and territory of Parga, which, according to them, in conformity to the treaty of 25th March, 1800, ought to be surrendered up to Ali Pacha. Fortunately their object had been anticipated, and the observations of the Ionian senate as well as of several persons near the General, and particularly the profound hatred the Parga deputation manifested against Ali, produced the proper impressions. 'If it accords with the interests of the French empire,' said these deputies, 'that the small surface of land on which our country is situated should be delivered over to the Turks, let at least a rock be granted to us on which we may preserve our liberty and independence, far from the tyrant who has butchered our neighbours and brethren.' The agents of Ali Pacha

were consequently dismissed without having obtained any thing.

"After this, Ali acted without any further consideration or regard; and not only obstructed by every means in his power, the provisioning of Corfu, but also again entered into communications with England. He received British vessels at Prevesa, and obtained that an accredited agent should be sent out to him. His position had changed. France, in possession of the Seven Islands, had become his enemy, because she was a powerful obstacle to his views and ambitious projects; whilst England, in a state of warfare both against France and the Ionian republic, seemed more adapted to contribute to his future security and accession of power; and this alone was sufficient to fix his choice."

DESCRIPTION OF THE IONIAN ISLANDS.

[From the same.]

"THE islands constituting the Ionian republic, and holding a right to concur in the formation of the senate, are seven, viz. Corfu, the principal one, as well owing to its situation and strength, as because of its being the seat of government; Paxó, St. Maura, Thiaki, Cephalonia, Zante, and Cérigo. Cephalonia, from its extent, has always sought a separation, and for several years past has been the seat of a government distinct from the republic, and corresponding to the island which no longer depended

upon Corfu. The town of Parga, situated on the main land, also belongs to the Ionian republic, as well as several other islands and rocks in great measure uninhabited, which will be briefly described in the course of the present chapter.

"Corfu, the chief of the Seven Islands, anciently called *Corcyra*, and which in all ages has been celebrated for its maritime strength, is situated between 39° 50' and 39° 20' of N. latitude, and 17° 30' and 17° 18' E. longitude from the meridian of Paris. It nearly stretches from

from N. W. to S. E. to a length of about thirty-five miles, opposite to the coast of Southern Albania, from which it is separated by a channel only two miles wide at Cape Karagol, and six miles at its issue, between Gomenitza and Point Lefchimo. The city of Corfu, whose population amounts to about 15,000 souls, and which in former times was also called *Corcyra*, is situated on a promontory projecting into the sea, and descends in the form of an amphitheatre, on the northern slope of the same promontory, and at the foot the port opens. This city is neither large nor well built, but it is extremely strong, and mounted with a great number of guns. Properly speaking it has two citadels; the one corresponding to the government-house, separated from the city by an esplanade; and the other called the fort which stands to the W. of the city and the port.

"The weak side of the town was formerly that part which faces to the S. towards the mills standing in that quarter, but at present this front is as susceptible of a good defence as any other. The port is rather small, and will not admit large men of war; but the road is so secure that it may be considered in the light of an extremely good harbour, with an excellent anchorage.

"In front of Corfu, at the distance of about a mile, is the island of Vido, formerly called *Ptichia*, where the Lazaretto is kept. This island is likewise fortified with a triple range of batteries, which have converted it into an extremely strong bulwark, and which at the same time perfectly defend the road and port of Corfu.

"To the N. of Corfu, and at the bottom of the great road formed by the promontory on which the town

is situated and Cape Karagol, is a tolerably deep bay with a narrow entrance, called Port Guvine. This road, which in 1799 contained the Russian and Turkish squadrons, and is capable of receiving and sheltering a considerable number of large ships, is also now fortified and defended in its internal extent, as well as at the entrance, by well armed forts and batteries. No place in the Seven Islands is to be found so suitable as this for the establishment of a naval building yard; indeed for this purpose it seems peculiarly well adapted. The greatest part of the necessary materials can be easily brought there, and at a small expense. We have already shown that one of the branches of commerce carried on between Albania and Western Europe was ship-timber, which in great measure went to Venice and Marseilles. This commerce may now be re-established with the greatest ease, since the channels of supply are at most only 50 miles distant from Corfu. But even when sufficient timber could not be obtained there, Northern Albania furnishes great abundance, and extremely fine. The ports of Durazzo and Alessio, which are only 50 or 60 leagues from Corfu, were, under Louis XVI., formed into entrepôts of a similar nature for the use of the French navy; and these might easily be re-established with a people who would gladly hail the opening of a branch of trade which has been lost to them for more than a century. Durazzo, and the harbour situated near Fort Souruh, at the mouth of the river of Kavalia, would serve for the loading of all the timber furnished by the mountains between Elbassan and Kroja. The port of Alessio, and that corresponding to the mouth of the Bajana,

jana, would serve as a depôt for the timber brought down from the mountains of Upper Albania, and this is at the same time the best in quality, and the most abundant. The Drino is navigable for large rafts to a distance up of more than 30 hours; and in this space it flows through magnificent forests, whose timber would only have to slide into the bed of the river. The same may also be said of Moraccia, above Lake Shiabak and the town of Pogorizza. The Author, who has travelled through this part of the country, speaks only of what he has himself seen. From the above exposition it is therefore easy to conclude that the building yards of Corfu might be supplied with abundance of valuable ship-timber. The hemp necessary for cordage and sails, and of which the towns of Bologna and Ferrara in Italy are capable of supplying a large quantity, might also be obtained at the port of Alessio, and brought down from the vicinity of Skutari.

"The gulf of Corfu is terminated to the N. by Cape Karagol, anciently called *Posodium*, and which is opposite, and only two miles distant from, the point of Bucintró. In the middle of this channel is an isolated rock. In 1798 it was proposed to establish a redoubt on the point of Bucintró, a strong closed battery on the above rock, and another similar one on Cape Karagol. In this manner the channel of Corfu, being shut in, would have been converted into a kind of road, where an enemy's squadron would have been exposed to great dangers, owing to the calms which so frequently reign there. At present, however, as Bucintró is under the power of Ali Pacha, this measure is no longer practicable. To the N. of Cape Karagol, and at four miles distance, is another pro-

montory. It is here that the channel ends, and we immediately enter into the gulf of Kassopo, or Agioi-Saranda. The whole of this coast is extremely steep and rugged, and affords no landing point, nor indeed any safe anchorage. After passing the above point, the coast stretches to the N. W., bounded by rocks and small islands, for the space of six miles, as far as Kassopo, a village situated at the bottom of a bay, which forms a small but convenient port. After leaving this bay, and on a promontory which terminates it to the N., we see the ruins of the ancient city of Cassiope, of which the castle is still in tolerable preservation. To the S. of Cassiope formerly stood the temple of Jupiter Cassius, on the summit of a mountain still called Mount Kassopo. At present, on the highest summit of this mountain, in the same place, and in the exact direction from Corfu to Kassopo, we see the ruins of a tower which once served as a semograph. From this point it was possible, with the greatest ease, to observe the vessels entering into the gulf of Otranto, and to give advice of them at Corfu; and thence also the city of Otranto, Cape Leuca, and Cape Lenguellia, may be descried.

"After passing Kassopo, the coast, uniformly steep and rugged, ranges in the same direction for the space of eight or ten miles as far as Cape Sidero, formerly called *l'hallarum*, and which forms the northern extremity of the island. Between Kassopo and Cape Sidero is the village of Katrini, seated at the mouth of a rivulet forming a tolerably deep port. To the N. W. of Cape Sidero, in the direction of Otranto, and at the distance of 10 or 12 miles, is the small island, or rather

rather rock, of Fanó, formerly *Othanus*, *Uphanus*, or *Calypsus*. The author of the *Adventures of Telemachus* would find it very difficult to accommodate his pompous description of the charming island of Calypso to this spot. It is nothing but a barren rock, susceptible of no cultivation, and only inhabited by a few fishermen. Fanó is nevertheless extremely important. This rock, which affords good anchorage, is the best possible military station to observe the navigation of the Adriatic sea. Not a sail can pass by, however near to one shore or the other, without being noticed from Fanó. It had been proposed to establish a fort there, in order to secure the navigation from Otranto to Corfu. To the E. of Fanó is another large rock, uninhabited, called Malnara, and formerly known by the name of *Malthace*; and between the latter and Cape Sidero is another smaller one, named Gravia.

" After passing Cape Sidero the coast ranges to the S. for the distance of 18 miles, and as far as Cape St. Angelo, anciently *Amphiphegus*. At the bottom of a small road to the S. of the cape stands the village of St. Angelo, where anchorage is to be found, though not very secure, owing to an extensive bed of shoals. The coast situated between the two capes is steep, and almost inaccessible. To the W. of Cape St. Angelo are two long rocks surrounded by dangerous ledges under water. These rocks are called the Samandraki, and in former times *Ericusæ*. From St. Angelo the coast turns to the S. E. during a space of 15 miles, and as far as Cape Gardiki, and from thence it again changes to the E. S. E. for about the same distance, and till we arrive at Cape Bianco, formerly named *Leucimna*. To the

S. E. of Cape Gardiki is a tolerably deep bay, where we find the village of the same name; and this, together with the port of St. Angelo, are the only two anchoring-grounds by which access can be had to this part of the island. To the S. of Gardiki are three rocks called Lagudia. From Cape Bianco the coast extends for about six miles in a northern direction, forming a species of inward bend as far as the point of Lefkimo, in front of Gomeniza, and which terminates to the S. the channel of Corfu. Between these two points is the village of Lefchimo, or rather Lefkimo, formerly *Leucimna*. Lefkimo in vulgar Greek is the pronunciation of the word *Λεύκιμος*. After passing Point Lefkimo the coast turns a little to the W. for the extent of about six miles, and as far as Point Dragotino, which closes to the N. a tolerably deep bay. At the bottom of this bay is the village of the same name, near which salt-works are established.

" The promontory on which the town of Corfu is situated, and of which it occupies one of the points, projects for some distance to the S. E., and as far as opposite to the village of St. Trinitá. Between this village and the cape is a tolerably deep bay, at the bottom of which flows a rivulet. This bay corresponds to the ancient *Alcinus' Portus* where Ulysses landed after his shipwreck, and where he met with the Princess of the Phæacians, daughter to Alcinous. From the southern shore of this bay, as far as Cape Bianco, the coast is very much obstructed by shoals stretching in the whole of that distance. The island of Corfu is in general unproductive in grain and cattle, and affords very little wood. The canton of Cassopo produces

produces a small quantity of wheat along the coast, but olive-yards and vines are equally found there. The upper part of Mount Kassopo, however, as well as the whole of the southern declivity, are barren. The canton of Lakonos is the least productive; that of Lefkimo, besides having salt-works, produces olives, vines, and a small quantity of wheat. From this exposition it will appear that the productions of Corfu are confined to wine, oil, and salt, and consequently this island is under the necessity of seeking its own subsistence by means of a foreign trade.

“Paxó, formerly *Paxus*, situated seven or eight miles to the S. E. of Cape Bianco, is an island of about 18 or 20 miles in circumference. Opposite to Parga is a tolerably deep bay, which serves as a port to the small town of Paxó, containing about 4000 inhabitants, and the only remarkable place in the whole island which only produces wine and oil, reputed to be the best of all Ionia. Many of the inhabitants of Prevesa, and some Souliots, have taken refuge in Paxó, and increased the population. Between Paxó and Cape Bianco is a desert rock; and to the S. E. of the island is another, called Anti-Paxó, inhabited by a few fishermen.

“St. Maura, anciently called *Leucadia*, and in more remote times *Nerytas*, is an island of about 50 miles in circumference, situated opposite to the point of Acarnania, from which it is separated by a narrow and shallow channel, and to the S. of the mouth of the gulf of Arta. St. Maura on one side, and Paxó on the other, form the gulf of Prevesa. A remarkable peculiarity of the gulf of Arta, and also felt in that of Prevesa, and as far as beyond Paxó, is

the regular course of the winds. Daily, soon after the sun rises, an easterly breeze commences, and lasts till noon, and at three in the afternoon it is succeeded by a westerly wind, which continues till night. The same direction is also observable in the current of the channel of Prevesa. This alternation is regular, and it requires a strong gale or storm excited in the high seas to interrupt it. The island of St. Maura was formerly joined to the continent in that part now called the beach of Playa, and it was the Italians who separated it, but the precise period is not known. The fortress of St. Maura, formerly called *Leucas*, is to the N. of the island, at the extremity of a very narrow strip of land embracing the port, and separating it from the town, to which it is nevertheless again joined by an aqueduct in the form of a bridge. This fortress constitutes a good defence. The population of the town of St. Maura is estimated at 6000 persons. The island on the land side can only be attacked through Playa, where the channel is only 300 toises wide, about 80 of which only are not fordable. The Russians had raised works opposite to this beach, one of which, called *Fort Alexander*, was dismantled in 1807 by the explosion of a shell fired from the continent, which caused a powder-magazine to blow up.

“At the southern extremity of the island, and about 25 miles S. W. of St. Maura, is Cape Dukato, anciently called *Leucas*. It was on the extreme point of this promontory and on a steep and threatening rock, that the celebrated temple of *Leucadia* once stood, where unhappy lovers came to cure themselves of a fruitless passion, and the spot on which Sappho met with the end of

of her life as well as the close of her misfortunes. This formidable promontory is still venerated by the Ionians, nor does any navigator now venture to pass it, without throwing into the sea a piece of money as an expiatory offering. From this cape to the northern point of Cephalonia, the distance is only four miles. Here commences the use of the boats or canoes made out of the single trunk of a tree, and, for that reason, called by the Ionians monoxilon. This small vehicle is extremely convenient for the interior navigation of these seas; and by this means the cruising of an enemy's squadron has never been able to prevent the communication of the islands with each other. The principal villages of St. Maura are Phrini, Kalamita, Neochoro, Dragoni, situated on Cape Dukato; Eviero, and Ellomeno, formerly *Ellomenus*, which stands at the bottom of a tolerably deep bay. The island of St. Maura is no other than a single mountain, extremely high, and not very fertile; the sides of this mountain, however, facing the sea, produce wine and olives, the only articles of growth the island affords. The island of Meganisi, an almost uninhabited rock, and formerly called *Thelebaides*, is situated along the coast of St. Maura to the S. E. from which it is separated by a narrow channel. Near the continent, and to the N. E. of Drajomestre, is another insulated rock, called Kasto, and formerly *Asia*; and a little further on towards the sea is the island of Kalamo, anciently known by the name of *Taphia*, inhabited only by fishermen.

Thiaki, formerly called *Ithaca*, is an island of about 20 miles in length, stretching from N. W. to S. E. and situated at the distance of

about six miles to the S. E. of Cape Dukatis. The ancient name of *Dulichium* is also attributed to Thiaki, but it appears more probable that this appellation rather corresponds to the island of Antoliko, at a later period called Melite. The island of Thiaki in reality forms two, united by an isthmus of about a mile wide. To the N. it widens between Cape Markama, standing in front of Cephalonia, and Cape St. John, about 12 miles distant from each other. The southern part, which is about five miles wide, finishes at another Cape St. John, opposite to the mouth of the Achelous. In this southern part is the village of Oxoi, situated on a mountain. In the Northern part, on another mountain, is the village of Anoi, formerly *Nerius*. These two portions of the island are separated by a bay five miles deep and two wide, and in the eastern part of the same bay are two ports. The one, called Skinon, is placed near the entrance; and the other, which is that of Vathy, has a narrow mouth, but is afterwards almost two miles deep. At the bottom of this port is the small town of Vathy, containing about 3000 inhabitants, and occupying the ground of the ancient Ithaca, the capital as well as the residence of the wise Ulysses, Penelope, and Telemachus. The ruins called Paleo-Kastro, seen to the S. E. of Vathy, must have belonged to Ithaca or the ancient palace of Ulysses. Vathy is the native place of Senetor Zaró, one of the most distinguished magistrates of Ionia, as well for the goodness of his character as for his learning. Tradition makes him descend from Ulysses, the counsellor of Agamemnon and the friend of Nestor; and of such an honour he is in every

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respect

respect deserving. There are still two other ports in the island of Thiaki: the one called Aitto to the E. is situated below Oxoi, and the other named Pagli, opens below Anoi. This island is not deemed fertile; there are, however, a few scattered plots of wood near Anoi, Oxoi, and port Skinon. To the E. of Thiaki, and exactly in the same direction from Vathy, is an island about three miles long, inhabited by fishermen, and called Jotako. This island, by some geographers mistaken for Ithaca, was anciently known by the name of *Prote*.

"Cephalonia, anciently *Cephalemia*, the second in rank of the Seven Islands, is the first in point of size. It is 100 miles in circumference from cape to cape, and nearly 150 in following the direction of the coast. This island is situated four or five miles to the S. of Cape Dukato, belonging to St. Maura, 10 from Cape Papas, 8 from Cape Tornese, and 6 from Zante. To the N. of the island, in the canton of Erizzo, is Cape Viskardo, and to the S. E. of this cape is the port of the same name, at the bottom of which are seen ruins, but it is not known to what ancient city they can be attributed. In the channel of Thiaki is the rock of Didas-Kala, formerly *Asteris*. The villages of this canton are, Vasilikates towards the N.; Kamitato, on the eastern coast; Lagorata to the S.; and on the western coast Asso, situated at the bottom of a bay, at the extremity of which, on a small peninsula, has been built the fort of this name, near the ruins of the ancient *Nisus*. On the western coast, and to the S. of Asso, is the canton of Tinea, the villages of which are Tinea, seated on the sea-shore at five miles distance from Asso; and Gnifi, three miles inland.

One of the western points of Cephalonia is Cape Giria, in the canton of Anoi; and the village of Asteris stands five miles to the E. at the bottom of a port, anciently called *Prasas*. To the S. of Capelgiria is Cape Sidero, in the canton of Katoi, the last point stretching to the W., and near is the village of Tafio. The canton of Livadi extends round a bay eight miles deep and two wide at the entrance, and near the western point of this entrance are the rocks called Guardiani, and formerly known by the name of *Letina*. From these rocks, as far as Cape Sidero, shoals are to be met with. On the western side of the bay, and at three miles from its entrance, is the small town of Lexuri, formerly *Palla*; and to the N. W. inland is Kuralata. Opposite and at some distance from the eastern side is also Dangata. In front of Lexuri the bay opens into a branch running to the S. S. E. for three miles, and on the peninsula formed by this branch is the small town of Argostoli, the most considerable one of the island, although it does not contain more than 5000 souls. This place was anciently known by the name of *Crauii*.

"In the centre of the island is the canton of Potamiana, and in this district eight miles N. E. of Argostoli is the small town called Borgo, which has replaced the ancient Cephalenia; and to the S. is Pesada. To the N. W. Dilinata and Kardakata also belong to the same canton. To the S. of Argostoli is the canton of Lirato, containing the villages of Minicz to the S. of the island; Metacata, more to the N. E.; and Vescovato, situated inland. The coast bordering on this canton is full of ledges of rocks. To the E. is the canton of Ikongnia, extending

as far as Cape Korogra, in front of Cape Tornese. Its villages are, Vlakata, to the N. W.; Katoleo, above Cape Korogra, and Morcopulato, standing a little higher up. The church of Madonna di Malle, built on the Black Mountain (Mavrovouno), and formerly called *Cēnus*, stands in the place of the temple of Jupiter *Cēnius*. On the eastern and southern declivity of this mountain is a forest 15 or 16 miles in circumference; a few thickets are also found in the island near Dulinata, Kavalata, Aterra, Daugata, Paleochori, and the town of Cephalonia.

"Between Capes Korogra and Kapro and opposite to Cape Papas is the canton of Skala, only containing the village of this name, and situated on an elevation two miles distant from Cape Skala, where stand the ruins belonging to the ancient *Cēnus*. At the point of Capes Korogra and Kapro some shoals are noticed. To the N. W. of Cape Kapro and at the foot of the Black Mountain is the canton of Pirie, in which is the village of Vlachochori; and to the S. E. port Poro opens where formerly the city of *Pronii* stood. To the N. of the canton of Pirie is the Cape of Alessandria. Between this cape and point Pilaro is the bay called the Valle of Alessandria, owing to the shoals which are there met with. On the eastern side of this bay is situated the canton of Samo, to which the village of Paleochori belongs, standing to the S. E.; and in the bottom of the bay are the ruins of the ancient *Samæ* or *Same*. On the eastern side also is the canton of Pilaro. The village of this name stands to the N. W., near the port of the same name, and otherwise called the port of St. Euphemia. The village of Makriotica also stands to

the S. W. The island of Cephalonia is not very abundant in wheat, though it produces more than the others; but it is fertile in good wines and excellent fruits, particularly melons of a very superior quality.

"Zante, formerly *Zacynthus*, is an island of about twelve miles in length, and 30 in circumference. Cape Skinari, situated to the N. is six miles S. E. of the island of Cephalonia; and Cape Vassiliko is 10 miles S. W. of Cape Tornese. The city of Zante, anciently also called *Zacynthus*, and having a population of 16,000 souls, is built in a line along the eastern side of the island, a little to the S. of Cape Krio-Neró (fresh water) 12 miles distant, and nearly W. from Cape Tornese, at the bottom of a small bay formed by Cape Krio-Neró and the point of the Madonna di Skopo. The fort stands to the N. W. of the town, at the extremity of a commanding hill. The port is in fact no other than a road, containing about three miles in the opening and four in its whole external extent, but it is tolerably secure. At the point of Cape Krio-Neró, as well as that of Madonna di Skopo, are ledges of rocks easily avoided. To the N. of the island, near Cape Skinari, is the village of Katestare, near which are small salt works. To the S. W. is the village of Anafonitra, near a small port called Della Nata. To the W. of the island, and near to the coast, is the rock of Vromeri, which has a small creek and anchoring-ground. Entirely to the S. of the island is the village of Chieri; and to the N. a little inland, is that of Lithakia. These two villages are near a road called port Chieri, formed by the small island of Marathonisi and two small rocks, one to the N. and the other

to the S. W. To the W. of Lithakia is the village of Agala, near to an inlet: From the harbour of Chieri the coast ranges to the E. as far as Cape Vasiliko, and opposite to this part of the coast is the small island of Peloso. On the other side of Cape Vasiliko is another harbour, not very deep, and formed by the latter cape and the point of Madonna di Scopio, and in this harbour is a small island near to the shore. In ancient times the island of Zante also contained the city of Arcadia, which appears to have been situated where the church of Madonna di Skopo now stands, and called Pannagia tis Skopis. In the centre of the island on the only rivulet it contains, and which discharges itself into the sea near the city, is the village of Melinado. The plain extending from Melinado and Zante, as far as Lithakia, is tolerably well cultivated, but the remainder of the island is not so much so. The chief productions of the island are wine, olives, and fruits.

" In front of the gulf of Arcadia are the small islands of Strivali, or anciently *Strophadæ*. The largest of them contains a monastery dedicated to the Redeemer. The smallest is nothing but a rock, and the other two form a species of harbour for small craft.

" Cerigo, formerly *Cythera*, the last of the Seven Ionian Islands, is situated five miles S. of the island of Servi, and 14 E. S. E. of Cape Malio. It is 17 miles long from N. W. to S. E., 10 miles wide, and about 45 in circumference. The most northern point is Cape Spati, formerly called *Platanistus*, and on its extremity stands a chapel. To the S. W. opposite to another point is a rock known by the name of the island of Plataos. Three miles to

the S. near to a small port is the church of St. Nicholas di Mudari, standing near a torrent. At four miles distance to the S. we find Cape Liado, opposite to which are three small islands called Deer Islands (*Elapbonisia*). From thence to Cape Trochilo, one of the southern points of the island, the distance is six miles S. E. The other southern point, situated four miles E. of the above, is called Cape Kapello; and between these two points a small harbour opens, at the bottom of which, on the declivity of a mountain, is the small town of Kapsali, containing about 4600 souls, which has succeeded to the ancient *Cythera*. The fort is to the S. W. on the seashore, and at the mouth of a torrent. Four miles N. of Kapsali, and near the sources of the above torrent, is the village of Potamos, formerly *Scandæa*. Between this village and Kapsali we discover the ruins of the temple of Venus Cytherea. In front of the harbour, and at three miles distance, is the insulated rock called Avgó, or the Egg; and opposite to Cape Trochilo is another similar rock. To the S. E. of Cape Kapello, and at two miles distance, are the two rocks called Kuphonisia, or the Baskets. After passing the latter cape, the coast stretches to the N. for the space of about five miles, and afterwards turns to the E. for about two miles more. This bend forms a kind of harbour, called port St. Nicholas or Avlemona. To the N. of this harbour is a fort called Paleo-Kastro, near to an inlet; and this fort occupies the ground of the *Mentis arbs* and *portus* of the ancients. Not far from thence are the rocks called Dragonero. After passing point Avlemona, the coast irregularly ranges to the N. W. as far as Cape Spati,

Spati, and is steep and rugged, and in this quarter to the N. of Paleo-Kastro, are the rocks of Sidero. The island of Cerigo is barren and little cultivated, and consequently is in want of wood as well as all kinds of provisions.

" Since Prevesa no longer belongs to the Seven Islands, and consequently since the navigation and egress of the gulf of Arta has become entirely free to Ali Pacha, the island of St. Maura has acquired an importance it did not before possess. It is at present a station absolutely necessary to observe his movements in this quarter, and to cover and defend, in case of war or the dread of hostilities on his part, the interior navigation of the islands. As long as the station of St. Maura is occupied, and a cruising post established between this island and Paxó, it is impossible for any armed vessel to come out of the channel of Prevesa. This channel, besides, is not very deep, and even a corvette of 20 guns cannot pass through it, unless it is in ballast, and with her cannons taken out. Indeed, the smallest obstacles prevent a manœuvre of this kind.

" The islands of Zante and Cephalonia possess the same advantages of position with regard to the gulfs of Patras and Lepanto. From the Curzolari Islands and port Petala, as far as the castle of Roumeli, situated at the entrance of the Dardanelles, a line of shoals stretches along, occupying one half of the gulf of Patras, and compels vessels going in or out to steer near Capes Kapro and Papas. They are unable to reach the high sea, unless by passing either between Cephalonia and St. Maura, between Cephalonia and Thiaki, or between Cephalonia and the Morea in front of Zante,

and even approaching Cape Korogri, owing to a hidden ledge of rocks situated two or three miles to the W. of Cape Tornese. It is consequently impossible for them to escape the vigilance of one of the stations established at port Viskardo, at Zante, or Vathy.

" The island of Cerigo, which produces little or nothing, had only been preserved by the Venetians as a place of convenience for their vessels to touch at, and as a kind of vidette with regard to their Candia trade, which they carried on with activity, as well as of the navigation of the gulfs of Napoli and Egina, and even of Salonica. It is however necessary, for the security of the communications from Zante to Cerigo, to have an intermediate touching-place, in consequence of the difficulty frequently experienced by the small Greek vessels in doubling Capes Gallo and Matapan. This was the reason that made the Venetians so tenacious in retaining Modon and Coron, and led them to make such great sacrifices in order to retake Navarin. The latter port, whose configuration is found annexed to the map which accompanies these Memoirs, is much more useful and advantageous than the two others, as well by its size as the goodness of its anchorage. It is, indeed, true that it possesses no easy communications by land with the remainder of the Morea, but in the light of a naval station it affords all the advantages that could be desired.

" In conformity with the returns presented to the French Governor-General in 1807, the total population of the Septinsular Republic at that period amounted to a little more than 200,000 souls, distributed in the following proportions.

Corfu,

Corfu, 60,000; Cephalonia, 60,000; Zante, 40,000; St. Maura, 20,000; Cerigo, 10,000, Thiski, 8,000; and Paxò 8,000. From the above period no emigrations have taken place from the continent, which might have added to the population of these islands. The town of Prevesa had

already been reduced to the lowest stage of decay; the Souliots, as well as the inhabitants of Agioi-Sarandas, were no longer on the continent; wherefore the whole of the independent population of the Epirus was at that time destroyed or driven away to the Ionian Islands.

CAIRO AND THE PYRAMIDS.

[From the Travels of Ali Bey.]

“ON Monday the 10th of November 1806, I sent notice of my arrival to the Scheik-el-Methlute, my friend, who is the second person in power in the city, because he is the Scheik-el-Mogarba, that is to say, the chief of the Mogrebins, or Western tribes.

“Immediately upon the receipt of my letter he sent it to Seid-Omar-el-Makram, the first Scheik of Cairo, who joins to his dignity the title of Nekib-el-Ascharaf, or chief of the Scherifs, and plays the part almost of an independent prince.

“In consequence, Seid Omar sent me a sufficient number of camels to convey my baggage. Scheik-el-Medluti came with several persons to meet me upon my disembarkation, and conducted me to his house, where he had prepared an apartment for me.

“I received the visits of Seid Omar, of Scheik-el-Emir, of Scheik Soliman Tayounti, of Scheik Sadat, and of several other chiefs of Cairo, who in their conversation unfolded the most ardent philanthropy. But how was I moved when I saw Mulei

Selema the brother of Mulei Soliman the Emperor of Morocco enter! His figure, his features, and his manners, recalled to my imagination those of my beloved and respectable prince Mulei Abdsulem. My heart leaped. I cried ‘Mulei Selema.’ I rose. We embraced; and for a considerable time our tears wetted each other’s countenance.

“We seated ourselves; but our hearts, too full, did not permit us to break silence for some time. At length we commenced conversation.

“Mulei Selema is older than Mulei Soliman. The succession to the throne of Morocco not being fixed by any law, when a Sultan dies all his sons take arms, and fight until one remains conqueror, as I have already observed. Mulei Selema, during a reign of some months, was twice beaten by Mulei Soliman: he therefore retired to Cairo, where he is established with his family, entirely abandoned by his brother, and lives at the expense of the Scheiks of the city.

“I knew his history thoroughly; he

he also knew mine perfectly; in consequence we discoursed freely. He thundered against Mulei Soliman, and I succeeded in softening him. I reproached him in a friendly manner for some trifling faults; and, after a long debate, which he finished by kissing my beard and shawl, he exclaimed that my words were sweeter than sugar.

"I returned the visits of the grand Scheiks, and paid one to Mehemed Ali, accompanied by Seid Omar, to the former of whom I presented the letter of the Captain Pacha; and he received me with every sort of politeness. This prince, who is very brave, is still young; he is thin, and is marked with the small pox; he has quick lively eyes, and a certain air of defiance. Although he is possessed of good sense and wit, he wants education, and is frequently embarrassed. It is then that Seid Omar, who has a remarkable influence over him, renders great services to the Pacha and the people.

"The Arnaut troops under the command of Mehemed Ali amount to 5,000 men. They are riotous and dissatisfied; but the people put up with them patiently, because they would gain nothing by the Mamelukes or the Turks; and as they are not in a state to give to themselves a national government, they bear the yoke in silence. On the other hand, Mehemed Ali, who owes his elevation to the courage of his troops, tolerates their excesses, because he does not know how to organize them, to render himself independent of them. As the grand Scheiks of Cairo enjoy more influence and power under this species of government than any other, they support the existing system with all

their means. The soldier tyrannizes; the people suffer; the great do not feel any evils; and the machine goes on as it can. The government of Constantinople has not sufficient energy to keep this country in complete submission. It has here only a sort of sovereignty, contributing very trifling subsidies, which it tries to augment every year by new stratagems. The few remaining Mamelukes are banished to Upper Egypt, where Mehemed Ali cannot extend his dominion. It is a singular circumstance in nature, that this people do not propagate by generation in Egypt; and as others are not permitted to arrive from Asia, they will ere long be completely annihilated in the country. Elfi Bey, with his body of Mamelukes, Arabs, Turks, and renegadoes, ravages the desert of Damanhour. The government of Constantinople cannot reckon upon Alexandria, which, by its geographical position, is neither Egyptian nor Turkish. This is a faithful picture of the present political situation of Egypt.

"Cairo is known by the name under the name of Masser. The Turks call it *Misr Kahira*, or *Messer the Great*. The name of Egypt is unknown by the inhabitants, who call the country *Berr-Masser*, or *Beled Masser*, the land of Masser, or the country of Masser. Upper Egypt is called *El Saaid*.

"Several Christian travellers have represented the streets of Cairo as being extremely dirty, and of a dull appearance. I can certify that I have seen few cities in Europe whose streets were cleaner. The ground is extremely soft, without stones, and appears like a watered walk. If there are some streets narrow, there is a much greater number

number broad, although all of them appear narrower than they really are, on account of the projection of the first floors over the streets, as at Alexandria, which advance so far that in some narrow streets they are only a few inches distant from the houses in front of them. Notwithstanding, this form of the streets, in a country so hot, is very agreeable.

"Far from the streets of Cairo exhibiting a dull appearance, they present as gay and agreeable a view as those of the large cities of Europe, on account of the number of shops and warehouses, and the immense multitude of people who parade them at every moment. The quarter of the Franks, or Europeans, situated in a hollow, is solitary, and separated from the great commerce, which may have given rise to this description. I do not deny that the abode of the Europeans at Cairo is disagreeable to them, shut up as they are in their quarter, and obstinately persevering in preserving the costume and manners of their country. When they go out the natives stare at them; and they walk as if they were scared. Can the Arabs be reproached for this conduct, when at London the civilized English may be seen doing the same thing, and insulting the poor stranger who may present himself in a coat two fingers longer or shorter than their own?

"It is said that the summer is very hot at Cairo; but the heat ought to be very temperate, on account of the form of the streets and houses. The roofs of the rooms have very large apertures, to produce a current of air. I found the autumn cool, and experienced even so sensible a cold, that I shivered

as much as when I was at London at the same season. I had been already forewarned of the coolness of the nights in the desert; I therefore prepared myself accordingly.

"The climate of Cairo is not so wet as that of Alexandria, for the hygrometer of Saussure marked 56°. The aspect of my house prevented me from observing the winds. The atmosphere was alternately serene and covered with clouds, as in Europe. During my stay some rain fell; but I never heard it thunder.

"There are some fine mosques in Cairo; but the greater part do not deserve to be visited. The grand mosque, El Azahar, is superb as to the extent of the edifice, but not the magnificence of its structure, or the luxury of its ornaments, for which it is distinguished by Mr. Brown. Its little columns of common marble, which are hardly a foot in diameter, with their very large capitals, are any thing but handsome, in a building of this nature. The ground, instead of being covered with superb Persia carpets, as the above traveller asserts, is covered with extremely miserable mats, very much worn, which they were occupied in changing for others of the same kind whilst I was there. Having particularly asked the Scheika, and other persons, where the carpets were which had adorned the mosque of the Azahar, they all assured me that there had never been any other sort of covering to the floor of it than that which I saw; because many poor, and beggars, are in the habit of going to sleep in the mosque, wrapped up in the mats, as I have often seen them myself; and the vermin which they leave in them are killed by means of washing them in

in water, which could not be done were there carpets. It gives me pain to contradict Brown, who is a traveller I esteem very much, on account of his bold journey to Darfour. I would gladly think and hope that his travels into the interior of Africa do not contain the same inaccuracies which he has made use of in speaking of Egypt.

"The mosque El Azabar, in the environs of which the principal Scheiks of Cairo reside, is much frequented by the Mogrebins, or people of the west, who commonly go there to pray in preference to any other. It is in this mosque that the counsellors of Kadi assemble, as also the principal learned men, to deliver their lectures, or to expound the law; for which purpose they divide themselves into several circles, each one taking its particular station, in this vast building.

"The mosque which is most frequented by the devout is named El Hazanéinn, where they worship the remains of a grandson of the Prophet. It is of the same form as the others; but it has a square chapel, surmounted with a very fine cupola. In this chapel is the head of St. Sidi, in a sarcophagus, which I imagine to be of wood, like all those of our saints. It is an object of worship, and is covered with very rich silk stuffs, embroidered in gold and silver, and surrounded with a very handsome railing of brass and silver, which is surmounted with small cupolas or chimblees.

"Another mosque, which is the second object of devotion in the city, is still very fine. It is called Setna Zianab, or our Lady Zianab, who was the sister of Sidi Hassan, and grand-daughter of the Prophet.

"The mosque of the Sultan Hazan is near the citadel: it is remarkable for the boldness of its construction, is very high, and has a fine nave, which calls to the imagination the style of the European churches.

"The mosque of the Sultan Calaoun is very remarkable; but a chapel in which is his sepulchre is still finer. This chapel is covered by a cupola, supported by superb columns. There were a great many tailors at work in it, sewing a large piece of black cloth, destined to cover El Kaaba, or the house of God at Mecca. This cloth, which is sent thither every year from Cairo, is a sort of camlet, the threads of which are woven so as to express their profession of faith, 'There is no other god but God.' The letters, which are several inches in length, are scattered over the surface, instead of flowers, or any other design. When I entered the place where they were working, the tailors presented me a needle and thread to sew. As it is esteemed a pious and meritorious act, I took some stitches in this cloth, which was destined to so respectable an object.

"In the dependencies of this mosque, is a general hospital for the sick of both sexes, and for idiots. All of these unfortunate beings are in the greatest misery, and entirely destitute, whilst the administrator is clothed in the greatest luxury. After he had shewn me the whole, I left an alms with him; but I was afterwards told that there were sufficient funds for its ample support, if the administration of them were well conducted. At the origin of this establishment, they carried the luxury and extravagance so far, as to construct a
superb

superb cradle in the middle of a large court, surrounded with galleries for the sick, and to pay a band of musicians to play every day under the cradle; but all this has disappeared, except the remains of the cradle; the sight of which gives rise to the deepest sorrow.

"We have already spoken of Seid Omar el Makram, chief of the Scherifs, and of Scheik el Methluti, chief of the Mogrebins, or western people. I will now give the names and offices of the other grand Scheiks, viz.

"Scheik Scharkaoui, chief of the grand mosque El Azahar, and first Scheik of the Ulema, or Learned Body.

"Scheik el Emir, administrator and treasurer of the Azahar, and second chief of the Ulema.

"Scheik Sodat el Ouafaiya, chief of the order or fraternity of Ouafaiyas. It is a rite which has particular forms and prayers.

"Scheik el Bekri, chief of the order of Aboubekr.

"The four Scheiks, or Judges and Counsellors of Kadi, are,
 Scheik Hhaneffi, } whose names
 Scheik Schaffi, } answer to the
 Scheik Maleki, } four orthodox
 Scheik Hanbeli, } rites.

"The following personages are reckoned among the most learned men:

Scheik el Mehedi,
 Scheik Soliman Fayoumi,
 Seid Daouahli,
 Seid Abderrahman Djarbarte.

"The last is the most eminent astronomer in the country.

"Scheik el Aroussi, and the

Scheik Saoui, enjoy a great reputation, in consequence of the renown of their fathers.

"Seid el Meherouki, chief of commerce, has great influence.

"Mahmud Hassen, second chief of commerce.

"These personages display the greatest luxury that they can afford; and it may be said, that in this instance they are as much in the extreme, in comparison with Morocco, as they are distant from that place by their geographical position. Not one of them stirs abroad without being accompanied by a number of servants. They receive their inferiors as if they were sultans. They generally go out on horseback, preceded by a procession of saiz, or valets on foot, with large sticks in their hands, and followed by a group of armed servants on horseback. This gives to Egypt the appearance of an aristocratical republic, bending under the weight of military despotism, but unwilling to abandon the idol of liberty, which it thinks it possesses under these forms of independence. Mehemed Ali and the Arnauts care but little about these forms, provided the people pay and obey them.

"In their worship they observe the same ceremonies as at Alexandria. I passed the time of Ramadan here. It is well known that the rich observe it by living in a manner completely opposite to their general mode; that is, by sleeping all day, and amusing themselves during the night.

"During this time, the mosques, the houses, and the streets, are illuminated. Hundreds and thousands of lights may be seen in the great saloons of the rich, which consist

sist in general of plain crystal, or coloured lamps, suspended to iron circles of different diameters, and placed one above another like lustres. They produce a charming effect, and no unpleasant smell; for the smoke passes out at the ventilators, which are in the cupolas, that form the roof of the apartment.

"The inhabitants run like mad people in the streets on Easter day. The green leaves of date palms are sold. The men walk with these in their hands, whilst the women in groups go on each side, several of them crying, and uttering loud shrieks. The traditional law commands that they should visit the sepulchres on this day; but I strongly suspect that this public custom, which is prescribed by the law, is a vestige of the ancient worship of Adonis, or Adonai; so near is the analogy between them. On account of our lunar year, Easter does not fall now in the spring, except eight times in the period of thirty-three years.

"The citadel, which commands the city, is itself commanded by a mountain in the neighbourhood, so that it cannot sustain a regular siege. In the citadel is the celebrated well of Joseph, so often described by travellers.

"The revolt of some Arabs, who infest the vicinity of the pyramids, prevented me from approaching them; but I determined to go as near them as it was possible. With this view I repaired to Djiza; and, leaving the village, I advanced towards the pyramids with my people, who were armed, to a certain point, when I retired, as it would have been rash to have ventured farther; for there were several parties of the enemy on horseback at a short distance before us, who

threatened us, and desired nothing better than to revenge themselves; for the Arnauts of Djiza had had the good fortune the night before to carry off from them 200 camels.

"The imagination of man cannot conceive a just and correct idea of these pyramids, and the column of Alexandria, as they appear to the sight, their form and dimensions being so different from those of any other object. I had an achromatic telescope, and my military glass, made by Dolland, with me. By dint of comparisons and reasonings, I believe I succeeded in forming an idea of them, which, if not quite correct, is at least very near; for it is impossible to be perfectly exact when one sense alone is consulted, and that also at some distance. I shall not speak of their dimensions, for the mission to Egypt has completely solved that problem; it is sufficient to say that they are enormously colossal, and the work of man.

They are three in number, two much larger than the third; and I perceived less difference in height between the two large ones than is generally remarked by travellers.

"The profound historian Mr. Duppreis says, that the large pyramid was constructed in such a manner, that an observer placed at its foot, on the day of the equinox, could have seen the sun at noon, seated as it were upon its summit. Thus it would appear, that the inclined plane of the side of the pyramid forms an angle with the plane of the horizon, equal to the meridional height of the sun at that period, or equal to the height of the equator. The pyramids being placed almost in the latitude of 30° north, it results that this angle ought to be 60°. As all the sides appear to be equally

equally inclined, it follows, that the profile of the pyramid, cut perpendicularly from the summit to the base through the middle of two of its opposite sides, ought to present an equilateral triangle. This happy idea, caused by the most simple rectilinear figure employed in the construction of an edifice, produces the finest phenomenon. This was the stimulus which impelled me to try to verify it.

"When the pyramids are observed at some distance, the base appears much longer than the sides, or the angle of the summit more open or obtuse than the angles of the base. But the origin of this illusion is, that the eye generally takes in two sides at one view, when the diagonal of the square of the base is seen, which is of course longer than its side. This also causes the pyramids to have a flattened appearance, though in reality the height of one of the sides is equal to a side of the base.

"The problem respecting the use to which these pyramids were destined is also solved. They were intended to serve as a last abode for the bodies of sovereigns, who, carrying beyond the grave the enormous distinction of their rank over a slavish people, were desirous of having their mortal remains raised towards the heavens, while those of their subjects were buried in the abyss of the wells of mummies, which are in the neighbourhood. Such is man! and especially powerful man!

"The pyramids are known by the Arabs under the name of *El Haram Firaoun*, who relate a thousand stories concerning them, and believe that their subterraneous galleries branch out and extend themselves through all Lower Egypt.

"It is certain that no inscription or hieroglyphic exists upon them, which could serve as a guide to a knowledge of the period of their erection.

"The large pyramid is attributed to Cheops, who lived about 850 years before the Christian era. I think it more probable that it is anterior to the period of history. If it was of the period indicated, there would remain some other tokens than the simple recital of Herodotus, upon a monument which must, even in his time, have excited the attention and admiration of men.

"There is a douar, or Arab village, at the foot of the great pyramid. The comparison of the houses and tents, with the monument, served me as a scale to form an idea of its enormous magnitude.

"I saw the sphynx which is near the pyramids. It is well known that it is a bust or head, formed of a rock of immense size. The Arabs call it *Aboulphoul*. I distinguished its head-dress, eyes, and mouth, perfectly; but, as I was in front, I could not perceive its profile, which I desired most ardently.

"The plain and the hills of the *Sahhara*, or Great Desert, covered with moving sand, terminates the prospect towards the west.

"*Djiza* is upon the left bank of the Nile. I had been told it was a delightful spot, on account of its country houses and gardens. It is now a miserable abode, filled with *Arnaut* soldiers, who conduct themselves like banditti. At the moment I leapt ashore, one of their chiefs came to me, and took hold of a corner of my robe, as if to examine the quality of the cloth; but immediately one of my servants, with a menacing air, pulled his hand away. When he saw that several other armed

armed servants and horses arrived in the sloops, and that the moment they disembarked they ranged themselves round me, he retired; and I did not see another attempt to approach me, either in going or in going or in coming. Djiza is, by a fault of the dialect of the inhabitants, called by them Guiza, as also by the Arabian letter Djim, Guim.

"Upon my return from Djiza I visited the island of Roudi, or Rouda, in the Nile, near the right bank. This island, which is now abandoned, was formerly a little paradise, covered with delightful gardens.

"At the southern extremity the famous Mikkias is situated. This column was raised to ascertain the height of the waters of the Nile, at the period of the inundation.

"This column is placed in a sort of deep court, which communicates with the waters of the river. It is divided into unequal cubits and digits, which shew daily the height of the waters at the inundation, and mark the degree of fertility which may be expected at the approaching harvest; for every body calculates his operations according to this indication.

"This monument, which is of such high importance, is now abandoned to a horde of soldiers, or rather barbarians, who conspire to destroy it. Upon my disembarkation in the island, they conducted me among a heap of ruins; and what was my surprise, when I discovered that the Mikkias might be reckoned as among the number. A mosque, and other edifices joining it, are quite dilapidated; and there have already fallen four of the eight little columns that supported the upper gallery. The roofs are falling by

fragments; and, as if the hand of time was too slow in its ravages, and in completing its destruction, these soldiers tear away the lead which unites the stones and the wood of the roofs. It is by these means that a monument of the greatest utility, and which during so many ages has contributed to the glory of Egypt, is proceeding daily to its complete annihilation.

"When the French were here they made several repairs to the Mikkias; but all is destroyed; and the pillar of the Mikkias itself would have been overturned ere now, if it had not been supported by a very large transverse beam, which they placed upon its capital. I asked if there was no man appointed to guard so interesting an edifice; and they begged to know, in answer, who would pay him. 'Why at least is there not a door to prevent the access of every one to it?' 'That would cost money.' 'Would the soldiers carry it away?' Tears were the only reply to this and other questions.

"I was tempted to believe that Mehemet Ali connives at the destruction of the Mikkias; for it appeared that the Calif Omar desired it.

"The wall of the court in which it stands is lined with quartzose stone: the staircase leading down into the area is of the same material, as is also the column itself, which it was impossible for me to approach, on account of the water with which it was surrounded. A cupola of wood, of an elegant form, which covers the whole, is rapidly decaying.

"A monument of this kind, in a country where the harvest depended upon rain and other accidental causes, would be insignificant, and misplaced;

misplaced; but in Egypt, where the abundance or scarcity of the harvest depends absolutely upon the degree of the periodical increase of the Nile for the inundation or watering of the country, experience having shewn the exact result which each oubit of the elevation of the water produces in the harvest, the instrument destined to measure the increase and rise of the river ought to be an object of the highest importance to an enlightened government, since it gives it a certain means of being forewarned against disasters, which would be inevitable in other countries, where they cannot foresee what will be the degree of abundance, until the moment of gathering in the crops. It was on this account that the French made it an object of particular attention. It is to them the praise is due, of having formed the superb walk, with the rows of trees, which traverses the island of Rouda from south to north.

"We returned to Old Cairo, or Massar-el-atik, a suburb upon the right bank of the river, facing the island of Rouda and Djiza.

"It is said that this suburb was formerly more agreeable than Cairo, on account of the great number of pleasure-houses which persons of rank and fortune had here; but it is now indeed Old Cairo, for the deserted houses are falling into ruins. I saw the soldiers pulling them to pieces for the sake of the wood, which they sold.

"Notwithstanding this destruction, Old Cairo seems to have many inhabitants. I perceive the public markets abundantly supplied.

"There are several convents belonging to different Christians in the town. I visited the Greek monastery, which is situated in a

fine position, having an elevated terrace, which commands a view of the town and country. From it I perceived the pyramids of Sakkara, which seem to rival in height those of Djiza. There is one of them which has the singularity of being constructed with very large steps.

"In the monastery is a chapel dedicated to St. George, which is held in great veneration in the country. The saint is represented in a little picture that is placed over a small altar raised in one corner, and shut in by a railing of brass wire.

"In the middle of the chapel is a column, with a chain of iron, to which they fasten the idiots when they bring them there to implore the protection of the saint. The monks relate that there are wonderful cures performed upon these unfortunate persons, of whatever religion they may be, who happen to be presented to the saint.

"I went to visit a convent belonging to the Copts. I was introduced into a subterraneous grotto, situated under the principal altar of the church, where they pretend the family of Christ found an asylum when they fled into Egypt from the persecutions of Herod. The thing appeared to me so absurd in all its circumstances, as not to deserve any further mention. It is easily to be imagined that this grotto and chapel are not barren ground to the monks, whose business it is to propagate the tale.

"The largest suburb of Cairo is Boulak. The city being at some distance from the Nile, Boulak is the port. It has some good buildings, and, by its position, is not likely to sink into neglect, like Djiza and Old Cairo. It is a large place; and the port is enlivened by
a number

a number of vessels, which carry on a trade with the banks of the Nile, that occupies many hands. The customs produce considerable sums. The road from Boulak to Cairo is superb, since it has been repaired and embellished by the French.

"In speaking of the commerce of Boulak, it may be imagined that it is hardly the shadow of what it ought to be, since the insurrection of Saaid, or Upper Egypt, to which place the Mamelukes with Ibrahim Bey and Osman Bei Bardissi have retired, makes Cairo lose all the trade of the interior of Africa. The revolutions in Barbary prevent the arrival or departure of caravans for Morocco, Algiers and the whole of the western countries.

"The wandering Arabs of Ssaddor, or the Desert, repair to the environs of Suez, to rob the caravans, which

convey effects from Arabia and the Indies that arrive by the Red Sea. The war with England suspends the commerce with the Mediterranean. These are the causes which have diminished the exterior commerce of Egypt.

"The interior commerce is not more flourishing. The Mamelukes reign over all Upper Egypt; Elfi in the province of Behira; the Arabs of the province of Scharkia are in rebellion; partial revolutions occur continually in Garbia, or the Delta; in short, it may be said that it is almost impossible to perform the least journey in Egypt without running the greatest risks.

"When I see Cairo carrying on so great trade as it does under such fatal circumstances, I say Egypt is a great country. But what would it be under more favourable circumstances, and a tutelary government!"

DESCRIPTION OF MECCA.

[From the same.]

"THE holy city of Mecca, the capital of Hedjaz, or the Arabia Deserta of the ancient geographers, the centre of the Mussulman religion, in consequence of the temple which Abraham raised to the Supreme Being, is the object of the affections of all true believers.

"A great number of observations of the passing of the sun through the meridian, which I made, proved the latitude of Mecca to be $21^{\circ} 28' 9''$ N.; and several others of the lunar distances proved the longitude to be $37^{\circ} 54' 45''$ E. from the observatory of Paris. The house

in which I lived, and upon the flat roof of which I made my observations, was situated almost in the middle of the city, at about 530 feet distance to the north from the Kaaba.

"Having observed several azimuths, my magnetical declination was $9^{\circ} 43' 52''$ W.

"The city of Mecca, called Mekka in Arabic, is situated in a very narrow valley, the mean breadth of which may be about 155 toises, that winds irregularly between mountains from the north-east to the south-west; so that the city, which

which follows the windings of the valley, is quite irregular; and the houses being also built upon the sides of the mountains, render the plan of it still more so, which is represented in plate LXII., where all the principal streets are described; but there are some little streets omitted, as I had not time to include them. I much wished to have taken as complete a view of Mecca as I did of Alexandria; but it was impossible to find a proper point of view, because the city, being confined between the mountains, allowed me to discover only a few houses, if I went out at one end of it; and if I went out at the sides, I found myself upon the side of the mountains, from whence I could perceive nothing but an irregular surface of flat roofs, without any perspective. I therefore found myself obliged to abandon the idea. The view of Mecca, which is to be seen in the 'Picture of the Ottoman Empire, by Mr. Ohsson,' might have had its merits, when the city occupied but half the valley; but it is no longer like that city. The fine fountain in Mr. Ohsson's drawing no longer exists. The only water to be found at present is that of the wells.

"I shall not speak of the celebrated temple, because the plan and profile which I have given of it prove the inaccuracy of the engravings in the Picture of the Ottoman empire. It would have been very easy for me to have given an incorrect view of Mecca; but as I wished absolutely to be as exact in my drawings as I endeavour to be in my notes, I would not attempt it; for it would only have been a picture of imagination, as any general view of this city must be. In short, it may be considered as an assem-

blage of a great number of houses grouped to the north of the temple, prolonging themselves in the form of a crescent from the N. E. to the S. W. by S. It covers a line of 900 toises in length and 266 in breadth at its centre, which extends from east to west.

"The principal streets are regular enough; they may even be called handsome, on account of the pretty fronts of the houses. They are sanded, level, and very convenient. I had been so long accustomed to live in the indifferent towns of Africa, that I was quite surprised at the fine appearance of the buildings of Mecca.

"I think they approach the Indian or Persian taste, which introduced itself during the time of the siege by the Caliph of Bagdad. They have two rows of windows, as at Cyprus, with balconies covered with blinds. There are even several large windows, quite open, as in Europe; but the greater number are covered by a species of curtain like a Venetian blind, made of palm-tree. They are extremely light, and screen the apartments from the sun, without interrupting the passage of the air. They fold up at pleasure at the upper part, exactly like the former.

"The houses are solidly built with stone: they are three and four stories high, and even more sometimes. The fronts are ornamented with bases, mouldings, and paintings, which give them a very graceful appearance. It is very rare to find a door that has not a base with steps, and small seats on both sides. The blinds of the balconies are not very close; and holes are cut besides in different parts of them.

"The roofs form terraces, surrounded by a wall about seven feet high,

high, open at certain spaces, which are occupied by a railing formed of red and white bricks, placed horizontally and symmetrically, leaving holes for the circulation of the air; and at the same time that they contribute to the ornaments of the front, they skreen the women from being seen when they are upon the terraces.

"All the staircases that I saw were narrow, dark, and steep. The rooms are well proportioned, long, broad, and lofty, and have, besides the large windows and balconies, a second row of smaller windows. They have also a shelf all round, as at Alexandria, which serves to place various things upon.

"The beauty of the houses may be considered as the remains of the ancient splendour of Mecca. Every inhabitant has an interest in preserving his dwelling, to invite and excite the pilgrims to lodge with him; because it is one of his principal resources, on account of the terms demanded, and other additional benefits.

"There is no open place or square at Mecca, because the irregularity of the ground and the want of space would not permit it. The public markets are held in the principal streets; and it may be said that the great street in the centre is a continued market from one end of the city to the other. The dealers expose their goods, &c. in slight sheds, built with sticks and mats, or under large umbrellas, supported by three sticks, which meet in the centre.

"The markets are well provided with provisions and other articles, and are filled with people all day long, particularly at the period of the pilgrimage. There are also ambulatory restaurateurs, who sell

ready-dressed victuals and pastry; pewterers, shoemakers, and such like artizans.

"All the provisions are dear, except meat, notwithstanding the abundance. A large sheep costs nearly seven francs. Fowls are very scarce, and consequently eggs. There is no game. The corn, or rather flour, comes from Upper Egypt; vegetables and rice from India. They obtain herbs, &c. from Taif; as also a small portion of corn, which is of an inferior quality to that of Egypt. Butter is kept in large pots, and is common in the country; but it is liquid like oil, on account of the heat of the climate. The prices vary extremely, in consequence of the want of safety in the commerce. The following were the prices of the articles opposite which they are placed, during my stay in 1807:

Turkish Piastres.

An oka of butter	- - -	5
A fowl	- - -	4
Six eggs	- - -	1
A camel load of fresh water		2
An oka of oil	- - -	4
		Paras.
An oka of bread	- - -	12
A bottle of the water of the well	- - -	15
An oka of fire wood	- - -	3
An oka of coals	- - -	20

"The weights and measures are the same as in Egypt, but are so inexact, that it would be useless to look for a parallel to them.

"This is also the case with the current money. The Spanish piastre goes in trade for five Turkish piastres of forty paras each; but in exchange it is only worth four and a half of them. There is every sort of money to be seen circulating in

Mecca, as also money-changers, who sit in the market behind a little counter, with a small pair of scales, who are occupied during the whole day in transacting their affairs in an incorrect way; but it may be imagined not to their own disadvantage.

"All the productions of India and Persia, natural as well as artificial, may be bought here. Near my dwelling there was a double range of shops, exclusively destined to the sale of aromatic substances, of which I took the catalogue and description.

"At Mecca, as throughout all Arabia, they do not make bread, properly so called. They mix the flour with water, without any leaven (except a little very rarely), of which they make cakes of three or four lines thick, and eight or nine inches diameter, that they sell half baked, and as soft as paste. Such is their bread, which is called *hhops*.

"The fresh water, which they bring from the neighbouring mountains, and from Mina, upon camels, is good. The well water, though a little brackish and heavy, is drinkable. The lower class of people never drink any other.

"I examined all the wells particularly. They are all of the same depth; and the water is of the same temperature, taste, and clearness, as that of Zemzem. There are four that are public in the streets nearest to the temple, exactly like each other, and several in the most distant parts of the city. I am persuaded, from my observations, that the water which supplies all of them is one sheet, situated 55 feet under the surface of the ground, the quantity of which is owing to the filtration of rain water. The brackish taste it has is to be attri-

buted to the decomposition of the saline particles mixed with the earth, from which it results, in the clearest manner, that as they have the same qualities, and spring from the same source as the water of Zemzem, they have the same virtue in drawing down the divine favour and blessing as the miraculous well. God be praised for it.

"The meat at Mecca is of an inferior quality, the sheep being very large, but very thin. They hardly know the existence of fish, though the sea is not more than a dozen leagues distant. The herbs, &c. which they bring from Taif, and other neighbouring places, but particularly from Setna Fathma, consist of onions, turnips, cucumbers, purslain, capers, and a sort of salad composed of leaves like cow-grass. This plant, which it was impossible for me to see in its whole state, is called *corrat*.

"I never saw but one flower during the whole of my stay at Mecca, which was on the way to Arafat. I ordered my servant to cut it and bring it to me; but he was perceived by the pilgrims, who ran immediately to him, saying, it was a sin to pluck up or cut any plant during the pilgrimage to that place. I was therefore obliged to renounce the idea of obtaining the only flower I had seen.

"They make several sorts of drink with raisins, honey, sugar, and other fruits. The vinegar is of a very bad quality. I was told they made it from raisins.

"I believe there is no Mussulman city where the arts are so little known as at Mecca. There is not a man to be found that is capable of making a lock or forging a key. All the doors are locked with large wooden keys, and the trunks and cases

cases with padlocks brought from Europe; I therefore was unable to replace the key of a trunk, and that of my telescope box, which were stolen at Mina.

"The slippers and sandals are brought from Constantinople and Egypt; for they know not how to make them at Mecca, except indeed those of wood or untanned leather, which are very bad.

"There is not a single man to be found who knows how to engrave an inscription, or any kind of design upon a hewn stone, as formerly; nor a single gun-smith or cutler able to make a screw, or to replace a piece of the lock of an European gun; those of the country being only able to manufacture their rude matchlocks, their bent knives, lances, and balberds. Wherever they go, their shop is fitted up in a moment: all that is wanted for this purpose is a hole made in the ground, which serves as a furnace: one or two goat skins, which one of them waves before the fire, serve them for bellows: two or three palm leaves, and four sticks, form the walls and the roof of the work-shop, the situation of which they change whenever occasion requires.

"There is no want of braziers for vessels in copper; but the original article comes from foreign manufactories. There are also tinmen, who make a kind of vase, which the pilgrims use to carry away some of the water of Zemzem. I discovered also a bad engraver of brass seals.

"The sciences are found in the same state of perfection as the arts at Mecca. The whole knowledge of the inhabitants is confined to reading the Kour-an, and to writing

very badly. They learn from their infancy the prayers and the ceremonies of the pilgrimage to the house of God, to Saffa, and Merousa, in order to be able at an early age to gain money by officiating as guides to the pilgrims. Children of five or six years old are to be seen fulfilling these functions, carried upon the arms or shoulders of the pilgrims, who repeat the prayers which the children recite word for word, at the same time that they follow the path pointed out by them to the different places.

"I wished to obtain a Kour-an written at Mecca, but they are not numerous; and they are so badly written, and so full of errors, that they cannot be of any use.

"There are no regular schools, if we except those where they learn to read and write. In short, there are only a few talbes, or doctors, who, through caprice, vanity, or covetousness of obtaining something from their auditors, go and sit under the porticos of the temple, where they begin to read in a loud voice to draw a crowd of persons, who generally assemble pretty quickly, and arrange themselves round the the doctor, who explains, reads, or preaches, whichever he can do, and go away or stay as they please. Such is the education of the people of this holy city, who are the most ignorant of mortals. It is true that their geographical situation contributes to it in a great measure.

"Mecca, placed in the middle of a desert, does not resemble Palmyra, which the continual commerce between the East and the West elevated to the greatest degree of perfection and splendour, which we even admire in its ruins, and which would still have existed, but

for the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope: on the contrary, it is not placed in any direct line of passage. Arabia is surrounded by the Persian Gulph to the east, the Red Sea to the west, the ocean to the south, and the Mediterranean Sea to the north. Its centre, therefore, cannot be in any direct line of communication with the neighbouring countries to which access may be had by sea. Its ports at most will only serve as sea-port towns to trading vessels, as is the case with Djedda and Mokka upon the Red Sea, and Muscat, near the mouth of the Persian Gulph.

"Mecca not being situated in the route to any country of consequence, nature has not designed it as a place of commerce, placed as it is in the middle of an extremely barren desert, which prevents its inhabitants from being either husbandmen or shepherds. What resources then remain to them for subsistence? The force of arms, to oblige other countries to give them a part of their productions, or religious enthusiasm, to induce strangers to come and bring money to them, with which they may procure the necessaries of life.

"In the time of the Caliphs, these two causes united rendered Mecca an opulent city; but before and since that glorious period, it has had no other resource for its support than the religious enthusiasm of the pilgrims, which unfortunately begins to cool from day to day, through the effects of time, distance of place, and revolutions, that reduce this place to a mean and precarious existence. Such is its state at this moment, and such was it before the mission of the Prophet.

"Mecca has always been the

centre of the religious enthusiasm of different nations. The origin of pilgrimages, and the first foundation of its temple, are lost in the obscurity of ages, since they appear to be anterior to the period of history. The Prophet pulled down the idols which prophaned the house of God. The Koran confirmed the pilgrimage; and it is in this manner that the devotion of other nations has been in all times the basis of the subsistence of the inhabitants of Mecca. But as this could not alone suffice, they were very poor before the coming of the Prophet; and now, after a short reign of glory and riches acquired by arms, it has relapsed into poverty. How then can we hope to see the arts and sciences flourish? Separated by its situation from all commercial intercourse, it remains immersed in the most profound ignorance of all news, discoveries, revolutions, and the actions of other men. Hence it is that the people of Mecca will remain in stupidity and the grossest darkness, notwithstanding the concourse of strangers, who only remain there during the time absolutely necessary to fulfil the duties of their pilgrimage, to make some few commercial exchanges, and then prepare for their return to their own country.

"Thus Mecca is so poor by nature, that if the house of God ceased to exist, it would be inevitably deserted in two years, or at least reduced to a simple dour or hamlet; for the inhabitants in general subsist for the rest of the year upon what they accumulate during the time of the pilgrimage, at which period the place puts on a lively appearance, commerce is animated, and the half of the people are

are transformed into hosts, merchants, porters, servants, &c.; and the other, attached entirely to the service of the temple, live upon the alms and gifts of the pilgrims.

"Such are their resources. Deplorable opulence! which has stamped upon their countenances the mark of the extreme misery that surrounds them.

"An Arab is by nature generally thin; but those of Mecca, and above all those that serve in the temple, seem absolutely walking skeletons, clothed with a parchment that covers their bones. I must own I was struck with astonishment when I saw them for the first time upon my arrival. What I have advanced may be perhaps considered as an exaggeration; but I protest to the truth of my assertions; and may also add, that it is impossible, without seeing them, to form an idea of an assemblage of such lean and scraggy-looking men, as all of them are, with the exception of the chief of Zemzem, who is the only person that is at all lusty, and two or three eunuchs, a little less thin than the others. It appears even impossible that these skeletons, or shadows, should be able to stand so long as they do, when we reflect upon their large sunk eyes; slender noses; cheeks hollow to the bones; legs and arms absolutely shrivelled up; ribs, veins, and nerves, in no better state; and the whole of their frame so wasted, that they might be mistaken for true anatomical models. Such is the frightful appearance of these unhappy creatures, that it is painful to be obliged to look at them. This is the existence which these servants of the temple enjoy; but the pleasures that await them in Paradise

are preferable to all the riches of the earth.

"There are no people more dull and melancholy than these. I never once heard the sound of a musical instrument or song during the whole of my stay, that was executed by a man; but my ears were struck once or twice by the songs of some women, which I set to music. Plunged in a continual melancholy, the least contradiction irritates them; and the few slaves they have are the most unhappy and wretched of all the Mussulman slaves, in consequence of the bad treatment they experience. I heard, in the house I lived in, a master beat his slave with a bastinado during a quarter of an hour. He stopped every three or four minutes to allow his arm to rest, and then recommenced with new force.

"It may be deduced, from these observations, that the population of Mecca diminishes sensibly. This city, which is known to have contained more than 100,000 souls, does not at present shelter more than from 16 to 18,000. There are some quarters of the suburbs entirely abandoned, and in ruins; nearly two-thirds of the houses that remain are empty; and the greatest part of those that are inhabited are decaying within, notwithstanding the solidity of their construction; the fronts alone being kept in good order, to attract the pilgrims. In consequence of the inattention that is paid to repairs, the houses are falling down; and if there are no new ones erected (and I only saw one that was advancing slowly in the whole town) it will be reduced, in the course of a century to the tenth part of the size it now is.

ACCOUNT

ACCOUNT OF KIRMAN.

[FROM LIEUT. POTTINGER'S TRAVELS.]

"THE Province of Kirman is bounded on the east by a part of Seistan and Beloochistan; west by the Province of Fars; south by parts of Laristan, Mukran, and the Persian Gulph; and north by Eerak and Khorasan. It has from the earliest ages been partitioned into the habitable and desert regions, a division which I purpose adopting, proceeding, in the first place, to a consideration of the former. Its extreme length, from Regan in Nurmansheer, to Robat on the boundary of Fars, is about 365 miles; and its breadth, from the southern limit of Eerak to the town of Gombaroon or Bunder Abass, on the shores of the Persian Gulph, about 280. Even the soil of this tract is in many places very unprolific, and the face of the country barren and waste.

"There is not a river in the province, and were it not for a few springs in the mountainous districts, and the Karezes or aqueducts described in my diary of the 2d May, the natives could not possibly exist. As it is, water is procured with extraordinary pains and attention, and withal not more than is sufficient to cultivate a very trifling portion of the soil. Nurmansheer forms an exception to the aridity of the earth, but even there the vast supplies of water that formerly inundated that district, have decreased very much within these last twenty years; and the extensive desolate plains that I passed previous to

reaching Bumm and Kirman, seem to argue that the desert is fast encroaching in that quarter, which the inhabitants avow is undoubtedly the case.

"Generally speaking, Kirman is a very mountainous province; the principal range of mountains is that which divides Nurmansheer from Laristan, and thence running in a south-westerly direction, approaches within four days' journey of Gombaroon. It here seems to take the turn of the coast, and trending away to the west and north-west, joins the mountains of Fars in the latitude of 29° 40' north, and longitude 54° east. In this course it throws out numerous ramifications, both to the northward and southward. Many of the former, particularly the more easterly ones, which stretch into the desert, terminate between the thirtieth and thirty-first degrees of latitude; while some of the western arms reach the province of Eerak. They are in some places, from their height, scarcely worthy of being called any thing but hills, and in others are no way inferior to the great mass from which they have their rise. So entirely do they intersect the country, that the plains which they separate, are seldom seen to exceed ten or twelve miles in breadth, though often of an indefinite length.

"The climate of this province is as varied as the face of the country, and it is accounted the least salubrious

bricks of any part of Persia; they have seldom any heavy falls of rain, but snow lies to a great depth on the mountains in winter, and from their loftiness it does not melt for the greater part of the year, so that it is not unusual to see the people in the plains panting from the extreme heat, while it is freezing on the summits of the mountains close to them. The air that blows down from them is very cool and luxurious, but brings agues, fevers, and other diseases as its attendants; and the natives dread it so much, and so often experience its baneful effects, that they prefer the most sultry weather.

"To the southward of the great chain of mountains that I have described above, and between their bases and the sea, lies the Gurmæer, or Hot Country, being a narrow stripe from 30 to 40 leagues in breadth, which extends all along the sea-coast of Persia from Meenab, the capital of Laristan, to the mouth of the Shat Ool-Arab or Bassorah River. Within the limits of Kirman this tract is almost solely composed of saline sand, and the climate is peculiarly unhealthy. It produces nothing but dates, which are of a very inferior quality, and is in consequence nearly depopulated.

"The city of Kirman is situated in north latitude $29^{\circ} 56'$, and east longitude $56^{\circ} 6'$, on the western side of a capacious plain, so close to the mountains, that two of them, on which there are ancient decayed forts, completely command it. It was once the most flourishing in Persia, and in size was second to none except the capital, Isfahan. Its situation in the direct road from Khorasan, Bulkh, Bokhara, Mawur Del Nehr, or Trans Oxiana, and

all the northern part of the Persian empire to the sea-port town of Bender Abass, gave it incalculable advantages, as an emporium, and rendered it the centre of wealth, luxury, and magnificence. Of the original founder of this famous city there exists no positive record, and all that I have been able to trace with certainty is, that on the Arab invasion the last of the ancient Persian Kings fled to it, and made it his capital until the complete subjugation of the empire and dispersion of the followers of Zoroaster. I learn from a manuscript history of the conquest of Mukran, in the 10th year of the Hijree, that Kirman was then a very extensive city, full (according to the Oriental phrase) of riches, and celebrated for the excellence of the shawls and arms made in it. On the whole, it is probable that we may fix its foundation, or at least the first step towards that grandeur and opulence which it attained, both previous and subsequent to the introduction of Mohummudanism, as coeval with the city of Hoormuz (Ormuz) on the coast of Kirman, which was built by one of the earliest monarchs of the line of Sassan, and, according to the manuscript I have just quoted, takes its name from him. The traditions respecting the name of Kirman are various, some derive it from Khirman, a word signifying a granary, as allusive to the abundance which flowed into it; and others relate that its origin and appellation both arose from the trivial circumstance of a Guebre Princess eating an apple near the site of the present city, in the core of which she found a Kirm or worm, and thereupon vowed that she would build a city which, like the worm in the apple, should extract the benefit from all the

the surrounding parts (countries). These fabulous accounts, though deserving of no credit, are nevertheless curious, as they evince the opinion which has always been entertained of its happily selected situation; a fact that alone can have enabled it to withstand the dreadful shocks it has experienced, for no city in the east has been more subject to reverses of fortune, or oftener the scene of the most destructive wars, both foreign and domestic, than Kirman.

"To enter into any relation of these, comes not within my purpose. The Khaliphaz, Jungeez Khan, Tymoorlung, the Uffghans, and Nadir Shah, repeatedly and successively took, plundered, and destroyed it; in addition to the civil broils, in which it has still more frequently fallen to the victor by storm. The last event of this kind happened so recently as the year 1794, when it was betrayed into the hands of Agha Mohummud Khan, (uncle of the present King, and founder of the Kajjar dynasty,) who had besieged it for several months, during which period the magnanimous Looft Allee Khan held out with astonishing perseverance and courage, although reduced to such distress, that two-thirds of his troops and the inhabitants perished for want of food and water. At length, on the night of the 2d of July, 1794, a Sirdar called Nujuf Kooles Chan, was induced, by promises of pardon and a large bribe, to allow a detachment of Agha Mohummud Khan's troops to enter the city by a sally-port in that angle of the works which he had charge of, and they, running to one of the gates which had unfortunately not been built up, broke it open, and made way for the entrance of the

whole of the army. Looft Allee Khan, finding that all was lost, mounted his horse, and, supported by a few brave adherents, cut his way under cover of the dark night, through the besiegers. He fled to Bumm, where he was most treacherously seized by the Governor, and sent to Agha Mohummud Khan, who, with his own hands, put out his eyes, and had him ultimately strangled at Teheran. The city was given up for three months to the incessant ravages and plunder of an exasperated army that, under the sanction of its chiefs, committed the most unheard-of enormities. The wives and daughters of the citizens, and of the latter class even children of a few years of age, were publicly exposed to the brutality of the soldiery, in presence of their husbands and fathers, who were afterwards forced to receive them, thus dishonoured, or destroy them themselves on the spot. All the fortifications and elegant structures, with which the city had been beautified by the Uffghans, were razed to the ground, and Agha Mohummud Khan, after sacrificing to his revenge every person of whose zeal for his cause (for with him it was not sufficient to be neutral) he had the slightest suspicion, carried 30,000 of the inhabitants into slavery, or at least exiled them on pain of death to the distant provinces of Mazenderan and Aderbejan.

"The city lay desolate for some years until after the accession of the present King, who directed the fortifications to be rebuilt on a reduced plan. They are, however, still very large, and consist of a high mud wall, with nineteen bastions in each face, and a dry ditch twenty yards wide and ten deep. The works are entirely encompassed

compassed by ruins that extend, on the southern and eastern sides, for some miles, and there is a considerable angle, of the space within the walls, which is yet quite deserted. The gates are four in number, and the ark or citadel, in which the Governor's palace is built, lies on the southern face of the fort; it is defended by similar works. The Bazar is well supplied with articles of every description, and from every nation; one part of it is covered with very elegant domes built of a beautiful kind of blue stone, dug from quarries in the adjacent mountains. There are either eight or nine Karwan-sarais within the walls, beside many inferior ones outside: that which I resided in is the private property of the Prince, but is neither so spacious or handsome as some of the others.

"The population of Kirman is now not more than 30,000 souls, of which a small proportion are Guebres or Parsees; but there are neither Armenians, Hindoos, or Jews, resident in the place. Some of the two former classes occasionally repair thither on business. The trade of Kirman, though still considerable, has never revived in a manner to be compared to what it was previous to its last depopulation, and in all likelihood never will again, as the resort of merchants to the sea-port town of Abooshuhr or Bushire, farther up the Gulph of Persia, daily gains ground, to the prejudice of Bunder Abass, and, of consequence, Kirwan. Its manufactures of shawls, matchlocks, and Numuds, or felts, are celebrated all over Asia, and are said to afford employment to upwards of one-third of the inhabitants, whether male or female.

The former are made from the wool known by the ancient name of the province (Karamania), and I have seen them, in delicacy of fabrick and texture, outrival those of Kashmeer; but they are not equal in downy softness and warmth. The sheep from which the wool is sheared, for it is a mistaken idea that it falls off, are very small and short-legged: they have been removed to different parts of the kingdom, by orders of Futtuh Allee Shah the King, where, although the animals appear to thrive, the wool loses its qualities; and, what is still more unaccountable, it cannot be wrought to any perfection elsewhere than at Kirman. From this undoubted fact it is to be inferred that the climate, or water, of that city has something very peculiar in its nature; and it is very curious that a similar circumstance occurs with regard to the Province of Kashmeer. I visited all the principal weaving manufactories at Kirman; but saw nothing in that process to merit description: at one of them I procured specimens of wool which were finer and softer than any cotton I had ever seen, and some of the shawls I purchased there were so even and beautiful, that they were valued by shawl-merchants in India, to whom I afterwards shewed them, at five hundred per cent. more than they cost. The wool, when first cut off, is repeatedly and carefully scoured and picked; after which it is immersed for some weeks in a wash, the ingredients of which are unknown to any save the makers, but seem to be chiefly formed from a decoction of different leaves and barks; this renders it pliant and soft, and fit for spinning, which last operation is executed by women,

and

and the thread is then ready for the loom.

"The Kirmanees chiefly send their shawls, nunuda, and matchlocks to Khorasan, Kabool, Bulkh, Bokhara, and the northern provinces; and, in return, receive asafoetida, gums, rhubarb, madder, and other drugs; Bokhara skins, furs, silk, steel, copper, and tea: the latter three articles are for home consumption: they export the remainder to India, Sinde, Arabia, and the Red Sea, also Pistachio nuts, rose leaves, and buds, for making conserve, gums, cotton, carpets, and bullion; and import, from the former country, tin, lead, iron, copper, steel, pepper, and all other spices; chintz (both European and Indian), indigo, muslin, tea, satin, Koemkhab or gold-flowered silks, Zareebaff or gold cloth, cocoa-nuts, china, and glass-ware, broad-cloth, &c. &c. From Sinde they have white cloth and coloured Loongees for turbans; and, from Arabia and the Red Sea, coffee, gold-dust, ivory, musk, frankincense, slaves, &c. &c.

"The revenues of the city of Kirman in 1810, were only 25,000 Toomans per annum; but were said to be rapidly increasing; and are appropriated by the Prince, with the permission of His Majesty, for the maintenance of his court and a body of troops, that are exclusively kept in pay for the protection of the city and its neighbourhood. They arise from the Bazar duties, which are very high, and a heavy tax on shawls and matchlocks: besides which, every camel or horse that enters any Karwanseraé in the city pays one rupee as a toll; a pony, half a rupee; an ass, one quarter, &c. Those of the province are regularly accounted for at the royal treasury;

and one of the ministers had been called up to Teheran for that purpose when I was at Kirman. I have not been able to ascertain with any precision their exact amount, but should guess about 50,000 Toomans yearly, exclusive of the tribute of Bunder Abass. These are collected by a tax on lands, and the imposts levied at different towns. It may seem a small sum for so great an extent of country, but we are to recollect that the province is naturally barren and thinly inhabited. Its aggregate population I am quite unable to speak to.

"The towns in the eastern part of this province I have already touched upon, and those westward of the capital will be hereafter noticed in my Narrative. To the northward there are none, and Gombaroon or Bunder Abass is the only one to the southward that needs to be mentioned. It lies eighteen Munzils, or days' marches, from Kirman, which we may average at eight Fursukhs each stage; and, consequently, the whole distance, from 550 to 600 miles. Gombaroon was anciently the seat of vast traffic, as it served for the continental Bunder, or emporium, of the island of Ormuz; and when Shah Abass the Great wrested that mart from the Portuguese, about the year 1623, he transferred the whole commerce of it, then the most extensive in Asia, if not in the world, to Gombaroon, and honoured that town by calling it Bunder Abass, or the port of Abass. It flourished for a short time, but on the death of Abass, in 1629-30, his successors had either not the means or the wish to protect this colony, which was soon harassed by the people on the sea-coast of Luristan, and other predatory

predatory and piratical tribes. The English and Portuguese companies gradually withdrew their agents and factories, and as other speculators were deterred from venturing there with their goods, owing to the imbecility of the government and its inability to afford them a safeguard, the place went rapidly to decay. It still carries on trade with Muskat, and several ports of India, the Red Sea, and east coast of Africa; and is garrisoned by the troops of the Imam of the former town, who pays an annual tribute to the King of Persia of 4000 Toomans, which amount is reported, in some years, to exceed the whole customs. The town is dirty and ill-built: the streets narrow, dark, and choked up with ruins; and, till within these six years, the works were equally neglected; but the alarm caused by the Juwasmee Arab pirates induced the Imam to repair them, and they are now capable of making a tolerable defence against an Asiatic enemy.

"I have already said that the greater part of the intervening country between Kirman and Bunder Abass is barren and inhospitable, and there are only a few miserable villages. There was formerly a large and elegant Karwan-sarai at each stage, built by Abass the Great, but they have been allowed to go to decay, and the systematic avarice of the Persian government leaves no chance of their being repaired. The total population of Bunder Abass is about 20,000 souls, and composed of Arabs, Hindoos, Persians, Indians, and other foreigners.

"The desert region of the province of Kirman extends in length 270 miles, from the northern boundary of Nurmansheer, in latitude 29° 30' north, to the mountains of

Khorasan, in latitude 34° north; and, in breadth, 200 miles from the city of Yezd, in longitude 55° 40' east, to a range of mountains separating it from Seistan, in 60° east. The soil of this tract is impregnated to such a degree with salt, and so decidedly barren, that it does not even produce grass, or any other vegetation, for 80 or 90 miles at a stretch; and water is entirely out of the question. The Uffghan army, on its march to invade Persia in 1719, suffered the most dreadful hardships in this waste, and after one-third of the whole had perished, the remainder reached Nurmansheer with the loss of all their equipage and baggage. There is a path through it from Kirman to Heerat in Khorasan, by which couriers can go in eighteen days; but the risk of perishing is so great, that a person of that description demanded 200 rupees to take a letter from me to Captain Christie, who had directed me to write to him.

"The town of Khubees lies nearly in the centre of it, in latitude 32° 20' north, on a spot which is verdant the whole year round, and has many pleasant gardens. It seems to have been founded as a place of refuge, or intended, in former times, to promote the trade between Persia and Seistan, as it is equidistant from those countries. It formerly flourished, and was the residence of a Beglerbeg on the part of the chief of Seistan, but now is a miserable decayed place, and the inhabitants are notorious robbers and outcasts who subsist by infesting the highways of Khorasan and Persia, and plundering Karwans. When they are pursued, they retire by paths only known to themselves, through the desert to their homes."

CLIMATE

CLIMATE AND PRODUCTIONS OF BELOOCHISTAN.

[From the same.]

"THE diversity of situation of the various provinces of Beloochistan, and the consequent irregularities of climate and soil, will, however, frequently induce me to revert to them, in order to discriminate with greater precision.

"The seasons of the two mountainous provinces of Jhalawan and Sarawan are, like those of European countries, divided into spring, summer, autumn, and winter. The former is usually supposed to commence between the middle and end of February, and continues two months, or perhaps longer, a circumstance which rests entirely on the forwardness, or otherwise, of the season. The summer lasts till the beginning of August, and the autumn then follows, until the cold, or a fall of snow, announces the arrival of winter, an event that commonly happens in October; that portion of the year is, consequently, accounted much longer than any of the others.* The heat is at no time unpleasantly great, unless it may be a few days at the close of summer; but, on the other hand, the cold is intense during the winter, and attended by a north-easterly wind, that blowing without intermission, and sometimes with extreme violence, not only

throughout that season, but the spring months, brings with it heavy falls of snow, sleet, and rain; and it may also be remarked as a thing rather unusual in Europe, that here the very hardest frosts are experienced during the height of these winds, which appear to be the only periodically prevailing ones in these provinces.

"Captain Christie and I were at Kelat, from the 9th of February, till the 6th of March, 1810, and towards the latter end of our sojourn there the natives were in daily hopes of a fall of rain, which was to them the harbinger of spring, and expected to last for three weeks or a month; this is the only annual fall they have, but, in addition to it, the months of September and October are showery, and indeed, the whole of the cold season is more or less so, four or five days seldom passing without either sleet or rain, save during frosty weather, when the air is keen and bracing. The salubrity of these provinces appears to be regulated by the seasons; the summer and autumn are said to be delightful, but in winter and spring, fogs, rain, snow, and cold, are the origin of many diseases among the poorer classes, who have not means of protecting themselves against the effects

* None of the natives of Beloochistan seem to be aware that any unerring principle can be laid down, to mark the commencement of the seasons, which they contend must depend on the state of the weather, a mode of calculation that renders it a mere accident whether any two years correspond. In February, 1811, it snowed incessantly for fifteen days in the vicinity of Kelat, and the frost set in early in October following: so that rejecting the winter, the other three seasons of that year, agreeable to the Belooche theory, did not include more than seven months and a few days.

of

of a climate that is equally fluctuating, and more severe, than that of England.

"In Mukran and Lus the seasons are likewise four in number, but they are not to be distinguished like those of the province just named, as they consist of two wet, one hot, and one cold one, the latter of which is very moderate, especially on the sea-coast. The wet seasons are in February or March, and June, July, and a part of August; the former comes from the north-west, and only continues for a fortnight or three weeks, but the latter comprises all the fury of the south-west monsoon. The hot season begins in March, and lasts till October, (the south-west monsoon intervening,) and in it, occasionally, the heats are so excessive as to prevent, even the inhabitants, from venturing abroad during the days called the 'Khoormu Puz,' or date ripening, which takes place in August. The months of November, December, January, and February, are looked upon as the cold season, but even then it is much warmer than at any period of the year in the upper parts of Jhalawan and Sarawan: * north-west winds prevail at this time, and are particularly strong towards the close of the cold weather; during the remaining eight months the hot winds blow continually, inland, and though they are seldom known to be fatal to life, they destroy every symptom of vegetation, and will, even after dusk, scorch the skin in a most painful manner. Mukran is considered by the people of the adjoining countries to be peculiarly un-

healthy, except on the immediate coast, where the atmosphere is tempered by the sea breezes. To the European constitution, it has, even there, been esteemed extremely prejudicial, as was proved (in the only instance I have heard of) by the late and much regretted Captain Grant, of the Bengal military service, who was about three months in this province, while acting under the orders of Brigadier-General Malcolm, and quitted it in a state of extreme bad health. The small province of Lus is reputed to be an exception to the general insalubrity of this division of Beloochistan; and it is a very extraordinary fact, that the range of mountains that separate it from Mukran, has also drawn a grand line of distinction between their natives, in manners, customs, and appearance. The Kohistan, or that division of Beloochistan, lying to the westward of the sandy desert, being of a mountainous nature, resembles in climate the provinces of Sarawan and Jhalawan, unless that it is much milder, and consequently healthier. The seasons here, are like those of Mukran; but the rains in June and July, which are always regular in that province, are here often partial, and at other times so heavy as to destroy the crop; such was the case in 1809, and a famine succeeded, while in Sarawan the same calamity occurred from drought.

"In Kutch Gundava, the climate is oppressively hot throughout the summer, and during the winter it continues so warm that this province is resorted to by all the chiefs

* Wherever two provinces lie contiguous to each other, as Jhalawan and Lus, it necessarily results, that they must in some degree partake of the advantages and disadvantages of climate which prevail in each. Thus, the southern districts of Jhalawan are not so cold as Kelai, and the part of Lus, adjoining them, is much colder in winter than the sea-coast.

and

and inhabitants (who can afford the expense) of the provinces of Sarawan and Jhalawan.

"I am not prepared to offer any detailed observations on the soil of Beloochistan, which, in fact, is a subject peculiarly devoid of variety or interest. It generally appears to be exceedingly stony; and in the provinces of Sarawan, Jhalawan, Lus, and Mukran, this is evident to the most common observer, unless on the sea-coast of the two latter, where it is sandy and arid. The mountains of all these are chiefly composed of black or grey rock of a very hard nature, and the earth of the plains and vales, amongst them, is mixed with such a profusion of pebbles and small stones, that there is often not the slightest appearance of mould; yet, in spite of this disadvantage, some of them produce plentiful crops of wheat and barley; and in others, where they are not tilled, grass grows luxuriantly and to a great height. The soil of the Kohistan is very diversified. In the vallies, it is usually of a black loamy description, and even some of its loftiest mountains have fine earth to their very summits; whilst others are nothing else than a mass of black rock, destitute of verdure. Of Kutch Gundava, the soil is rich and loamy; and so exceedingly productive, that it is said, were it all properly cultivated, the crops would be more than sufficient for the consumption of the whole of Beloochistan: even as it is, they export great quantities of grain, beside cotton, indigo, and oil. The Badé Sumoom, of which I have made very particular mention in another place,* blows in Kutch Gundava

during the summer months; and many people lose their lives by it.

"Gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, tin, antimony, brimstone, alum, sal-ammoniac, and many kinds of mineral salts, and saltpetre, are found in various parts of Beloochistan. The precious metals have only been discovered, in working for iron and lead, at mines near the town of Nal, about 150 miles south-south-west of Kelat. The different other minerals, I have enumerated, are very plentiful. Rock salt is very common to the westward, and saltpetre is likewise dug up in a native state: at Kelat they make the latter ingredient from the soil, and esteem it much the strongest. On the high road from Kelat to Kutch Gundava there is a range of hills, from which a species of salt, perfectly red in its colour, is extracted, that possesses very great aperient qualities. Sulphur and alum are to be had at the same place. I saw quantities of white and grey marble in the mountains to the westward of Noosbky; but it does not seem to be at all prized by the Belooches. The method they have of smelting ore is very simple; and although it may sometimes leave a trifling portion of the soil mixed with the metal, it is, from its ingenuity, worthy of description. When a sufficient quantity of the ore for one process has been collected, it is placed on a pile of dried wood, which is kindled and kept replenished with fresh fuel till the ore melts, and forms a mass at the bottom; it is then separated from the rubbish, and is much cleaner than when taken out of the mine. They next place is in a pit made of tiles, or highly tempered mortar, that is so

* Vide Narrative of the 2d of April. Part I.

constructed,

constructed as to admit a fire under it. When the ore melts the second time, all the dross and dirt that can be removed by skimming and picking, is taken away; the metal is afterwards lifted out, in a liquid state, and poured into hollow moulds of clay, in which state it is sold, in the Kelat market, about one half cheaper than European metal of similar description. The Belooches do not attempt to purify the gold and silver ore, and therefore dispose of it, in its native state, to the Hindoos, who transmit it secretly to the cities in the Punjab, to avoid the duties.

"The gardens of Kelat are planted with many sorts of fruit-trees, of which, all the finest were brought from Kabool during the government of Nusseer Khan, who paid vast attention to their rearing, and excited an emulation among his subjects by offering rewards for the best productions. The following sold at a very moderate rate, in due season, in the Bazar of Kelat, will shew how far successful his endeavours have proved: apricots, peaches, grapes of various kinds, almonds, pistachio nuts, apples many different kinds, as also of pears, plums, currants, and cherries; quinces, figs, pomegranates, mulberries, plantains, melons, * guavas, &c. &c.

"At Shal and Mustoong, to the northward of Kelat, they have almonds of so delicate a quality, that they are blanched by simply rubbing them in a dry cloth. All kinds of

grain † known in India, are cultivated in the different provinces of Beloochistan, and they have abundance of vegetables. ‡ Madner, cotton and indigo are also produced in Beloochistan, particularly to the northward and Eastward of Kelat, and the latter is considered superior to that of Bengal, and sells for a higher price.

"In the upper parts of Sarawan and Jhalawan, and the districts of Shal and Mustoong, the wheat is sown in August or September, and reaped the June following; barley is put into the ground one month later, and the crop is gathered earlier, so that it comes to perfection in about eight months; maize in three or four, provided it be planted in the heat of summer, and in a sheltered place. Indigo will not thrive here at all, and rice only in low dales where there is a supply of water to keep it flooded. The madder does not become fit to use under three years, and as the culture of it requires some pains, by describing the process, it will afford an idea of the Belooche system of agriculture. The ground being prepared and lined off into small trenches, the seed is put into them and flooded, and, while in that state, the trenches are filled with earth and rich manure. The plants appear in nine or ten days, and in the course of the first summer the stalks increase to three or four feet in height; they are cut down in September, and given as fodder to the cattle. After this the ground is repeatedly

* Melons of all kinds are cultivated to astonishing perfection, and some of the water-melons come to a large size, that a man can hardly lift one. The Belooches pluck all the flowers, except one or two, off the stems, and nourish them with manure, alternately keeping the fruit above the earth, or covered with it, which makes it sweet and juicy. The same plan is adopted for the musk melons.

† The grains cultivated in Beloochistan are rice, wheat, barley, bajree, (*Holcus Spicatus*.) Jawasee, (*Hakus Sorghum*.) Moong, (*Phaseolus mungo*.) Maize, (*Indian corn*.) Dah, (*Faba*.) Oorud, Mustur. (*A kind of pea*.) Til, (*Sesamum*.) Chumna, (*Cicer Aretianum*.)

‡ Vegetables to be had at Kelat are turnips, carrots, cabbages, lettuce, cauliflowers, peas, beans, radishes, onions, celery, parsley, garlic, egg fruit, cucumbers.

flooded

flooded and manured until spring, when the plants again shoot forth, and such as are intended for seed, are set apart, as this second year is deemed the best for that purpose; the remainder are cut every month or six weeks, which throws all the vegetation into the roots, and adds to their size. Each stalk of those selected for seed, produces one flower on the very top of it. In the pod, which succeeds, are two seeds; this, when ripe, is plucked off and laid apart, the stems are then taken away, as in the first year, and similar precautions adopted to enrich the soil. In the third summer the stalks are pruned as in the two preceding, and in September the roots are dug up; they are quite straight, without any ramifications whatever, and usually from three to five feet long, but very thin; these roots are immediately cut into small pieces and dried, in which state they are sold, about ten pounds for a rupee in the Kelat Bazar. Ooshpoosht or camel grass is a particular kind of clover, that grows with a stalk a foot or two high, and leaves like shamrock; it will produce twice in a month, from the commencement of spring till the end of autumn, and remains in a withered state during the winter, at the close of which it is flooded and manured. This plant lasts in great perfection for six or seven years, but after that period the roots are pulled up, and the soil allowed to lie fallow for two or three seasons. The straw of the different grains constitutes a very principal food of the cattle, and is commonly chopped with Ooshpoosht. The southern provinces of Mukran and Lns have the advantage of two annual crops of grass, owing to their two wet seasons.

"In the low champaigns of

Kutch Gundava, Lns, and part of Mukran, the crops are much sooner ripe. Wheat is reaped in six months, and barley in less than five; the oriental grains vary from five to two months; and cotton and indigo are proportionably quick. It is a remarkable fact, that rice will not grow in Kutch Gundava, although the soil there affords the most luxuriant crops of every other description; nor is there any deficiency of water. In Mukran the culture of the date fruit is conducted with great attention; and as the process is somewhat remarkable, and proves in the most incontrovertible manner the existence of the male and female trees (a point I have heard disputed), I shall here detail it, premising that I had several opportunities of being an eye-witness to the fact. The trees, both male and female, generally begin to blossom the end of February or early in March. The flower grows out of the stem, between the topmost leaves or branches, and has much the appearance of a bunch of wheat ears, except that it is larger and quite white. The male flower is sweet and palatable, but that of the female bitter and nauseous to the taste. As soon as the trees are completely in flower, they are pruned of all exuberant branches; beside which, it is often found advisable to remove a certain quantity of the blossoms from the female, otherwise the fruit will not come to the same perfection. When this has been done, a stalk of the male flower is inserted into a small incision made in the core of the top of the female tree, and the dates gradually increase in size till the 'Khoorma Puz,' or date ripening, which is a term applied to a period of extreme hot weather, seldom exceeding
thirty

three weeks, that occurs in August or September. Without this agency, the female blossoms will form into the shape of dates, but never ripen; and those of the male tree are of no other use, unless I may add that the Belooches eat them as bread, either in their green state or roasted. One tree of the latter sex is sufficient to fecundate many hundred females, as the minutest particle of farina will answer for that purpose; and I was even assured that the same portion might be removed, in case of necessity, from one to another with equal effect. When the 'Khoormu Puz' is past, the dates are pulled, and appropriated according to the views of the owner. Some are dried on mats in the sun, in the state they come off the tree; the same method is pursued with others after extracting the stones, and they are then strung on small lines made of goats' hair. Those that are intended to be kept in a moist state are immediately packed into baskets made from the palm leaf, and the abundance of saccharine matter that they contain preserves them from spoiling. There are numerous different kinds of the tree and fruit, as the conjunction of any two varieties forms a third, distinguished by another name; yet a person, to be deemed well versed in the cultivation of dates, must be capable of pointing out and mentioning, on seeing each tree, the name and description of the fruit it bears. The most esteemed in Beloochistan are called Lur, Puppoo, Moojwatee, and Shinguskund. The date tree is

looked upon by the natives of these countries, and with great reason too, as the most important blessing they enjoy; the value of which is enhanced by its thriving best in soil of a gravelly and barren nature, and consequently of no other use.

"The best timber the Belooches have is of the Upoors* and tamarind trees, both of which are remarkably hard and durable; and the former resembles teak so greatly in grain, weight, and appearance, that Captain Christie and myself mistook it for that wood. Both these trees grow to a very large size, and to them may be added the Babool, Lye, and Mulberry, as they are all used for building. To the westward, the natives principally appropriate the palm tree to the same purpose. The Neem, Peepul, Sissoo,† Chinár, Mango, walnut, and sycamore, are also all found in various divisions of the country; but the oak, ash, fir, &c. are unknown.

"The domestic animals of Beloochistan are horses, mules, asses, camels, dromedaries, buffaloes, black cattle, sheep, goats, dogs, and cats; beside fowls and pigeons: they have neither geese, turkeys, nor ducks. The wild animals are lions, tigers, leopards, hyenas, wolves, jackalls, tiger cats, wild dogs, foxes, hares, moongooses, mountain goats, antelopes, elks, red and moose deer, wild asses, &c. &c. Of the feathered kind there are eagles, kites, vultures, magpies,‡ crows, hawks, wild geese, and ducks, flamingos, herons,

* A species of the *Zizyphus Jujuba*.

† The Babool, *Farnesian mimosa*; Lye, tamarisk; Neem, *melia azadirachta*; Peepul, *ficus religiosa*; Sissoo, *dalbergia sissoo* (Roxburgh); Chinár, *platanus orientalis*.

‡ I have never seen magpies in any part of Asia except at Kelat. I believe they are unknown in Persia or the Kabool dominions, and it seems unaccountable that they should be confined to the district of Kelat alone.

bustard, florikens, rock pigeons, lapwings, plovers, snipes, quails, partridges, and almost every class of small bird to be met with either in Europe or India. Vermin and venomous animals are not so common as in Hindostan, and fresh fish is, it may be said, unknown, except on the sea-coast, where the inhabitants subsist on it the greatest part of the year.

“The horses of Beloochistan are strong, well boned, and large, but usually extremely vicious. Those which are brought to India from that country, are mostly bred to the southward of Kelat, and in Kutch Gundava. The breed of this animal, in Lus and Mukran, is small and deficient in spirit. Westward of the desert, the Belooches chiefly get their horses from Khorasan; and those chiefs, who have brood mares, cross them with Arab, or Persian horses, from which circumstance they are very superior in mettle, docility, and beauty. There is nothing observable in the ass or mule of this region; nor do the black cattle, sheep, or goats, require any particular notice. The sheep are mostly of the species called, in Persia, Doomba, or the fat-tailed; and the goats are rough and covered with black hair, which serves to protect them from snow and cold. Of all the domestic creatures I have enumerated, the camel and dromedary are the most highly prized by the Belooches. The camel is of the species with two humps, and is only serviceable for burthen, being heavy in his make, with enormous bones, shaggy coat, and amazing strength. The dromedary, or one-humped camel, is trained by these people to travel at an incredible rate for many successive days, and their abstinence from food or water peculiarly suits

them for the Chupaos or marauding expeditions of their ownen, in which they have a decided advantage over horses. The camel is never seen in any of the lowland countries, and even in the upper provinces they are rarely employed or reared. The dromedaries vary exceedingly in form and appearance, according to the climate of which they are indigenous. In Mukran and Lus they are slender, light in colour, and usually beautifully proportioned; while at Kelat and to the northward of that city they are, comparatively speaking, heavy, very black, rough, and cross made. These latter are by much the best, and are more patient of heat and cold than any others I have ever heard of. Shepherds' dogs and greyhounds are the most valued of the canine species, and the Belooches are as attentive to their pedigree and rearing as a sportsman in England could possibly be to his pointers. The former are very large and powerful, and, when irritated, exceedingly ferocious; but, in common, the most docile creatures imaginable. The wild or jungle dog is of this description, and unless a man be very well armed, it would be dangerous to molest one of them. They frequently hunt in packs of twenty or thirty, and will seize a bullock and kill him in a few minutes. Fortunately their timidity is so great, that they keep in the most impenetrable jungles, and they are therefore little to be apprehended.

“The lion and tiger are seldom found in the mountains of Beloochistan, and I imagine, their real haunts may be traced to the forests on the banks of the Indus, and other parts of the desert waste lying between Sinde and Guzeratte. Hyenas,

nas, wolves, and jackalls abound all over this country, and make sad havoc amongst the flocks; none of them, the hyena excepted, will attack a man, and that only, if urged by severe hunger, or irritated by opposition. Eagles are alone

seen in Jhalawan and Sarawan. Hawking is a favourite pastime with some of the Belooch chiefs to the westward, and they instruct their birds with great care, principally to take bustards, jungul fowls and black partridges."

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS OF M. PERON.

[From M. ALARD's *Eloge Historique*.]

FRANCIS Péron, Correspondent of the Imperial Institute, Member of the Medical, Philomathic, and many other learned Societies, was born at Cerilly, in the department of the *Allier*, on the 22nd of August, 1755. He early shewed signs of genius, and almost from his infancy exhibited an ardent desire for the acquirement of knowledge. Being left on his father's death without provision, his family were desirous that he should learn some trade by which he would be enabled to maintain himself; his entreaties, however, prevailed with his mother, and he was entered at the college at Cerilly. The Principal, pleased with the talents and the disposition of his scholar, bestowed particular attention on him; and when he had gone through a course of rhetoric, recommended him to study divinity; and the minister of the parish consented to take him into his house, and instruct him in philosophy and theology.

"Up to this period Péron, who

had been solely engaged by his studies, was utterly a stranger to the events which were passing in the world. The revolution had commenced: dazzled with the principles of liberty which led to it, he at once determined on a military career, quitted his tutor, for whom, however, to the last, he entertained a sentiment of gratitude, and enrolled himself in one of the national regiments. At the end of the year 1792 he was sent to the army of the Rhine, and from thence to Landau, which was then besieged. After the siege was raised, he rejoined the army opposed to the Prussians at Wessemburg, and which received a check at Kaiserlautern. In this affair Péron was wounded and made prisoner, and sent first to Wessel, and from thence to Magdeburg.

"Even his captivity was of service to him. He had during the campaign devoted all his leisure time to study; all the money he could procure he now employed

* The jungul fowl are a wild species of the common barn-door fowl, but considerably smaller and very like bantam fowls. They are game birds, and a small sized hawk, it is said, will not venture to attack a full grown cock.

in the purchase of books. Several persons, interested by his manners and appearance, lent him many: the whole period of his captivity was devoted to general study. At the end of 1794 he was exchanged, and went to Thionville, where he procured his discharge as disabled, having lost an eye. In August 1795 he returned to his native town, being then about twenty years of age. After devoting some months to the society of his mother and sisters, he became desirous of procuring some situation in which, by the exercise of his talents, he might be able to support himself. Having been successful in an application to the minister for an appointment of student in the medical school, he went to Paris, where, during three years, he applied himself very diligently not only to the study of medicine, but to those of zoology and comparative anatomy. He took his doctor's degree, and would perhaps have been amongst the most distinguished of the faculty, but for an unfortunate event, which induced him to renounce his intentions of practising physic.

"Péron, who had a lively imagination, and an ardent disposition, early formed a romantic attachment for a young woman in Paris. The hopes of future success in his profession, by which he should be enabled to support her whom he loved, served as an additional stimulus to excite him in his studies: but obstacles, which his eagerness and inexperience had induced him to disregard, destroyed all his hopes, and he was rejected by his mistress on account of his poverty. Overcome by despair, he eagerly sought to quit for ever scenes which reminded him of his

disappointments. One violent passion is only to be opposed by another of equal force of a different nature. The army would have suited the disposition of Péron; and possessed of talents and intrepidity, he might have hoped to reach the highest rank; but the loss of an eye was an obstacle to his again entering into the service. The profession of medicine, and the pursuit of science, might still have had sufficient attraction for him; but how pursue his studies, surrounded by objects that perpetually reminded him of his misfortune? A rapid succession of events, by which he might be unceasingly occupied, was necessary to divert his mind from the recollection of the past, and he determined to travel. The French Government having ordered an expedition to be fitted out for the South Seas, two ships, *Le Géographe* and *Le Naturaliste*, commanded by Captain Baudin, were then lying at Havre, ready to sail, only waiting the last instructions from the minister. Péron applied to be employed: but the number of scientific persons intended to accompany the expedition being completed, he was at first unsuccessful in his request: he then addressed himself to M. de Jussieu, one of the persons charged with the selection of the naturalists, and begged him to interfere: "Let me but embark, and you shall see what I will perform," said he; and as a justification of his presumption, he proceeded to explain his plans and his views, with an earnestness and zeal which gave reason to conjecture he was capable of executing even more than he proposed. M. de Jussieu, struck by his singular eagerness, advised him to draw up a memorial, stating his objects; and on reporting to his colleagues his

his interview with Péron, they determined in concert with the Count Lacépède, not to reject the services of a young person who possessed such extraordinary ardour, combined with so much knowledge. A few days afterwards he read to the Institute a paper on the utility of adding to the other scientific persons destined to accompany the expedition, a medical naturalist, specially charged to make enquiries into the history of man, and was unanimously elected one of the zoologists of the expedition. Péron was now about to seek in another hemisphere that fame which might recompense him for the loss of the domestic happiness to which he had in vain aspired. He spent the remaining few days in obtaining instructions from M.M. de Lacépède and Cuvier, which might direct his studies. He attached himself principally to zoology, as the part of natural history which afforded the most extensive and most novel field. The two frigates sailed on the 19th of October, 1800: he was on board the *Géographe*. He united himself with all those whom, like himself, the love of science had determined to brave all dangers. He, however, contracted a particular intimacy with M. Lesueur. He lost not an instant: and even on the very first day of his going on board, commenced some meteorological observations, which he continued to repeat at intervals of six hours during the whole voyage; and during the early part of the voyage he made several very ingenious experiments on the temperature of the sea.

"On approaching the equator they observed the ocean entirely covered with a phosphorescent light, which they found to proceed from

innumerable animals whose colour resembled burning coals. Many of them were examined by Péron; and he observed, that while under examination they successively assumed the different prismatic colours until the irritability with which they were indued was exhausted.

"The impression made on Péron by this phenomenon, and the singularities which he observed in the organization of this zoophyte, determined him to study more particularly the animals of that class: and during the remainder of the voyage he and his friend Lesueur were occupied in observing the different specimens they were able to procure from the sea.

"Lesueur painted, under the direction of Péron, these different animals as they were taken from the water and before their fleeting colours escaped, the two friends having agreed to unite their labours; the one designing, and the other describing the different objects they discovered. After a voyage of five months, they arrived at the Isle of France, where they were to take in the stores necessary for their course to Terra Australis. Many of the naturalists finding that the proper supplies were not furnished, and disgusted with the imperious and oppressive conduct of the Commander, determined to proceed no further. Péron, notwithstanding these obstacles, held himself bound by his engagements, and did not abandon the expedition. We shall not enter into any detail respecting the voyage, though we may remark on one or two of the most important objects.

"On leaving the Isle of France they made for the westernmost point of New Holland, and anchored in a bay

a bay which they named *Bai du Géographe*, and after coasting along the west coast, went to Timor; and it was principally during Péron's residence at that place, so little known to naturalists, that he collected his information on the moluscae and zoophytes: the sea being very shallow, the excessive heat of the sun caused these curious animals to multiply in great numbers on those coasts.

"Péron's whole days were spent on the strand, wading amongst the reefs, endangering his health, and even his life. He did not return home till night-fall, loaded with the various animals he had procured, which he spent the night in examining, and the more remarkable of which were drawn by his friend. Notwithstanding the illness which had attacked some of the party, and the dangers to which he was exposed, his zeal was unabated; the eagerness with which he collected different objects of natural history, did not, however, prevent his making observations of a different nature: he spent several days in the interior, for the purpose of studying the character and manners of the natives.

"Struck by the fact, that the members of the expedition had been nearly all attacked by illness, whilst the inhabitants escaped the influence of the climate, he conceived, after careful observation, the difference to arise from the constant use of betel by the natives.

"On quitting Timor they proceeded to the south cape of *Van Dieman's Land*, and after reconnoitering the eastern side, they entered Bass's straits, and coasted along the southern part of New Holland. We shall not trace the melancholy

picture of their sufferings: it will be sufficient to remark, that on their arrival at Port Jackson, there were not more than four of the crew capable of duty; and that had they been kept at sea a few days more, they must have perished.

"After the departure from Port Jackson, whence the *Naturaliste* was sent back to France, a navigation not less perilous than that which they had accomplished remained to be performed. The islands situated at the western entry of Bass's Straits were to be examined, and they were again to sail round the coasts of New Holland, and enter the Gulph of Carpentaria. Péron was indefatigable in his researches for every object of natural history, and in his observations on the natives.

"Of five zoologists who had been appointed to the expedition, two had remained at the Isle of France, two had died before the beginning of the second year, and thus Péron alone remained: regardless of all privations, his mind was solely occupied with the objects of his appointment; and the commander having refused to allow the spirits necessary to preserve the objects of natural history, Péron hoarded up during the remainder of the voyage his personal allowance, and applied it to preserving his specimens. Péron having gone on shore with some of the naturalists at King's Island, the vessel was driven off the coast for fifteen days. He is said never once to have lost his calmness for a moment, quietly continuing his researches, as if regardless of what was to happen. During the time he was in that inhospitable island, he collected 180 species of moluscae and zoophytes; he collected materials respecting

specting the phocæ, which frequented the shores in large numbers; and he has given an interesting account of the mode of life of twelve wretched fishermen, Englishmen, who, cut off from the rest of mankind, spent their time in collecting oil, to be carried away, at distant intervals, by the English ships. These miserable beings chiefly subsisted on kangaroos, and one or two other animals, which they caught with dogs. They willingly shared their wretched fare with the travellers—receiving them with that simple hospitality which is perhaps oftener found amidst the rude and thinly scattered inhabitants of an ungrateful soil, than in civilized and polished society, where selfishness, and the clashing of interests, serve to deaden the natural feeling of pity. On their last stay at Timor, Péron completed his observations on that island.

“ He had frequent intercourse with the natives, whose manners and government he was now better able to observe, as he had acquired the Malay language.

“ The winds preventing their making the coast of New Guinea, and entering the Gulph of Carpentaria, they returned to the Isle of France, where they remained five months. Whilst there, Péron, after he had arranged his collection, devoted his time to the study of the moluscæ and fish on the coast; and, notwithstanding the researches of the different naturalists who had preceded him, succeeded in discovering many new species. They staid at the Cape a month, during which time he made some observations on the Boshmen. At length, after an absence of three years and six months, he disembarked at

L'Orient, the 7th April 1804, and repaired immediately to Paris.

“ He employed some months in arranging his collection of specimens, and making a catalogue, previously to their being deposited in the Museum. After this was accomplished, he went to Cerilly, to see his mother and sisters. His health, weakened by the fatigues he had undergone, and by the beginning of a disorder which soon after shewed itself more plainly, rendered rest and quiet absolutely necessary.

“ Secure, in the consciousness of having well performed his duty, he did not think it necessary to take any particular steps with Government, in explanation of what had been done during the voyage. He had not, however, been long in the enjoyment of domestic quiet, when, to his surprise, he learnt that some persons had attempted to persuade the administration, that the object of the expedition had failed. On this, he instantly returned to Paris, to refute these calumnies.

“ He waited on the minister for the naval department, and with modesty, but firmly, stated what his companions had done for the sciences of geography, mineralogy, and botany; and gave in a list of the different objects which they had brought back—the drawings of Lesueur, and the observations and descriptions which he had collected. All the questions which were put to him, were answered with great perspicuity and naïveté; and such was the impression produced that the minister, convinced of the importance of what had been achieved, undertook to have the nautical part of the voyage compiled by M. Freycenet, (one of the principal

cipal persons employed during the voyage;) and to apply to M. De Champagny, the minister of the home department, in order that similar directions might be given with respect to the historical part.

"The same success attended him with M. Champagny. He was received with the most flattering attention; and the publication of the narrative part of the voyage, and of the description of the new objects of natural history, was entrusted to him, in conjunction with his friend Lesueur. Thus, Péron was at once brought into notice; and he who till then had been nearly unknown, was, on a sudden, courted and eagerly sought after.

"The collection deposited in the Museum, was examined, and a commission named by the Institute to make a report on it to the Government. The result of which was, that it contained more than 100,000 specimens of animals, amongst which were several new genera, and above 2500 new species; thus M. Péron and Lesueur had alone discovered more animals than all the modern travellers put together.

"Although he was chiefly occupied in the preparation of the account of his voyage, he composed several memoirs, which were transmitted to the Institute, and several other learned Societies. Amongst the rest, were essays on the genus *pyrosoma*, the phosphorescent zoophytes before mentioned, on the temperature of the sea, on the petrified zoophytes found in the mountains of Timor, on the dysentery of warm climates, on the use of betel, on the health of mariners, and on the relative strength of savages and civilized persons; and he also undertook a complete history of the medusæ, which he had par-

ticularly studied, and of which he he had collected a considerable number of species, till then unknown. The first volume of this account of the voyage was published about nine years ago; and from this an estimate of the merit of Péron may be formed. We shall content ourselves with a few general remarks, on a work so recent, and so well known. The facts are stated with great clearness and precision—one of the most important qualifications of a work of this nature; there is much curious matter in the description of the soils and climates of the different countries. The account of the different races of people which inhabit the Straits of New Holland and Van Dieman's Land, has brought us intimately acquainted with two of the most ferocious tribes of savages, and exhibits the human species in the most degraded state in which it has yet been discovered.

"No former voyager, with the exception perhaps of Forster, has so well seized on the physical and moral characters of the different tribes of the South Sea Islanders; and, if Forster's narrative is more entertaining, Péron has no where like him indulged in theoretical speculations; and his work is free from that air of fiction, which is the great defect of the work of Forster.

"Péron was more attached to zoology than to botany; and it is to be regretted, that he did not attend more to the vegetable productions of the different countries he visited. His style is not sufficiently simple for a narrative. Yet though generally too florid, there are many passages of exquisite beauty. We refer particularly to his

his description of Timor, and the inhabitants of Van Dieman's Land—passages not unworthy of the pen of Buffon.

"There is no part of his work which is so deserving of attention, as that in which he considers the advantages of civilization; and he has, with singular felicity, thrown new lights, and added fresh interest, by a combination of new facts and suggestions, on a subject which seemed to have been long exhausted.

"Part of the second volume of his voyage was printed in his life, but he did not live to complete it. This is very lately published; and we shall, in a subsequent article of this Journal, notice its contents.

"In addition to the different memoirs published by Péron, on zoology, he was occupied in collecting materials for a more considerable work, on the different races of mankind; and had, with great industry, compiled information from all the preceding voyagers and physiologists on this subject; and besides this he had himself opportunities of examining the inhabitants of the Cape, the aborigines of Timor, the savages of New Holland and Van Dieman's Land, and had prepared a philosophic history of different races of mankind, with reference to their physical and moral qualities. This, however, he did not mean to publish till he had accomplished three voyages. One to the north of Europe, and part of Asia. Another to India; and the third to America: and he intended to devote fifteen years to the completion of this task. His whole plan was completely digested. He had collected all his questions, and was unceasingly oc-

cupied in solving the different problems which he had proposed.

"Many of his memoirs on this interesting subject were from time to time condemned, as he discovered his errors or misconceptions; but the fragment containing the history of the people of Timor is nearly completed; the figures to accompany it were drawn on the spot, and the expense of engraving them is the sole obstacle to its publication.

"His portfolio contained a vast collection of descriptions of the birds, quadrupeds, and fish, which he had seen; and more especially of the animals without vertebrae, the history of which he had undertaken, and of which his friend had made more than a thousand drawings.

"These will probably be published by M. Lesueur, in conjunction with the professors of the Museum.

"His character is thus drawn by M. Deleuze: Péron was eager, not only to improve his understanding by the acquisition of knowledge, but also to correct his faults, and to perfect his moral qualities. He had studied himself in this respect, and had committed to writing his observations on his own character. In these observations, which were not meant to meet any other eye than his own, he has been as unreserved in his praises as in the blame of himself; and we cannot better characterize him, than by the following extract from one of his notes, found amongst his papers. Its date is November 1800—written therefore at a time when he could not have supposed that he should attain a celebrity which would render its publication probable.

"Heedless

“ ‘Heedless, giddy, disputations, self-willed and opinionated, unbending to the will of others, I foresee, I shall at once make a thousand enemies, and alienate the esteem of my best friends. These defects are somewhat attributable to my education, and solitary and independent habits of life. Though I am aware that they obscure the better parts of my character, yet such is the irresistible force of habit, that all attempts at correction have as yet been fruitless. Nevertheless, I feel I have no cause to blush at my faults, for be they what they may, I am guiltless of intentional wrong; and the sincere regret which has always followed the commission of error, has hitherto satisfied my own conscience. These defects of my head are, I think, compensated by some good qualities of my heart.—I believe myself to be feeling, kind, and generous.—I am not conscious of ever having willingly wronged a single creature; and though my friends may have suffered for my intemperate sallies, and may have had reason to complain of my indiscretions, still they have always been willing to admit the goodness of my heart, and acknowledge my attachment and kindness to them. These qualities have accompanied me through life; and at college, and with the army, it enabled me to conciliate the esteem of those with whom I was brought in contact; and often induced me to succour those unfortunate victims, who, by the ambition of their sovereigns, became a prey to the fury of the French army. Alas! how frequent has the glory of our soldiers been tarnished by rapine and cruelty! How often has my heart bled at cruelties I could not prevent,

but in which I never concurred. Young and enthusiastic, none can say that misfortune has not always found in me a zealous friend. A stranger to the tone and manners of society, with an impetuous and uncontrollable imagination, and a frankness always imprudent, and frequently bordering on ill-breeding; obstinate in the support of my own opinions, and heedless, I have often for a time alienated the esteem of my friends; but as soon as passion passes away, and reason regains its empire, I have blushed at my violence, and eagerly sought the pardon of those whom I had offended. The sincerity of my excuses and professions has always been successful, and I still possess the esteem of my friends, though there is not one but has had some cause of complaint.’

“ The candour of this confession, cannot but interest the reader in the favour of Péron. All those who were in habits of intimacy with him, recognized the fidelity of the portrait, except that he was in error, where he attributes the attachment of his friends solely to the goodness of his disposition. This quality, instead of being accompanied, as in many, by inefficiency and weakness, was in him united to courage, and an activity and zeal, which rendered him often of the greatest service to others.

“ He not only acquired the esteem and the friendship of those with whom he lived, but contrived to gain an ascendancy over their minds, which was the more extraordinary, considering his ignorance of the world, and as he could have bestowed but little consideration on the means of governing others, or of gaining partisans.

“ Simple

"Simple and unpretending in all common occurrences of life, in these of importance, Péron was another being: his mind became exalted, his discourse and gesture imposing, and he commanded his equals as though he conceived they had not power to resist his will. None, however, were more gay, lively, or good tempered; nor more willing to overlook the defects of his acquaintance, when he found them united with good qualities.

"Some periodical work having stated his merits to be superior to those of a very distinguished traveller, he lost not a moment in desiring its contradiction: 'I don't fear,' said he, 'to be thought vain enough to be privy to such an exaggeration of my merits: but it is an injustice done to another, even to let such a statement pass uncontradicted.'

"Many instances of his disinterestedness and liberality are related by his biographers. The pension which had been granted to him being scarcely sufficient to supply him with necessaries, the minister offered to appoint him to an office at once lucrative and honourable, but he refused, observing, 'That he had devoted himself entirely to the cause of science; and that if he took a place, it would become him to attend to the discharge of its duties; and with his objects and engagements, he could not consider his time at his own disposal.'

"As soon as he was nominated to the charge of drawing up the history of the voyage he had been engaged in, he resided constantly in Paris, lodging, with his friend Lesueur, in a small apartment near the Museum.

"He practised the most rigid economy, in order that he might

be enabled to spare part of his scanty allowance to his sisters, who were living in poverty and obscurity. The disorder on his lungs began to make a fearful progress, and it was considerably increased by the shock he received from the death of his mother. He was afflicted by a cough, accompanied by incessant fever: all remedies that were applied were found ineffectual. He soon perceived that the disease was mortal; and considering all attempts to stop its progress as time lost, devoted himself unremittingly to the completion of some of the works which he had commenced.

"M. Corvoisart having advised him to pass a winter at Nice, he conceived himself bound to yield, and was much benefited by the journey; and the mildness of the climate appeared in some degree to have restored his health. Whilst at Nice, he gave himself up to study with fresh vigour, passing whole days in a boat out at sea, collecting moluscae and fish; and it was only that he might not afflict his friend Lesueur, who accompanied him, that he consented to return when exposed to the danger of a recurrence of his disorder, from the wet and cold. The letters he wrote to his friends whilst at Nice shew how enthusiastically he was devoted to science. Nevertheless, the transitory relief he enjoyed, did not deceive him as to the real state of his health, and he flattered himself merely with the hope that he had a few months respite; and these he well employed. The collection and observations he made at Nice are extremely valuable.

"When he returned to Paris, his health soon became worse than when he quitted it. I saw him frequently, observes M. Deleuze, and sought

sought to inspire him with hope; but he had none:—he spoke of his end with perfect calmness; and on a sick bed, he contemplated the approach of death with the same even courage with which he had so often braved it in the field; amidst the tempests of the sea; or amongst the savage inhabitants of inhospitable shores.

“As his illness increased, he felt a desire to end his days where they had begun, and in the arms of his sisters, who had been the objects of his earliest affections. He bade a solemn and last farewell to all his friends, and set off for Cerilly, where he resigned himself to the advice and prescriptions of his friends, the inability of which, however, he was well aware of.

“By the direction of his old friend and fellow-student, M. Bonnet, his bed was placed in a cow-house, and whenever he re-

quired any sustenance, either his sisters or Lesueur fed him with new milk: he was surrounded by the beings whom he best loved. In order to prevent his exhausting himself by speaking, his friend Lesueur read to him constantly, except when he slept. He preserved to the last moment of his life that eager desire for knowledge which he had manifested from his earliest youth. As his end approached, all his impatience and irritability passed away; and the only subject that continued to interest him was, the welfare of his poor and unprotected sisters, whom he was about to quit for ever. His strength became quite exhausted, and during the night of the 14th of December, 1810, having received from his friend a small quantity of milk which he had asked of him, he pressed his hand, and expired!”

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

HIGH FEELINGS OF MILTON MEDITATING HIS PARADISE LOST.

[From a Passage in his Church-Government, referred to by Mr. BONNEY, in his Life of Dr. JEREMY TAYLOR.]

"**I**T was a performance not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist, or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame memory and her siren daughters; but by devout prayer to that eternal spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases; to this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observations, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs; till which, in some measure, be compassed at mine own peril and

cost I refuse not to sustain the expectation 'of such a work' from as many as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have disclosed thus much before hand; but that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noise and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth, in the quiet and still air of delightful studies."

ON INTEMPERANCE.

[By BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR. From the same.]

"**L**ET us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. "This was the epicure's proverb, begun upon

a weak mistake, started by chance from the discourses of drink, and thought witty by the undiscerning company;

company; and it prevailed infinitely, because it struck their fancy luckily, and maintained the merry-meeting; but, as it happens commonly to such discourses, so this also, when it comes to be examined by the consultations of the morning, and the sober hours of day, it seems the most witless, and the most unreasonable in the world. When Seneca describes the spare diet of Epicurus and Metrodorus, he uses this expression; '*liberiora sunt alimenta carceris: sepositos ad capitale supplicium, non tam anguste, qui occisuris est, fascit.*' The prison keeps a better table, and he that is to kill the criminal to-morrow morning, gives him a better supper overnight. By this he intended to represent his meal to be very short: for as dying persons have but little stomach to feast high; so they that mean to cut their throat will think it a vain expense to please it with delicacies, which after the first alteration must be poured upon the ground, and looked upon as the worst part of the accursed thing. And there is also the same proportion of unreasonableness, that because men shall 'die to-morrow,' and by the sentence and unalterable decree of God, they are now descending to their graves, that therefore they should first destroy their reason, and then force dull time to run faster, that they may die sottish as beasts, and speedily as a fly: but they thought there was no life after this; or if there were, it was without pleasure, and every soul thrust into a hole, and a dorter of a span's length allowed for his rest, and for his walk; and in the shades below no numbering of healths by the numerical letters of Philenium's name, no fat mullets, no oysters of

Lucrinus, no Lesbian or Chian wines. Τὴν σαυῶς ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν σὺν σαυῶν σαυρόν. Therefore now enjoy the delicacies of nature, and feel the descending wines distilling through the limbeck of thy tongue and larynx, and suck the delicious juice of fishes, the marrow of the laborious ox, and the tender lard of Apulian swine, and the condicted bellies of the scarus; but lose no time, for the sun drives hard, and the shadow is long, and the days of mourning are at hand, but the number of the days of darkness and the grave cannot be told.

"Thus they thought they discoursed wisely, and their wisdom was turned into folly; for all their acts of providence, and witty securities of pleasure were nothing, but unmanly prologues to death, fear, and folly, sensuality and beastly pleasures."

"He proceeds to shew, that plenty and the pleasures of the world are no proper instruments of felicity; that intemperance is a certain enemy to it; making life unpleasant, and death troublesome and intolerable; and he closes the subject by laying down the rules and measures of temperance."

"If men did but know, he says, what felicity dwells in the cottage of a virtuous poor man; how sound he sleeps, how quiet his breast, how composed his mind, how free from care, how easy his provision, how healthful his morning, how sober his night, how moist his mouth, how joyful his heart, they would never admire the noises, and the diseases, the throng of passions, and the violence of unnatural appetites, that fill the houses of the luxurious, and the hearts of the ambitious." "The private life, that which is freest from

from tumult and vanity, noise and luxury, business and ambition, nearest to nature, and a just entertainment to our necessities; that life is nearest to felicity.'

"Then he divides his subject into other heads, and shews that intemperance is an enemy to health. A constant full table has in it less pleasure than the temperate provisions of the labourer or the virtuous; that intemperance is an impure fountain of vice; the destruction of wisdom; and a dishonour to the person and nature of the man.

"Health is the opportunity of wisdom, the fairest scene of religion, the advantages of the glorifications of God, the charitable ministries to men; it is a state of joy and thanksgiving, and in every of its periods feels a pleasure from the blessed emanations of a merciful Providence. The world does not minister, does not feel a greater pleasure than to be newly delivered from the racks of the gratings of the stone; and no organs, no harp, no lute can sound out the praises of the Almighty Father so spritely, as the man that rises from his bed of sorrows, and considers what an excellent difference he feels from the groans and intolerable accents of yesterday."

"By faring deliciously every day men become senseless of the evils of mankind, inapprehensive of the troubles of their brethren, unconcerned in the changes of the world, and the cries of the poor, the hunger of the fatherless, and the thirst of widows.

"What wisdom can be expected from them, whose soul dwells in clouds of meat, and floats up and down in wine, like the spilled cups which fell from their hands, when they could lift them

to their heads no longer? It is a perfect shipwreck of a man, the pilot is drunk, and the helm dashed in pieces, and the ship first reels, and by swallowing too much is itself swallowed up at last. And therefore the Navis Agrigentina, the madness of the young fellows of Agrigentum, who being drunk, fancied themselves in a storm, and the house, the ship, was more than the wild fancy of their cups, it was really so, they were all cast away, they were broken in pieces by the foul disorder of the storm. The senses languish, the spark of divinity that dwells within is quenched; and the mind snorts, dead with sleep and fulness.

"Though no man think himself fit to be despised, yet he is willing to make himself a beast, a sot, and a ridiculous monkey, with the follies and vapours of wine; and when he is high in drink or fancy, proud as a Grecian orator in the midst of his popular noises; at the same time he shall talk such dirty language, such mean, low things, as may well become a changeling or a fool, for whom the stocks are prepared by the laws. Every drunkard clothes his head with a mighty scorn; and makes himself lower at that time than the meanest of his servants; the boys can laugh at him when he is led by like a cripple, directed like a blind man, and speaks like an infant, imperfect noises, lisping with a full and spongy tongue, and an empty head, and a vain foolish heart: so cheaply does he part with his honour for drink or loads of meat; for which honour he is ready to die, rather than hear it to be disparaged by another; when himself destroys it, as bubbles perish with the breath of children."

On

ON MARRIAGE AND CELIBACY.

[By the same. From the same.]

"**H**ERE is the proper scene of piety and patience, of the duty of parents and charity of relatives; here kindness is spread abroad, and love is united and made firm as a centre: marriage is the nursery of heaven; the virgin sends prayers to God, but she carries but one soul to him; but the state of marriage fills up the numbers of the elect, and bath in it the labour of love, and the delicacies of friendship, the blessing of society, and the union of hands and hearts; it hath in it less of beauty, but more of safety than the single life; it hath more care, but less danger; it is more merry, and more sad; is fuller of sorrows, and fuller of joys; it lies under more burdens, but is supported by all the strength of love and charity, and those burdens are delightful. Marriage is the mother of the world, and preserves kingdoms, and fills cities and churches, and heaven itself. Celibacy, like the fly in the heart of an apple, dwells in perpetual sweetness, but sits alone, and is confined and dies in singularity; but marriage, like the useful bee, builds a house and gathers sweetness from every flower, and labours and unites into societies and republics, and sends out colonies, and feeds the world with delicacies, and obeys their king, and keeps order, and exercises many virtues, and promotes the interest of mankind, and is that state

of good things to which God hath designed the present constitution of the world."

"The preacher then lays down the duty as it generally relates to man and wife. The duty and power of the man; and the rights and privileges, and the duty of the woman.

"They that enter into the state of marriage, cast a dye of the greatest contingency, and yet of the greatest interest in the world, next to the last throw for eternity.

"Νοι γὰρ δὴ πάντως ἐπὶ ζῆνι κατὰ
ἀνδρῶς.

"Ἡ μάλα λυγρὸς ὀλεθρὸς Ἀχαιῶς, ἢ
βιωταί." II. K. 173.

"Life or death, felicity or a lasting sorrow, are in the power of marriage. A woman, indeed, ventures most, for she hath no sanctuary to retire from an evil husband; she must dwell upon her sorrow; and she is more under it, because her tormentor hath a warrant of prerogative, and the woman may complain to God as subjects do of tyrant princes, but otherwise she hath no appeal in the causes of unkindness. And though the man can run from many hours of his sadness, yet he must return to it again, and when he sits among his neighbours, he remembers the objection that lies in his bosom, and he sighs deeply.

"The

“ ‘The boys and the pedlars, and the fruiterers, shall tell of this man, when he is carried to his grave, that he lived and died a poor wretched person. The stags in the Greek epigram, whose knees were clogged with frozen snow upon the mountains, came down to the brooks of the valleys, χλιζῆναι νοτέροῖς ἀσθμασὶν ὑπὸ γόνυ, hoping to thaw their joints with the waters of the stream; but there the frost overtook them, and bound them fast in ice, till the young herdsmen took them in their stronger snare. It is the unhappy chance of many men, finding many inconveniences upon the mountains of single life, they descend into the valleys of marriage to refresh their troubles, and there they enter into fetters, and are bound to sorrow by the cords of a man's or woman's peevishness.” “Every little thing can blast an infant blossom; and the breath of the south can shake the little rings of the vine, when first they begin to curl like the locks of a new-weaned boy; but when by age and consolidation they stiffen into the hardness of a stem, and have by the warm embraces of the sun, and the kisses of heaven, brought forth their clusters, they can endure the storms of the north, and the loud noises of a tempest, and yet never be broken: so are the early unions of an unfixed marriage; watchful and observant, jealous and busy, inquisitive and careful, and apt to take alarm at every unkind word. For infirmities do not manifest themselves in the first scenes, but in the succession of a long society; and it is not chance or weakness, when it appears at first, but it is want of love or prudence, or it will be so expounded;” 1816.

and that which appears ill at first usually affrights the unexperienced man or woman, who makes unequal conjectures, and fancies mighty sorrows by the proportions of the new and early unkindness. It is a very great passion, or a huge folly, or a certain want of love, that cannot preserve the colours and beauties of kindness, so long as public honesty requires a man to wear their sorrows for the death of a friend.” “The little boy in the Greek epigram, that was creeping down a precipice, was invited to his safety by the sight of his mother's pap, when nothing else could entice him to return: and the bond of common children, and the sight of her that nurses what is most dear to him, and the endearments of each other in the course of a long society, and the same relation is an excellent security to reintegrate and to call that love back which folly and trifling accidents would disturb.

“ . . . Tormentum ingens nubentibus hæres
“ Quæ nequeunt parere, & partu retinere
maritos.”

“ ‘When it comes thus far, it is hard untwisting the knot.’ “There is nothing can please a man without love; and if a man be weary of the wise discourses of the apostles, and of the innocency of an even and private fortune, or hates peace, or a fruitful year, he hath reaped thorns and thistles from the choicest flowers of paradise; for nothing can sweeten felicity itself, but love. But when a man dwells in love, then the eyes of his wife are fair as the light of heaven, and he can lay his sorrows down upon her lap, and can retire home as to his sanctuary

L

tnary and refectory, and his gardens of sweetness and chaste refreshments. No man can tell but he that loves his children, how many delicious accents make a man's heart dance in the pretty conversation of those dear pledges; their childishness, their stammering, their little angers, their innocence, their imperfections, their necessities are so many little emanations of joy and comfort to him that

delights in their persons and society; but he that loves not his wife and children, feeds a lioness at home, and broods a nest of sorrows; and blessing itself cannot make him happy; so that all the commandments of God enjoining a man to love his wife, are nothing but so many necessities and capacities of joy.' 'She that is loved is safe, and he that loves is joyful.'

ON MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

[From the "Symbolic Books" of CHARLES BUTLER, Esq.]

"THE Monastic State originated in the East. In the earliest ages of Christianity, many persons, in imitation of the Rechabites, the prophets, and St. John the Baptist, under the Judaic dispensation, embraced a life of solitude, and dedicated all their time to prayer, fasting and other exercises of a penitential life. Cassian mentions that, in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, a large number of Christians lived in separate houses, apart from the world, and wholly devoted to prayer, pious meditation, and silent labour. They were called 'Monks,' from a Greek word, signifying, a person living alone. For the same purpose of pious retirement, others, particularly in times of persecution, retired to inaccessible mountains or lonely deserts. Of these, the first whose name has

reached us, is St. Paul, usually called the first hermit. In the 250th year of the Christian era, he retired to the Upper Egypt; and, having attained his 113th year, died in 341. About the same time, St. Anthony, after spending many years in perfect solitude, permitted a numerous body of men to live in community with him, and to lead, under his direction, a life of piety and manual labour, sanctified by prayer.

"St. Pachomius was the first, who composed a written rule for the conduct of monks. The communities under his direction inhabited the desert of Tabenne, a small island in the Nile, between the town of Girgè and the ancient Thebes. Thirty or forty of them occupied one house; thirty or forty houses composed a monastery, and the

“ Such was the origin of the monastic state.—Nothing in sacred biography is more interesting than the accounts of its founders, and their most eminent disciples. These were written by their contemporaries, and have been translated into almost every modern language.—Every Roman-catholic recollects with pleasure, the exquisite delight, with which, when he was at school, he perused the Lives of the Venerable Fathers of the Desert, the names assigned to them by the Roman-catholic church, as they are written by Arnand d’Andilly in his *Vies des Pères du désert*, 3 vol. 8vo. or 2 vol.

“ About two hundred years after its introduction, St. Benedict, an Italian monk, framed his religious rule for the government of a convent at Mount Cassino, between Rome and Naples, over which he presided. It was formed on that of St. Pachomius, and contained the same division of time, for prayer and manual labour : the same silence and the same solitude : but there was some relaxation in the article of diet. St. Pachomius allowed his disciples twelve ounces of biscuit, to be taken by them at two repasts ; one early in the afternoon, the other late in the evening, with an occasional, but not a very frequent allowance of cheese, fruit, herbs, and small dried fish. Meat was expressly forbidden by St. Benedict to be served to his disciples, except in serious illness. They were indulged by him with a daily allowance of half a pint of wine ; which his disciples exchanged, in the northern climates, for a proportional allowance of strong beer or cyder. His rule was embraced by all the monks of the West.

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devastation and confusion occasioned in Italy by the Lombards, in Spain by the Saracens, in France by the civil wars among the descendants of Charlemagne, and in England by the irruption of the Danes — the Benedictine monks fell from their original fervour into great disorder. St. Odo restored it, with some modification, in his monastery at Cluni, and several monasteries adopted his reform. They were called the Congregation of Cluni; but by degrees the congregation of Cluni itself wanted reform; and the general decline of virtue and piety in the Benedictine order was so great, that, in the beginning of the eleventh century, it was difficult to find a single monastery, where even a faint likeness to the state in which the order had been left by its original founder was discoverable. But, towards the middle of the eleventh century, several eminent men arose in the Benedictine order, who endeavoured to restore it to its ancient purity; and, while each of them added some new statute or custom to the original rule, each of them became the founder of a *congregation* or *secondary order*, adhering, in essentials, to the order of St. Benedict, but differing from it in some particular observances. Such are the Carthusians, the Camadules, the Celestines, the monks of Grandmont, the congregation of St. Maur, and the order of Cîteaux, — and the filiation from them, the monks of la Trappe.

“ ‘I believe,’ says the Protestant authoress of the elegant *Tour to Albi and the Grande Chartreuse*, ‘that very few, even among Protestants, have visited la Trappe, without being struck with the heavenly countenances of these recluses, with the truly angelic discourse, which flows from their lips as from a foun-

tain of living water. It is impossible to describe the gravity, benignity, peace, and love, visible in most of their aspects, or the humility, yet self-possessed politeness and attention in their manner. When they are asked, why they chose this seclusion, their answer is uniform: To glorify God, to repent of our sins, and to pray for the unhappy world, which prays not for itself.’

“ St. Benedict admitted both the learned and the unlearned into his order. The first recited the divine office, in the choir; the second discharged several duties, which regarded the household economy, and the other temporal concerns of the monastery. At this time, the regular recitation of the divine office was only a practice of monastic discipline: at a subsequent period, it was made the general duty of all priests, deacons, and subdeacons, and became of course the duty of all the religious, who had entered into any of those orders. As it was performed in the choir, it became a general practice in the Benedictine order, to admit none into it, who were not sufficiently instructed to recite the office in the choir; but it was not required that they should be priests, or even be in holy orders. All St. Bernard’s brothers were professed religious, but none of them was in orders. — Afterwards, the Benedictines judged it advisable to admit into their order many, who, from ignorance, or some other circumstance, were incapable of the duty of the choir, and to employ them in the menial duties, or other laborious employments of the house. This introduced *Lay Brothers* into the Benedictine order. At first, they were rather attached to the general body of the order than a portion of it; but, in time, they were acknowledged,

ledged, both by the church and the order, to be a portion of the order, and in the strictest sense of the word to be professed religious.—In its admission of lay brothers, the Benedictine order has been followed by all other religious orders, both men and women. In 1322, the Council of Vienne ordered all monks to enter into the order of priesthood, and to be instructed for it accordingly.—The monks of Vallombrosa, in Tuscany, are the first among whom lay-brothers are found with that name.

“ Few of our readers will have patience to peruse the *Annals Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* of Mabillon, in six volumes, in quarto, or his *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, in nine volumes, in folio: they will find the substance of them in *Bulteau's Abrégé de l'histoire de Saint Benoit*, two volumes, quarto, 1664.

“ The Canons Regular of St. Augustin derive their origin from certain respectable ecclesiastics, who, in the 8th century, formed themselves into a kind of middle order, between the monks and the secular clergy. They adopted so much of the monastic discipline, as to have their dwellings and table in common, and to assemble at stated hours for the divine service; but they made no vows; and often discharged the functions of the holy ministry in churches committed to their care. Thus they rendered essential service to religion.—By degrees they degenerated; but, in the 12th century, a considerable reformation was introduced among them, under the auspices of Pope Nicholas the second. Some of the members among whom it was introduced, formed themselves into communities, which had a common dwelling and coun-

mon table, but each individual, after contributing to the general stock, employed the fruits and revenues of his benefices as he thought expedient. Others, in consequence of the zealous exhortations of Ivo, bishop of Chartres, subjected themselves to an austere mode of life; they renounced their worldly possessions, all private property, and lived in a manner resembling the austerity and discipline of a monastic life. This gave rise to the distinction between the *secular* and the *regular* canons.—The former observed the decree of Nicholas the second; the latter conformed to the directions of Ivo; and being formed on the rules and suggestions laid down by St. Augustine, in his Epistles, the observers of them became generally called the Regular Canons of St. Augustine. They kept public schools for the instruction of youth, and exercised a variety of functions, which rendered them extremely useful to the church. A spirit of relaxation having found its way into the order, St. Norbert attempted to restore it to its primitive severity. He first introduced his reform into his convent at Prémontré in Picardy; it spread throughout Europe with great rapidity; and, from the convent in which it was first established, the communities which embraced it were called the Premonstratenses.

“ An account of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin, and of the Premonstratenses, is given in a work entitled *Joan. le Paige, Bibliotheca Ordinis Premonstratensis, præsertim vero Sancti Augustini regulam profutentibus, utilis maximeque necessaria*. Par. 1633, in folio.

“ It remains to add, that Convents of Nuns were founded, the institutes of which corresponded with those of

of the religious orders and congregations which we have noticed, and with some of their principal reforms.

“ For many centuries, the Benedictines, and the congregations which emanated from them, and the Canons of St. Augustin, constituted the only monastic orders of the West: but, in the 13th century, the Mendicant Orders arose: these were, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and the Hermits of St. Augustin.

“ The Franciscans were founded by St. Francis, the son of a merchant of Assisium in the Province of Umbria. He had little human learning, but in the science of the saints he had few equals. From humility, he called the brethren of his order, Friars-minors, or, the Little Brethren, and composed a rule for them, which the Pope approved. They chiefly exerted themselves in the laborious parts of the sacred ministry. In hospitals, in prisons, among the lowest orders of the poor, in every place, where labour or danger attended the exercise of the functions of the ministry, or where there was a total absence of remuneration, the Franciscan friars were sure to be found. But it was not only in the lower walks of the ministry that they laboured; many of them were eminent for their learning; many have filled the highest dignities of the church, and some have worn the Triple Crown.

“ There are three orders of St. Francis. The first of them, soon after the decease of St. Francis, divaricated into the Conventual Friars, who admitted some mitigations into the practice of the rule, and the Observantine Friars, who derived their name from their stricter obser-

vance of it. In France, they were called Cordeliers, from a cord with which they girded their habit. Reforms have sometimes been introduced among the Observantines; the principal of the reformed congregations are, the Recollects, or Grey Friars, who received their name from the Spanish word *Ricogidos*, which signifies reformed: and the Capucins, who received their appellation from a patch, worn by them on the back of their habits.

“ The Second Order of St. Francis is that of the Poor Clares, and is remarkable for its extreme severity.

“ The Third Order of St. Francis was instituted by him for persons of both sexes, living in the world, but united by certain rules and exercises, compatible with a secular life; and not binding under sin, but serving as rules for their direction. This institute was imitated by the Dominicans and Carmelites. There were some monasteries, particularly in Flanders, of Nuns, who were called of the Third Order of St. Francis: they vowed inclosure, and had a mitigated rule.

“ The Annals of the Order of St. Francis are written in 17 volumes, in folio, entitled *Lucæ Waddingi, Annales Minorum, seu Historia Trium Ordinum a Sancto Francisco institutorum, Editio secunda, studio Josephi Mariae Fonseca. Romæ 1731, &c.* Wadding was an Irishman: Father Harold, also an Irishman, published a good abridgment of this work, and a continuation of it, in two volumes.

“ St. Dominic, from whom the Dominicans derive their name, originally adopted, for the government of his disciples, the rule of the Canons Regular of St. Augustin.

Afterwards,

Afterwards, he substituted for it the rule of St. Benedict; but with so many alterations, as almost made it a new rule. Public instruction was its great object: on this account, the disciples of St. Dominic were, at first, called Preaching Friars.

"The history of the Order of St. Dominic is elegantly written, by Father Touron, a monk of that Order, in six volumes, quarto. A complete edition of the *Hibernia Dominica of Thoma de Burgo*, Col. Agr. 1762, is one of the greatest typographical curiosities. The Supplement is not easily found, and, in the work itself, the pages from 136 to 147 are wanting in most editions.

"Some writers have endeavoured to derive the origin of the Carmelites from Elias. They allege, that, after the decease of that prophet, an uninterrupted succession of hermits inhabited Mount Carmel, down to the time of Christ and his Apostles; and that, having embraced, in the earliest years of Christianity, the Christian religion, they continued their succession to the twelfth or thirteenth century, when the rule of the Carmelites, as it is now observed, was communicated to St. Simon Stock, their general, by divine revelation. At that time, they were established at Palestine: Alberic, their fifth general in succession from St. Simon Stock, removed from Palestine; and houses of the order were established in many parts of Europe. A reform was introduced into the order by the exertions of St. Theresa. Those who embraced the reform, were, from their not wearing shoes, called the Discalceated, or Unshodden Carmelites, in opposition to those, who continued Calceated, or shodden.

"The history of the Carmelites

is written in the *Speculum Carmelitarum*, published at Antwerp, in four volumes, in folio, in 1680.

"The Hermits of St. Austin derive their institute from a bull of Pope Alexander IV. which collected into one order, under that name, several orders of hermits, and prescribed a rule for their government.

"The four orders, which we have mentioned, are the only orders which the church has acknowledged to be mendicant. An order is considered to be mendicant, in the proper import of that word, when it has no fixed income, and derives its whole subsistence from casual and uncertain bounty, obtained by personal mendicity. To that, St. Francis did not wish his brethren to have recourse, till they had endeavoured to earn a competent subsistence by labour, and found their earnings insufficient. 'With my own hands,' he says in his testament, 'I laboured and wish to labour; and I earnestly wish all my brethren to labour incessantly for a decent livelihood. Let those who have not learned any laborious employment, learn one; not from an improper desire of the profit of labour, but as a good example, and to keep off idleness: and when we do not receive the wages of our labour, let us then approach the table of the Lord, and beg from door to door.' But, soon after the decease of St. Francis, the exertions, equally incessant and laborious, of his disciples, for the spiritual welfare of the faithful, appeared, in the universal opinion of the church, to be both incompatible with manual labour, and much more than a compensation to the public, for all they could possibly obtain from it by mendicity. This opinion was unequivocally expressed by St. Thomas of Aquin,

and

and sanctioned by a bull of Pope Nicholas the third. From that time the friars did not use manual labour as a means of subsistence, but resorted, in the first instance, to mendicity. In this sense, it was an article in the rule of St. Francis.

"It made no part of the original rule of St. Dominic, or of the original rules of the Carmelites, or the Hermits of St. Augustin. Insensibly, however, all of them eugrafted it, by particular constitutions, on their respective rules; and thus the four orders, which we have mentioned, became the four mendicant orders; but St. Francis was the only founder of a religious order, of whose original rule mendicity was an article.

"Experience soon discovered, that many spiritual and many temporal evils attended mendicity. In consequence of them, some of the Franciscan establishments, and almost all the establishments of the three other orders, began to acquire permanent property. This the church first permitted, and afterwards countenanced; and the Council of Trent confined mendicity to the Observantines and Capucins.

"In 1534, St. Ignatius of Loyola laid the foundation of the Society of Jesus, by the vow which, with his ten companions, he took in the chapel of Montmartre near Paris. In 1540, and 1543, his Institute was approved by Pope Paul the third. In the history of the life of St. Ignatius, written by Father Bouhours, one of the most elegant works in the French language, the reader will find a succinct account of the constitutions of this celebrated society.

"In 1776, the Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement the Fourteenth. 'In general,' says

the author of the *Vie privée de Louis XV.* vol. iv. p. 61, and he cannot be accused of partiality to the Society, 'the more numerous and respectable portion of the community regretted the Jesuits. If the great cause had been heard, with the solemnity and gravity due to its importance, the Jesuits might then have addressed the magistrates:—'You, yes, all you, whose hearts and understandings we have formed, answer, before you condemn us, these questions! We appeal to the judgment which you formed of us, in that age, when candour and innocence reigned in our hearts. Now, therefore, come forward and declare, whether in our schools, in our discourses, or in the tribunal of penance, we ever inculcated to you any of those abominable maxims, with which we are now reproached? Did you ever hear them fall from our lips? Did you ever read them in the books which we put into your hands?'—'Alas!' continues the same writer, 'the magistrates said all this to one another. In private, they held no other language, but they were no sooner seated on the bench of justice, than they were overpowered by their fanatical and louder brethren.'

"By a Bull, dated the 15th of August, 1814, the Society of Jesus *faventibus bonis omnibus*, was restored. A fuller account of this interesting society has been prepared by the writer of these pages, and inserted in a work, which, in the course of the next year, will be submitted to the public, under the title of *Historical Memoirs of the Church of France, during the Reigns of Lewis the Fourteenth, Lewis the Fifteenth, Lewis the Sixteenth, the Revolution, and the Restoration of the Monarchy.*

"The

"The reign of Lewis the Fourteenth was illustrated by several Religious Communities, which, during that period, were either founded or first established in France. Without being bound by religious vows, the members lived in community, in the observance of certain settled rules, and thus far had a resemblance to religious orders. Such were the Oratorians, the Lazarists, and the Sulpiciens.

"The Oratorians were particularly given to the study of theology and sacred literature, and, possessing Mallebranche, Lami, Simon, Le Brun, and other able writers, attracted, in a high degree, the notice of the public. The Lazarists and Sulpiciens courted obscurity. The character given by M. de Bausset, of the Sulpiciens, in his life of Fenelon, may be applied equally to them and the Lazarists. In perus-

ing it, the reader will probably be put in mind of the beautiful lines in which the Poet, in his Temple of Fame, (verse 356—366), describes the smallest tribe he yet had seen. 'Avoiding public notice,' says M. de Bausset, 'engaging in no contest, resigning to others those good works which confer celebrity, it was *their* object to be actively employed in the service of the church, in the most obscure and most humble functions: and within that modest but useful line of duty, their exertions were uniformly confined. They had numerous establishments in France, and existed 150 years, without the slightest abatement of their first fervour, when, at the beginning of the French Revolution, they perished in the general wreck of what was most respectable and holy in France.'"

ON THE ANCIENT ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD.

[From the same.]

"SOME time before the first crusade, an hospital was established at Jerusalem, for the relief of the poor pilgrims who resorted there. In 1100, Gerard, the director of it, and his companions, professed themselves members of the order of St. Benedict, and formed a congregation, under the name of St. John the Baptist. It was approved by Pope Pascal II. In 1113, Raymond du Puy, the successor of Gerard, divided the order into three classes; to the nobles he assigned

the profession of arms, for the defence of the faith, and the protection of pilgrims; the ecclesiastics were to exercise the religious functions, for the benefit of the order; the lay brothers were to take care of the pilgrims and the sick. These regulations were approved by Pope Calixtus II.; and the order then took the name of Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. After the loss of the Holy Land they retired to Cyprus: thence to Rhodes: in 1522, that island was taken

taken from them by Solyman the Great: Malta was then given them by the Emperor Charles V.; from that time, they have generally been known by the appellation of Knights of Malta.

"The order of the Knights Templars was established nearly about the same time, and for the same purposes as that of the Knights of Malta. They took their name from a monastery given them by Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem, which immediately adjoined the temple in his palace. They were suppressed by the Council of Vienne, in 1312.

"The Teutonic Order was founded on the model of that of the Knights Templars. It was confirmed by Pope Celestine, in 1191. The knights conquered Prussia in

1230, and fixed the head seat of their order at Marienburgh. In 1525, the grand master embraced the protestant religion; since which time, the head seat of the order has been at Margentheim, in Franconia.

"The original object of the Order of St. Lazarus was, to take care of persons infected with leprosy; in the course of time, it became a military order. The whole body returned with St. Lewis into Europe, in 1254. Afterwards it was united in France with the order of our Lady of Mount Carmel, and in Savoy with the order of St. Maurice. —All these orders displayed heroic acts of valour, in the enterprises of the Crusaders, to recover the Holy Land."

ON THE AFFINITY BETWEEN PAINTING AND WRITING. BY THE
RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT SIDNOUTH.

[From the Classical Journal.]

———— Ut Pictura Poesis. ———— HOR.

———— Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse Sororum. ———— OVID.

"THE general resemblance that subsists between the Arts is not confined to their operations and effects, but is visible in their very origin. By tracing them to their source, we shall find that they were universally means suggested by necessity for the alleviation of the wants of mankind. The first efforts of this urgent motive display the rudiments of almost every invention, which the refinements of succeeding ages have improved into

an ornament of polished life. Vitruvius could discern the principles of architecture in a cottage; and the rude songs and coarse drawings, with which barbarous nations recorded their sports and triumphs, present us with the dawnings of those Arts, which enlighten the most advanced periods of civil society.

"The want of letters, in the early ages, precluded every method of giving a permanent form to the fluctuating

fluctuating ideas of the mind, but by an immediate address to the senses; and Painting was the expedient first adopted for the attainment of this end. The moral and religious precepts of the Egyptian sages were conveyed by painted symbols, to which they annexed peculiar ideas; and it was by these natural characters alone, that a correspondence could be maintained, or the account of any memorable event be transmitted to posterity. But the explanation of ideas, by emblematical signs, was not peculiar to that sagacious people; it was probably used in the infancy of Greece and Rome: in the former, it was certainly once the same thing to Paint as to Write, as the language, copious as it was, afforded but one expression for both: in the latter, it is recorded by its own historians, that it was usual for those, who had been shipwrecked, to carry with them a painted representation of their misfortunes, as a readier method of exciting compassion, than the most pathetic recital of them. A similar practice prevailed in nations far removed from the imitation of these examples; in Mexico, the important news of an European invasion was transmitted to the Emperor by a pictured account of the event; and the History of Peru was preserved by a more simple arrangement of coloured threads.

“ Though the reference of Poetry to the wants of mankind does not appear to have been so direct as that of the other arts, yet it has indisputably a high claim to antiquity. Its first descriptions were probably confined to the external beauties of nature, or to such circumstances and events as had been exhibited within its own view.

But the relation between the senses and the cadence of numbers, and the assistance afforded by the ear to the memory, did not long escape observation; we accordingly find, that at a very early period in History, the most remarkable and interesting occurrences were related in verse, and Priests, Legislators, and Philosophers, adopted Poetry as the language of instruction,

“ In this general survey of the infant state of Poetry and Painting, they have been represented as the dictates of necessity, or arising from that desire of communicating ideas, which is the characteristic of human nature, and as accommodating themselves merely to the perceptions of sense. But to view them in a more enlarged and important light, we must hasten to a period when they were considered as liberal Arts; as arts, which do not confine their application to the senses, but use them only as vehicles of conveying their address to the noblest faculties of the soul. When contemplated in this point of view, they will appear so congenial, as to be but different means of obtaining the same end; and it may not be improper to premise, that the analogy between them is not confined to the similarity of their effects in humanizing the manners, and refining the passions, but extends itself likewise to the variety of allusions and illustrations which they mutually afford and receive from each other.

“ The maturity, at which the Arts had arrived in the time of Homer, is fully demonstrated by his works. If, in his account of the Shield of Achilles, we consider the judgment which he has displayed in the selection of the most suitable objects, and the picturesque manner in which he has disposed
and

and grouped them, we shall pay deference to the conjecture, that he borrowed his ideas from some celebrated Paintings, or at least, that the perfection, which the art had then attained, had the power of impressing so forcibly on his readers the scene which he describes. But if he was in any respect indebted to Painting, he furnished in return the richest materials for the pencil. The tears of Portia, on seeing a painted representation of the Painting of Hector and Andromache, are a sufficient panegyric on the poet who suggested the subject, and the artist who adopted it. It was from this source that Zeuxis and Polygnotus imbibed those conceptions, which they embodied in their works; and the greatest compliment that could have been paid to Apelles was the opinion of Pliny, that his Painting of the Sacrifice of Diana, which was considered as his best performance, surpassed even the description of Homer. The picturesque imagery, indeed, with which he abounds, most fully entitles him to the appellation bestowed on him by Lucian, of being himself the greatest of Painters.

“ But though the chief, he was by no means the only, poet whose beauties were translated into colours. The Painters of Greece, conversant in every branch of literature, were convinced that their resources must in a great measure depend on the variety of those ideas, which could only be obtained by a familiar intercourse with their sister art. Hence their minds were enriched by an assemblage of all the treasures, and their works breathed the genuine spirit, of Poetry. The analogy between the two arts was universally felt and allowed: their rules and principles were in many

respects the same; and the same expressions equally characterized the similar and congenial productions of both. The word Drama was frequently applied to Painting; and the Iphigenia of Timanthes, and Medea of Timomachus fully evinced the force and propriety of the application.

“ Though the advantages, which these arts derived from a splendid Mythology, which pervaded and animated every object of nature, and every action of mankind, were common to Greece and Rome, it was long before the latter availed herself of them, or aspired to any competition but in the sciences of war and government. The fine arts, particularly Poetry and Painting, were exotics, which shrunk at the austere manners, and were chilled by the surly virtue, of a Roman. At length, however, the slow, but certain influence of wealth and peace, directed them to a contemplation, and by degrees to an imitation, of those invaluable productions of ancient art, which avarice and vanity, rather than taste, had brought into Italy. Poetry and Painting then became the chief and joint objects of attention and cultivation. Pacuvius had the singular merit of being equally eminent in both, and of adorning with his pencil the representation of his Tragedies: the Treatise of Horace on one art is illustrated by frequent allusions to the other; and a variety of images and descriptions interspersed in the Latin Poets are so animated and picturesque, as to admit a well-grounded conjecture, that they were taken from Paintings universally known and admired. But, notwithstanding this apparent correspondence between the arts, the close and almost inseparable affinity

affinity they bear to each other was by no means understood. Painting was put in competition with eloquence rather than Poetry, and sometimes, as Quintilian thought, to its advantage; and Cicero frequently gives it the praise of being the only art that could rival the powers of oratory. Though the progress of the arts at Rome was rapid and promising, yet it was retarded by a popular, though ill-grounded apprehension, that they tended to enervate public spirit, and would ultimately be subversive of public freedom. With these obstacles to encounter, it is not surprising, that they never arrived at such a degree of vigour and maturity, as could enable them to withstand the neglect and contempt which succeeded the mild patronage of Augustus; and it is observable, that the same sympathy, which discovered itself in their rise and advancement, marked likewise their decline.

“ But to take a more minute survey of the relation that Poetry and Painting bear to each other, we must turn our eyes from ancient to modern Italy, where a variety of the most auspicious circumstances conspired to revive them. The superstition of that period was of a most picturesque and poetical nature; and the arbitrary system of Government, which then universally prevailed, was by no means unfavourable to the Painter and the Poet; for experience has proved, that though the sciences shrink under the controul of despotism, the arts will ever flourish, where there is power to foster, and opulence to reward them.

“ As the works of the artists, who ennobled that period, are still extant, it will chiefly be by com-

paring them with the most perfect productions of the poets, that the analogy between the two arts can be traced, and their mutual dependencies ascertained with accuracy and precision. Simonides observed, that a Picture was a silent Poem, and a Poem a speaking Picture; and that they differed not so much in the objects as the means of imitation, words being in the one what colours are in the other. This observation seems to convey no inadequate idea of the general relation and correspondence between these arts: but on taking a nearer view of the subject, we shall be led into an inquiry, which may not be deemed uninteresting, concerning the comparative efficacy of these means in attaining their proposed end, and into a closer investigation of the properties peculiar to each; or which, being common to both, constitute that affinity, to which they have ever held an undisputed claim.

“ In both Poetry and Painting, invention is fundamentally necessary; the merit of which principally arises from a happy combination of those materials, which have been supplied by a minute contemplation of nature, on the most perfect copies of it in the productions of art. Michael Angelo was not less indebted to Dante, than Apelles to Homer; and Virgil was, perhaps, the source from which that simplicity and elegance were in some measure derived, which characterise the works of Raphael; so convinced, indeed, were the artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that the strength and spirit of picturesque invention was chiefly dependent on Poetry, that they frequently termed the beauties produced by it, poetical perfection.

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"An excellent invention displays itself in the choice of a proper subject; which Nicias, one of the most eminent of the Grecian artists, observed, was of no less importance to the Painter, than the fable to the Poet.

"As the impression made by the imitative arts is proportioned to that which is produced by the objects of imitation, it is obvious that they cannot be of too engaging a nature, or of too general concern. This, indeed, is more indispensably necessary to the Painter, as he cannot, like the Poet, avail himself of those circumstances, which were previous or subsequent to the action, which he purposes to represent. The advice, therefore, of Aristotle to Protogenes, highly merits attention; when he persuaded him to paint the Battle of Alexander, on account of the dignity of the events, and the importance of the consequences.

"But if the choice of a proper subject be essential to the Poet and the Painter, those subordinate circumstances, which tend to embellish it, have no inconsiderable claim to their attention. To avoid extreme minuteness and particularity, to refrain from local prejudice, to dress nature to advantage, and to give to objects all the beauty they are capable of possessing, and not only that which they actually possess, are the best and fullest indications of taste and discernment. It was thus that Apelles concealed the blemish of Antigonus, by painting him in profile; and that Zeuxis and Claude Lorrain, from a persuasion that partial and exact representations could not be productive of perfection, collected draughts from various objects and scenes, and by this happy union concentrated in their pieces the scattered beauties of nature. But

Poets and Painters, whilst they indulge their fancies, must pay an equal and implicit regard to probability, which is as essential to their respective arts, as truth to History. An occasional deviation, however, from the strictness of tradition, is a license, which has never been denied them. The power, indeed, which they possess of representing events 'according to desert, and of submitting the shows of things, not to reality, but to the desires of the mind,' are the strongest marks of their superiority over the Historian. To this indulgence the Painter has undoubtedly a higher claim than the Poet, as the latter can impress his readers with such exalted ideas of his hero's character, as will abundantly compensate for any personal defects. The Greek Tragedians have, however, exercised the privilege of sacrificing historical truth to greatness of design; and Raphael in his cartoons, has drawn the Apostles with all the advantages of personal grace and dignity.

"But if Poetry and Painting be congenial in the choice of ideas, they are equally so in the arrangement of them. An elegant distribution and concurrence of parts are the only means by which that harmonious proportion is produced, which is ever so delightful to the senses. It is by this disposition alone that the mind of the reader or spectator can be freed from embarrassment, and the composition made capable of any great or general effect. By this, Lanfranc is distinguished from Domenichino, and Virgil from Lucan. A skilful artist will give order even to confusion; thus Painters dispose their figures in groups; thus those who represent battles, either in words or
colours,

colours, place the object, which is to be particularly distinguished, in the strongest light, and throw the confusion into the back ground and secondary parts of the Picture or Poem. From a judicious arrangement and correspondence of parts alone arises the happy combination of variety with uniformity. From hence is derived the force of contrasts, which are so necessary to support the attention, that even a continued elevation of character or sentiment creates satiety and disgust. Lights and shades are equally essential to a Picture and a Poem; and the same degree of art, bestowed on every minute circumstance, precludes surprize, which is one of the most interesting sensations of the mind. But the force of contrasts is weakened when they are injudiciously introduced: from the sight of one figure, in the productions of some artists, a spectator of discernment can immediately know the disposition of that which is near it; and many Poets, by an improper use of the antithesis, have fallen into the same error; by which means, as Montesquieu observes, that perpetual contrast becomes symmetry, and that affected opposition, uniformity.

“ But these arts are directed to their noblest end, when they imitate manners and passions, and lay open the internal constitution of man. Here the excellence of the greatest masters is peculiarly displayed. Strength and energy distinguish the characters of Michael Angelo and Homer; beauty and propriety those of Virgil and Raphael. The majesty of Agamemnon, the sternness of Ajax, and the freedom of the Son of Tydeus, were not less discernible in the Picture mentioned by Philostratus, than in the

descriptions of the Poet. It is not, therefore, sufficient that a subject be adorned with all the advantages of elegance and grandeur; the Poet and the Painter must likewise be conversant in every movement, every symptom of the passions must catch the habits, and express the inward feelings of the mind. They must shake the soul with terror, melt it with love, or rouse it with revenge: the thoughts of the Poet must breathe, his words must burn; and the Painter must not only give life to his objects, but even a visible and appropriated language. But though these arts must engage the attention by describing manners and passions, there are subjects which are more peculiarly adapted to one than the other. There is a variety of thoughts and sentiments, particularly in the pathetic, of which the Painter can convey no specific indications, and to which he cannot give form or being. Shakespeare abounds in these minute touches of nature, which are beyond the reach of the pencil; the Painter can indeed make it obvious, that a person is moved by a particular passion, by describing its correspondent symptoms and effects on the body, but cannot intelligibly express the ideas produced by it. It is beyond his power to delineate the transition from one passion to another, or to describe a mixed passion, but in a vague and undecisive manner. But, on the contrary, there are circumstances and situations which the Painter can more closely imitate, and make expressive of stronger feelings than the Poet. The spectators of the Death of Wolfe are all afflicted from the same cause, and nearly in an equal degree; but the expressions of this affliction are varied according

to their difference in age, profession, or country : this difference cannot, without a tedious and uninteresting detail, be marked by the Poet, and it is by means of the eye alone, that a just and forcible idea can be formed of it. There are, however, subjects which baffle the skill both of the Painter and the Poet ; in this case, the latter will be silent ; and the former, like Timanthes, will hide those feelings, which his art is unable to express.

“ After these general observations on the common or peculiar properties and advantages of Poetry and Painting, it may not be uninteresting to take a cursory view of their congenial productions, and of the resemblance which they seem to bear to each other. The lowest branches in each art are Burlesque, Poetry, and Caricature : both require a ludicrous subject, and produce similar effects by pursuing the ridiculous to the utmost pitch of extravagance. An equal analogy prevails between Landscape Painting and the descriptions of Pastoral Poetry ; both are conversant in rural scenes ; both require a particular turn of mind for what is romantic and picturesque ; and both must closely study and imitate nature. Claude Lorrain and Titian are in the one, what Theocritus and Virgil are in the other ; and the same grotesque wildness equally characterizes the scenes of Thomson, and of Salvator Rosa. Both become more interesting by the introduction of human figures, without which, even the Arcadia of Poussin, and the happiest descriptions of the Sicilian Poet, would lose their effect. The characters thus introduced must be appropriated and connected by a principal action, the subject of which should be drawn from the

finer feelings of the mind, or the most easy and entertaining branches of Natural History. No violent emotions, no furious passions must be described, as they are incompatible with the stillness and tranquillity of a rural life. Painting in general has this in common with Dramatic Poetry, that its representations must be confined within the unities of action, time, and place. But the closest analogy between particular branches of these arts, is that of Historic Painting to Epic Poetry. In their imitations of nature, both study its most perfect forms, and abstract from them an idea of absolute beauty and virtue. Both must have a sufficient number of characters, which should be so marked and contra-distinguished by their looks and sentiments, as to be known without any explanation. Some one must, however, be peculiarly striking, or the effect will be lost by dividing the attention amongst a multitude of objects. These characters must be connected by their common relation to the principal subject, which, in both, must be one and entire. Both arts may equally adopt the use of allegories, and employ them with an equal force ; but the illustration which the Poet derives from the introduction of Episodes, is an advantage denied to the pencil ; an advantage, however, which is amply compensated by the superior power which it possesses of setting directly before the eyes the most interesting objects, and thus striking the mind instantaneously with those sensations of delight, which are not attainable from Poetry, without a succession of images, and a progressive attention to them.

“ The impression made by Poetry and Painting on the fancy and passions,

passions, must vary according to the different imaginations and feelings of mankind. They have, however, been universally acknowledged to be productive of the most powerful effects. Without taking account of the Fables of antiquity, which might be adduced to show what powers these arts were thought capable of possessing, we know that the songs of Tyrtæus roused the Spartans from their dependency, and animated them with the most enthusiastic love of glory, and contempt of death; and that the inhabitants of Abdera were inflamed with the wildest frenzy, at the fictitious distresses of Andromeda, as displayed in a Tragedy of Euripides. Nor have less generous sentiments been inspired, or less violent emotions excited, by the productions of the pencil. It was not without reason that the Philosopher thought them as effectual in reclaiming mankind, as the precepts of morality. An Athenian Courtesan, we are told, forsook at once the habitual vices of her profession, on seeing the decent dignity of a Philosopher, as represented in a portrait; and the terrors of the day of judgment operated so forcibly, by means of a picture, on the imagination of a King of Bulgaria, that he instantly embraced the religion, which held out such punishments, and invited with rewards equally transcendent. Plato seems to have been impressed with as high ideas of the powers of these arts, though he thought they would be applied to worse purposes, and therefore excluded them entirely from his imaginary commonwealth.

"If Poetry and Painting are considered merely as imitative arts, the former will incontestibly claim a
1816.

preference, on account of the greater extent of its power. It is not confined to the instant; it has not only one 'sentence to utter, one moment to exhibit,' but can describe subjects of a lengthened duration, and can avail itself of that progressive and increasing energy, which a succession of images never fails to produce. It operates on the mind, not only by describing objects of sight, but it can bring every sense to its assistance, can give an harmonious voice to the person it represents, and impregnate with fragrance the air that surrounds it. The beauties arising from comparison are also beyond the reach of the pencil; incapable of describing the progress of thought, what idea can it convey of the rapidity ascribed to it by Homer, from its similitude to lightning? It is possible for the figure of the Fallen Angel to be as accurately expressed on canvas as in the description of the Poet; but even a Michael Angelo would want means to impress us with those sensations of his former glory, and present humiliation, which are at once suggested by his resemblance to the sun, when obscured or eclipsed. If we consider, on the other hand, the principles and operations of Painting, we must acknowledge, that as it makes its address through the medium of a sense which is the readiest vehicle to the mind, as it does not employ artificial but natural signs, which are equally intelligible to all, it may in some respects be said to be a more definite and perfect instrument of conveying ideas than Poetry. Those subjects, indeed, in which many circumstances must concur at the same point of time, and in which, if continued, there

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can be no material variation, seem peculiarly adapted to the pencil. But, on the contrary, as words are expressive of all ideas, Poetry seems to comprise every possible subject of imitative excellence; and if we add to this the auxiliary graces which it borrows from music, and the powerful assistance which it derives from declamation and action, its superiority will be manifest, both in point of dignity and utility, over the more confined powers of its sister art.

"As the same warmth and vigour of imagination, the same creative fancy, the same powers of expression, and the same strength and solidity of judgment, are essentially necessary to the professors of these arts, it may seem surprising that so few have been distinguished in both. The bounds prescribed to the human understanding are so limited, and the time requisite to attain perfection in any study so considerable, that eminence is usually confined not only to one art or science, but even to a particular branch of it. Sophocles never attempted Comedy, or Terence Tragedy; Claude Lorrain confined his talents to Landscape Painting, a subject never attempted by the immortal pencil of

Raphael. This country has indeed been fortunate in the production of more universal genius, and boasts a Shakspeare and a Hogarth, who shine in so many different lights, and on such very dissimilar subjects.

"Nor is the strength of genius yet exhausted: men may yet be equal, if not superior to their predecessors. What, indeed, may not be expected, where industry is excited by emulation, and man is not disappointed of its reward; where the arts continue to be patronized by the highest and most illustrious characters, who are best enabled to encourage them by their munificence, and protect them by their authority? The liberal regard paid to Painting, and its relation to those arts, which are more peculiarly the objects of academical attention, cannot but be felt at this place, where a learned University bestowed its choicest honours on an artist, who has ornamented Literature no less by his precepts, than the profession by his example; and which will shortly be adorned by the grateful labours of his pencil, and thus preserve a monument of their connexion to times, when the works of a Raphael and a Corregio shall be no more.

ON THE ORIGIN OF GYPSIES.

[From Mr. HOYLAND'S Historical Survey.]

"VARIOUS are the conjectures which have been indulged, and the coincidences which have

been sought for, in order to obtain a solution of the query, *What race of people are the Gypsies?*

"Whoever

" Whoever is disposed to refer to Continental writers, may see more than thirty different opinions started on this subject, founded on no better authority than some similarity of appellation, garb, complexion, or unsettled way of life.

" They were sometimes *Torlaques*, *Kalendars*, or *Faquirs*. The *Torlaques* are Mahometan Monks, who under the pretence of holiness, are guilty of the most flagrant excesses. Bajazet the 2d banished them from the Turkish empire in 1494. The *Kalendars* wander about in heathen countries, as the Gypsies do among Christians. The *Faquirs* are religious fanatics; and rove about in heathen and Mahometan countries, like the most atrocious robbers. Anquetil says, the *Faquirs* in India go a pilgrimage to *Jagrenat* *; they plunder such villages and cities as lie in their way; they form considerable bodies about a mile from *Jagrenat*, where they choose themselves a leader, to whom they pay all the attention due to a general.

" With regard to strolling and thieving, the *Faquirs* and the Gypsies agree exactly. Thomasius, Griselini, and the English geographer Salmon, imagined that when Sultan Selim conquered Egypt in 1517, several of the natives refusing to submit to the Turkish yoke, revolted under one Zinganeus.

" But we have already adverted to authentic documents for the proof, that they were in Germany, Italy, and France, near a century before the conquest of Egypt by Selim.

" Yet the belief that Gypsies were of Egyptian origin is parallel with their existence in Europe. It

arose from the report circulated by the first of them, that they were pilgrims from Egypt; and this statement was not only adopted by the common people, but here and there obtained credit among men of learning. Grellmann observes, that had this opinion not been received at a time when almost every thing was taken upon trust, with little examination; had it not been propagated by the first Gypsies, and then obtained a sanction, it would have been impossible for it to have gained such general acceptance, or to have maintained itself to the present times. Till the 17th century, the Egyptian descent of the Gypsies rested entirely on tradition. Afterwards, Aventin, Krantz, and Miinster openly contradict it.

" Aventin relates that they wished it to be thought they came from that country, but that, in his time, nothing was known concerning them, but what came from their own mouths; those who accounted them Egyptians, rested their belief entirely on the veracity of their informants.

" This is collected with greater certainty from Krantz and Miinster, for they declare expressly, that every thing which could be discovered by any other means than their own assertions, contradicted, rather than confirmed, their Egyptian descent. But it is not merely that their Egyptian descent is entirely destitute of proof, the most circumstantial evidence can be adduced against it.

" Their language differs entirely from the Coptic, and their customs, as Ahasuerus Fritsch has remarked, are diametrically opposite to the Egyptian; but what is, if possible,

of greater weight, they wander about in Egypt like strangers, and there, as in other countries, form a distinct people.

"The testimony of Bellonius is full and decisive on the point. He states: 'No part of the world, I believe, is free from those banditti, wandering about in troops; whom we, by mistake, call Gypsies and Bohemians. When we were at Cairo, and the villages bordering on the Nile, we found troops of these strolling thieves sitting under palm-trees; and they are esteemed *foreigners in Egypt*.'

"Aventin expressly makes Turkey their original place of rendezvous; and this furnishes a reason for the south east parts of Europe being most crowded with them. If all that came to Europe passed by this route, it accounts for a greater number remaining in those countries, than in others to which they would have a much longer travel; and before their arrival at which, their hordes might be much divided.

"It is a just assertion, that one of the most infallible methods of determining the origin of a people, would be the discovery of a country in which their language is that of the natives. It is a fact incontrovertibly established, that besides the Gypsies speaking the language of the country in which they live, they have a general one of their own, in which they converse with each other.

"Not knowing any speech correspondent with the Gypsies, some have been ready to pronounce it a mere jargon; not considering how extravagant a surmise it would be, that a people rude, uncivilized, and separated hundreds of miles from each other, have invented a lan-

guage. Others who are better informed on the subject, allow that the language brought into Europe with the Gypsies, was really vernacular, of some country; but suppose it is so disguised and corrupted, partly by design, and partly by adventitious events, through length of time, and the continued wandering of these people, that it must be considered a new language, and now used by the Gypsies only.

"That it is the dialect of some particular part of the globe, though no longer pure, as in the country whence it originated, is an opinion which has obtained the greatest concurrence among the learned. Grellman says, had a German listened a whole day to a Gypsy conversation, he would not have comprehended a single expression. It must doubtless appear extraordinary, that the language of a people who had lived for centuries in Europe, should have remained so much a secret: but it was not easy to gain information from the Gypsies concerning it. Acquainted, by tradition, with the deception their predecessors practised on coming into Europe, they are suspicious; and fearing an explanation might be dangerous to themselves, they are not disposed to be communicative. —But how was it possible for the learned of former centuries to be competent to the investigation, who had not the aids which now so copiously occur to the historical etymologist?

"Many dialects have been discovered, and our knowledge of others greatly increased, within the last fifty or sixty years. During that time, not only the literary treasures of the furthest north have been opened to us, but we have become acquainted with many of the

the oriental languages; and even eastern idioms are becoming familiar to us. We need not therefore be surprised, that before this period, the most learned were unable to point out the country in which the Gyp-ey language was spoken. The Gypsies have no writing peculiar to themselves, in which to give a specimen of the construction of their dialect.

" Writing and reading are attainments not to be expected from nomadic tribes. Sciences, and the refined arts, are never to be looked for among a people whose manner of living, and education, are so irregular. Music is the only science in which Gypsies participate in any considerable degree; they likewise compose, but it is after the manner of the eastern people, extremely.

" Grellmann asserts, that the Hindostanic language has the greatest affinity with that of the Gypsies; but he does not rest this solely on the specimen he has introduced, a sketch of which will be presented in the next section; he adduces many facts in confirmation of his opinion, which it would be an injustice to him not to exhibit.

" He infers from the following considerations, that Gypsies are of the lowest class of Indians, named Parias, or, as they are called in Hindostan, *Suders*.

" The whole great nation of Indians is known to be divided into four ranks, or stocks, which are called by a Portuguese name, *castes*; each of which has its own particular subdivisions. Of these castes, the Bramin is the first; the second contains the *Tschechteries*, or *Setreas*; the third consists of the *Beis*, or *Wazziers*; the fourth is the caste of the above-mentioned *Suders*; who

upon the peninsula of Malabar, where their condition is the same as in Hindostan, are called *Parias*, and *Pariers*.

" The first were appointed by Bruma to seek after knowledge, to give instructions, and to take care of religion. The second were to serve in war; the third were as the Bramins, to cultivate science; but particularly to attend to the breeding of cattle. The caste of *Suders* was to be subservient to the Bramins, the *Tschechteries*, and the *Beis*. These *Suders* are held in disdain, they are considered infamous, and unclean, from their occupation, and they are abhorred because they eat flesh; the three other castes living entirely on vegetables.

" Of this very caste it will appear, by the following comparison, our Gypsies are composed. We have seen that the Gypsies are in the highest degree filthy and disgusting; and with regard to character, depraved and fraudulent to excess, and these are the qualities of the *Suders*.

" Baldeus says, the *Parias* are a filthy people, and wicked crew, who in winter steal much cattle, &c.

" It is related in the Danish Mission Intelligence:—"Nobody can deny that the *Barriers* are the dregs and refuse of all the Indians; they are thievish, and have wicked dispositions, &c."

" Moreover Neuhof assures us: the *Paruas* are full of every kind of dishonesty; they do not consider lying and cheating to be sinful, as they have no other custom or maxims among them. The Gypsey's solicitude to conceal his language is; also, a striking Indian trait.

" Professor Pallas says of the Indians round Astracan: "Custom has rendered them to the greatest degree suspicious

suspicious about their language, inasmuch that I was never able to obtain a small vocabulary from them.*

"With regard to Gypsy marriages, Salmon relates that the nearest relations cohabit with each other; and as to education, their children grow up in the most shameful neglect, without either discipline or instruction.

"All this is precisely the case with the Pariars. In the journal of the Missionaries already quoted, it is said; 'With respect to matrimony, they act like the beasts, and their children are brought up without restraint or information. Gypsies are fond of being about horses, so are the Suders in India, for which reason, they are commonly employed as horse-keepers, by the Europeans resident in that country.'

'We have seen that the Gypsies hunt after cattle which have died of distempers, in order to feed on them; and when they can procure more of the flesh than is sufficient for one day's consumption, they dry it in the sun. Such is likewise a constant custom with the Pariars in India.

"That the Gypsies, and natives of Hindostan resemble each other in complexion and shape, is undeniable. And what is asserted of the young Gypsy girls rambling about with their fathers who are musicians, dancing with lascivious and indecent gestures, to divert any person who is willing to give them a small gratuity for so acting, is likewise perfectly Indian. Sonnerat confirms this in the account he gives of the dancing girls of Surat.

"Fortune-telling is practised all over the East; but the peculiar kind

professed by the Gypsies, viz. chiromancy*, constantly referring to whether the parties shall be rich or poor, happy or unhappy in marriage, &c. is no where met with but in India.

"The account we have given of Gypsy smiths may be compared with the Indian, as related by Sonnerat in the following words: 'The smith carries his tools, his shop, and his forge about with him, and works in any place where he can find employment; he erects his shop before the house of his employer, raising a low wall with beaten earth; before which he places his hearth; behind this wall he fixes two leathern bellows. He has a stone instead of an anvil, and his whole apparatus is a pair of tongs, a hammer, a beetle, and a file.' How exactly does this accord with the description of the Gypsy smith!

"We have seen that Gypsies always choose their place of residence near some village or city, very seldom within them; even though there may not be any order to prevent it, as is the case in Moldavia, Wallachia, and all parts of Turkey. Even the more improved Gypsies in Transylvania, who have long since discontinued the wandering mode of life, and might, with permission from their government, reside within the cities, rather choose to build their huts in some bye place, without their limits. This custom appears to be derived from their original Suder education; it being usual, all over India, for the Suders to have their huts without the villages of the other castes, and in retired places near their cities.

"With respect to religion, it has appeared that the greater part of

* Hand-sorcery.

the Gypsies live without any profession of it; *Tollius* says, worse than heathens. The more wonderful it is, that a whole people should be so indifferent and void of religion, the more weight it carries with it, to confirm their Indian origin, when all this is found to be literally true of the Suders.

"In relation to the emigration of the Gypsies, no cause can be assigned for their leaving their native country, so probable, as the war of Timur Beg, in India. The date of their arrival marks it very plainly. It was in the years 1408 and 1409, that this Conqueror ravaged India for the purpose of disseminating the Mahometan religion. Not only every one who made any resistance was destroyed, and such as fell into the enemies' hands, though quite defenceless, were made slaves; but in a short time those very slaves, to the number of one hundred thousand, were put to death. In consequence of the universal panic which took place, those, who could quit the country, might well be supposed to consult their safety by flight.

"If any of the higher castes did withdraw themselves on account of the troubles, it is probable, they retired southward to people of their own sort the Mahrattas. To mix at all with the Suders, would have been degrading their high characters, which they consider worse than death; it was therefore morally impossible for them to have united with the Suders in a retreat. Moreover, by putting themselves into the power of the Suders, with whom they live in a state of discord and inveteracy, they might have incurred as much danger as from the common enemy.

"Before presenting a vocabulary

of Gypsey words, it may be observed, that though the Hindostanic language is fundamentally the same all over Hindostan; yet, like other languages, it has different dialects in the various provinces. The eastern dialect, spoken about the Ganges, has different names for some things; and inflections of some words different to the western ones spoken about the Indus: there is, besides, a third, varying from both these, viz. the Surat dialect, which has a number of Malabar, and other words mixed with it. To this must be added, that in the Hindostan, as well as in every other language, there are often several names for the same thing.

"The particular dialect bearing the closest affinity to the Gypsey language, as will appear hereafter, is the western, and perhaps more especially that of Surat. With respect to the construction and inflections of the two languages, they are evidently the same. In that of Hindostan, every word ending in *j* is feminine, all the rest masculine; the Gypsey is the same. That makes the inflections entirely by the article, adding it at the end of the word. The Gypsey language proceeds exactly in the same manner.

Grellmann.

"The following collection is extracted from *Grellmann's Vocabulary*.

<i>Gypsey.</i>	<i>Hindost.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Ick, Ek	Ek	One
Duj, Doj	Du	Two
Trin, Tri	Tin	Three
Schtar, Star	Tschar	Four
Pantsch, } Pansch }	Pansch	Five
Tschowe, } Schow }	Tscho	Six
Efta	Hefta, Sat	Seven
Ochto	Auto	Eight

Desch,

<i>Gipsy.</i>	<i>Hindost.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Gypsy.</i>	<i>Hindost.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Desch, Des	Des, Des	Ten	Tschib	Jibb	The Tongue
Bisch, Bis	Bjs	Twenty	Sunjo	Sunnj	The Hear- ing
Diwes	Diw	Day	Sunj	Sunkh	The Smell
Ratti	Rateh	Night	Sik	Tschik	The Taste
Cham, Cam	Kam	The Sun	Tschater	Tschater	A Tent
Schan	Tschand	The Moon	Rajah	Raja	The Prince
Panj	Panj	Water	Poro	Purana	Old
Sonnikey	Suna	Gold	Baro	Burra	Great
Rûp	Ruppa	Silver	Kalo	Kala	Black
Jiv	Giuw	Wheat	Grea	Gorra	Horse
Bâl	Bâl	The Hair	Jukel	Dog
Aok	Awk	The Eye	Maru	Bread
Kan	Kawn	The Ear	Kil	Butter
Nak	Nakk	The Nose	Ker	Gurr	House."
Mui	Mu	The Mouth			
Dant	Dant	A Tooth			

STATE OF GYPSIES IN AND ABOUT LONDON.

[From the same.]

"IN the autumn of 1815, the author made a journey to London, in order to obtain information respecting the Gypsies in its vicinity.

"The first account he received of the education of any of them, was from Thomas Howard, proprietor of a glass and china shop, No. 50, Fetter-lane, Fleet-street. This person, who preached among the Calvinists, said, that in the winter of 1811, he had assisted in the establishment of a Sunday School in Windmill-street, Acre-lane, near Clapham. It was under the patronage of a single gentlewoman of the name of Wilkinson, and principally intended for the neglected and forlorn children of brick-makers, and the most abject of the poor. It was

begun on a small scale, but increased till the number of scholars amounted to forty.

"During the winter, a family of Gypsies, of the name of Cooper, obtained lodgings at a house opposite the school. Trinity Cooper, a daughter of this Gypsy family, who was about thirteen years of age, applied to be instructed at the school; but, in consequence of the obloquy affixed to that description of persons, she was repeatedly refused. She nevertheless persevered in her importunity, till she obtained admission for herself, and two of her brothers.

"Thomas Howard says, that, surrounded as he was by ragged children, without shoes and stockings, the first lesson he taught them was

was silence and submission.—They acquired habits of subordination, became tractable and docile; and, of all his scholars, there were not any more attentive and affectionate than these; and when the Gypsies broke up house in the spring, to make their usual excursions, the children expressed much regret at leaving the school.

“ This account was confirmed by Thomas Jackson, of Brixton-row, minister of Stockwell Chapel, who said, that since the above experiment, several Gypsies had been admitted to a sabbath school, under the direction of his congregation. At their introduction, he compared them to birds when first put into a cage, which flew against the sides of it, having no idea of restraint: but by a steady even care over them, and the influence of the example of other children, they soon became settled, and fell into their ranks.

“ With a view to reconnoitre an encampment of Gypsies, the author accepted a seat in the carriage of a friend, who drove him to Hainault forest. This, according to historians, was of vast extent in the times of the ancient Britons, reaching to the Thames; and so late as the reign of Henry the 2d, it covered the northern vicinity of the city.

“ On this forest about two miles from the village of Chigwell, Essex, and ten from London, stands the far-famed oak, at which is held Fairlop Fair, that great annual resort of the Gypsies.

“ According to an account of it printed for Hogg, Paternoster-row, the trunk or main stem of this tree has been sixty-six feet, and some of the branches twelve feet, in circumference. The age of this prodigy of the forest cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision. The oak

viewed by the present King, in Oxfordshire, and some years ago felled in the domains of one of the Colleges, though only twenty-five feet in girth, is said to have been six hundred years old. Fairlop oak having been nearly thrice at large, is supposed to be at least twice that age.

“ Phillips, employed by the King, applied a patent mixture to stop the progress of its decay, but, last autumn, when seen by the describer, its naked gigantic trunk and arms, retaining not the least symptom of animation, presented a ghastly spectacle of the ravages of time, as contrasted with the rich verdure of the surrounding scenery.

“ The circumstances which gave rise to the establishment of a fair on this spot of ground, are somewhat singular.

“ Daniel Day, an engine, pump, and block-maker, of Wapping, having a small estate in the vicinity of this oak, was in the habit of annually resorting to it about a fortnight after midsummer, to receive his rents, when he provided a dinner under the tree, and invited several of his friends to it. The novelty of the scene exciting the attention of the neighbouring inhabitants, attendance on that occasion increased until about the year 1725, when booths being erected round the stupendous oak, the scene assumed the appearance of a regular fair. It has continued to be held there, and it is said, now attracts a great number of attendants.

“ As this fair does not appear to be a mart for horses or cattle, there is reason to fear, it is kept up more for revelry and excess, than for any useful purpose. The ground has been cleared to some extent about the oak, which stands at the head
of

of a circular lawn, surrounded by paling to protect it from the ravages of the unthinking part of the multitude who assemble there. It is said to have been the practice of the Gypsies, to kindle fires against the trunk, by which the bulk has been diminished, and perhaps the vegetation injured.

"On the side of the forest, near to Dagenham, Essex, was the encampment of the Gypsies, of which the author's friend was in quest. The construction of their tents is well known to be wooden hoops fastened into the ground, and covered with an awning of blankets or canvas, which resembles the tilt of a waggon; the end is closed from the wind by a curtain. This gang was called by the name of Corrie. It consisted of an old man, his wife, a niece, and their son and daughter with ten children; said to be all from Staffordshire. The men were scissars' grinders and tinkers.

"Questions being asked them respecting their condition, a young woman made some observations upon them to an older woman, in their own peculiar speech. This was the first time the writer had an opportunity of ascertaining what the language of the Gypsies in England really was. With the knowledge only of Grellmann's Vocabulary, he pointed out what the young woman had expressed; upon which they immediately exclaimed, the gentleman understands what we say; and they gave way to immoderate transports of joy, saying, they would tell him any thing he wished to know of them.

"On being asked what gold was in their language, they replied without hesitation, *sonnaka*, and immediately added, silver was *roop*.

"The opinion which has been

entertained, that Gypsy language was composed only of cant terms, or of what has been denominated the slang of beggars, has probably been much promoted and strengthened by the dictionary contained in a pamphlet entitled, 'The Life and Adventures of Bamfylde Moore Carew.' It consists for the most part of English words, ramped up apparently not so much for the purpose of concealment, as burlesque. Even if used by this people at all, the introduction of this cant, as the genuine language of the community of Gypsies, is a gross imposition on the public.

"One of the women said, the education of their children was to be desired, but their travelling from place to place was against it.—A young man among them said there were a hundred of their people in Staffordshire. This gang was intelligent as well as communicative, and gave proof of more civility than is commonly attributed to Gypsies.

"The author also visited Norwood, which was formerly a principal rendezvous of the Gypsies. This village, near Croydon, in Surry, is situated on a fine hill, and is a wildly rural spot; but having been considerably enclosed of late years, it is not now much frequented by the Gypsies.

"John Westover, deputy of James Furnell, constable of Norwood, stated, that about two months before, the Gypsies in that neighbourhood had been apprehended as vagrants, and sent in three coaches to prison. This account was confirmed by Edward Morris, the landlord at the Gypsy house. It did not appear that these Gypsies were committed for depredations on property, but merely on the vagrant act.

"Gypsies

" Gypsies being *routed*, as it is termed, in this manner, from various parts of the south, may probably have occasioned their appearing in greater numbers in the northern parts of the nation. The writer of this section being at Scarborough, in the bathing season of 1815, had intelligence of there being, at the same time, an encampment of Gypsies at Boroughbridge, another at Knaresborough, and a third at Pocklington, in the east riding of Yorkshire.

" On returning from Scarborough he was told by an acquaintance at Tadcaster, that a gang of about twenty Gypsies were just gone from that neighbourhood, after telling fortunes to most of the people in the town. The same summer, a numerous horde had been driven from the township of Rotherham; and there had been two encampments in the neighbourhood of Sheffield.

" The winter before the last, severe as it was, a gang of about fifty or sixty lay upon Bramley Moor, three miles from Chesterfield. This information was received from Joseph Storrs of Chesterfield, who has been an assiduous coadjutor. From the same authority, the writer learns that a number of Gypsies usually came to Duckmanton, near Chesterfield, at the feast, who appear to be in pretty good reputation in their transactions. Also that there is a party of Gypsies who frequent Socombe-lane, near Shirbrook, which is two miles east of Pleasley. They are called Bosswell's gang, consisting of twelve, and sometimes more, who mostly come once a year, and sometimes continue there for most of it. A woman among them is about 90 years old. They support a good character; and one of them who bought a pony, had credit for it, and paid honestly on his return.

" After obtaining information at Norwood, of the winter-quarters in London, to which Gypsies resorted, the author had an interview with branches of several families of them, collected at the house of his friend William Corder, Grocer, in Broad-street, Giles's. And in justice to them he must observe, that however considerably the fear of apprehension as vagrants may dispose them, when on travel and among strangers, to elude their inquiries, no disposition to do so appears in the company of persons to whom they are known, and in whom they can repose confidence.

" Being accustomed to lay out their money at the shop of this grocer, he said they would be very ready to attend upon his invitation; and accordingly, a number of them soon made their appearance. They said there were about twenty of the name of Lovell, who lodged in Bowles's yard, in the neighbourhood. These acknowledged themselves Gypsies, and many of them had the features, as well as the complexion of Asiatics.

" Their account is, that they come into lodgings at Michaelmas, and continue till April, then they set out on travel, and go into Norfolk, &c.

" That some time ago, some of them had embraced an offer to educate their children at St. Patrick's charity school, which had been established by the chaplain of the Portuguese ambassador; but some dissatisfaction arising in consequence of the religion of the conductors of that Institution, they had removed their children to the school for the Irish, taught by Partak Ivery, No. 5, George-street.

" Uriah Lovell, the head of one the families, made a very decent appearance;

pearance; three of his children have been four winters at school, and learned to read and write; their father having paid sixpence per week for each of them. — Partak was sent for, and came to the house of William Corder, where he confirmed the above account, saying there had been six Gypsy children at his school, and that, when placed among others, they were reducible to order.

“ These Gypsies, like those upon Hainault forest, appeared to be greatly delighted at meeting with a person acquainted, as they thought, with their language, and were remarkably free in speaking it.

“ James Corder, son of William Corder, obtained the following account of some of the lodgers in Westminster, and in the Borough, &c.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Family.</i>	<i>Occupation and Residence.</i>
John Lovell,	wife and 6 children,	Chair-bottomer, Tunbridge-street.
James Lovell,	do. 6 do.	Tinker, Church-lane.
Joseph Lovell,	do. 3 do.	Chair-bottomer, New-street.
Thomas Lovell,	do. 2 do.	Chair-bottomer, Banbridge-street.
William Lovell,	do. 1 do.	Knife-grinder, Church-street.
Lussha Cooper,	do. 10 do.	Rat-catcher, Tottenham-court-road.
Corrie Lovell,	do. 5 do.	Knife-grinder, Bolton-street.
Uriah Lovell,	do. 6 do.	Chair-bottomer, Bolton street.
Thomas Lovell,	do. 7 do.	Knife-grinder, Paddington.
Solomon Lovell,	do. 4 do.	Chair-bottomer, New-street.
Solomon Jones,	do. 2 do.	Basket-maker and Wire-worker, Battle-bridge.

Men and Women, 22 — 52 Children.

John Lee,	wife and 9 children,	Chair-bottomer, Tothill-fields.
Richard Taylor,	do. 3 do.	Wire-worker, New-street.
Betsey Lovell,	widow,	Supported by her son Joseph Lovell.
Joseph Lovell,	wife 1 do.	Bellows-mender, Shoreditch.
Diana Lee,	widow,	Sells Earthenware, Shoreditch.
Mansfield Lee,	wife 0 do.	Tinker and Grinder, Shoreditch.
Zachariah Lee,	do. 0 do.	Fiddler travels the Country.
Thomas Smith,	do. 5 do.	Chair-bottomer, Lisson-green, Paddington.
Thomas Porter,	do. 3 do.	Works at the Canal, Paddington.
Charlotte Allen,	widow, 7 do.	Sells Earthenware, Kent-street, Borough.
James Cole,	wife 4 do.	Lamp-lighter and Grinder, Kent-street, Borough.
Edward Martin,	do. 2 do.	Sells Fruit in the Street, Kent-street, Borough.
Samuel Martin,	do. 6 do.	Journeyman Saddler, White-street.
John Sinfield,	do. 0 do.	Sells Fish in the Streets, White street.
John Taylor,	do. 3 do.	Ditto. Ditto.

Men and Women, 25 — 44 Children,

“ There

" There has not been any information obtained concerning who winter in Bull's Court, Kingsland Road, or in Cooper's Gardens.

" The older Gypsy children assist their parents in their trades; a few of the younger go to school during winter. Most of those who have children, are desirous of their receiving an education; though but few have the means of procuring it.

" They complain of the scarcity of work: and in some instances appear to be distressed for want of it; the more so, as their ideas of independence prevent their applying to parishes for assistance. It is much to their credit, that so few instances occur of their begging in London. In the minutes of evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, on mendicacy, there is only one example of a Gypsy girl begging in the streets.

" Some of the women go in a morning to principal houses in the squares, before the heads of the families have risen, and tell fortunes to the servants, from whom they obtain sixpence or a shilling each.

" A few of the Gypsies continue all the year in London, excepting their attendance at fairs in the vicinity. Others, when work is scarce, go out twenty or thirty miles round the metropolis, carrying their implements with them on asses; and support themselves by the employment they obtain in the towns and villages through which they pass; and assist sometimes in hay-making, and plucking hops, in the counties of Kent, Surry, and Sussex.

" Among those who have winter-quarters in London, there are a few that take circuits of great extent. Some of them mentioned going through Herts into Suffolk, then

crossing Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire to Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Bristol, &c. Others spoke of being at Yarmouth, Portsmouth, South Wales, Wiltshire, &c.

" There is reason to think, the greatest part of the Island is traversed in different directions, by hordes of Gypsies.

" For the purpose of comparing the language of the English Gypsies with that of the Continental, exhibited in Section VIII, the following list of words was sent to James Corder, Broad-street, Bloomsbury. He obtained from the Gypsies in his neighbourhood the translation affixed to them.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Gypsy.</i>
" One	Yake
Two	Duën
Three	Trin
Four	Stor
Five	Pan
Ten	Dyche
Head	Charro
Eyes	Yock
Nose	Nack
Bread	Mor
Bread and butter	Kil-mor
Beer	Limbar
Hair	Bâlo
Cold day	Shil-dewes
Hot day	Tal-dewes
Ear	Kau
Day	Dewes
Night	Raut
White	Parnau
Sheep	Bolko
Hog	Borlo
Fish	Marcho
House	Kare
Gold	Sonnekar
Silver	Rupe
Dog	Jukou
Horse	Grarre

" When it is known that Gypsies are unacquainted with letters, and

and that James Corder, who took from the mouth of those in the parish called St. Giles, the preceding Gypsy words, did not know of Grellmann's vocabulary, the coincidence appears very remarkable ; but it is still more so with the Turkish Gypsy specimen by Jacob Bryant, exhibited also in the 8th Section. Robert Forster, of Tottenham, who has been a coadjutor in this work, transmitted the following collection of words obtained from Gypsies in his neighbourhood.

<i>Gypsy.</i>	<i>English.</i>
" Parnee	Water
Jewcal	Dog
Maurau	Bread
Kil-mauran	Bread and butter
Livenar	Beer
Shill-deues	Cold day
Taldu	Hot day
Moila	Ass
Gur	Horse
" In the conversation a clergy-	

man had with the Bosswell gang, as published in the Christian Guardian for 1812 and 1813, they told him *Chum* was the sun ; *Chun*, the moon ; *Kalmàro*, bread and butter ; and *Livina*, drink. The first two of these words almost exactly accord with Grellmann's vocabulary, and the latter as nearly with Robert Forster's and James Corder's collection from Gypsies in and about London.

" From the comparative views which have been taken of Gypsy expressions in various countries, there is reason to conclude that wherever they have been scattered on the face of the earth, they have spoken and transmitted the same language to their descendants. That it should have been preserved by them, when among people of other tongues, throughout centuries, for no purpose that we are acquainted with, but that of concealment, is indeed astonishing."

ARTS, SCIENCES, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

ON WIRE-GAUZE LAMPS FOR THE PREVENTION OF COMBUSTION IN COLLIERIES.

[By Sir HUMPHRY DAVY. From the Philosophical Transactions.]

I HAVE already had the honor of communicating to the Royal Society an account of a safe light, which becomes extinguished when introduced into very explosive mixtures of fire-damp; in this communication I shall describe a light which will burn in any explosive mixture of fire-damp, and the light of which arises from the combustion of the fire-damp itself.

"The invention consists in covering or surrounding the flame of a lamp or candle by a wire sieve; the coarsest that I have tried with perfect safety contained 625 apertures in a square inch, and the wire was $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch in thickness, the finest 6400 apertures in a square inch, and the wire was $\frac{1}{32}$ of an inch in diameter.

"When a lighted lamp or candle screwed into a ring soldered to a cylinder of wire gauze, having no apertures, except those of the gauze or safe apertures, is introduced into the most explosive mixture of carburetted hydrogen and air, the cylinder becomes filled with a bright flame, and this flame continues to burn as long as the mixture is ex-

plosive. When the carburetted hydrogen is to the air as 1 to 12, the flame of the wick appears within the flame of the fire-damp; when the proportion is as high as 1 to 7, the flame of the wick disappears.

"When the thickest wires are used in the gauze, it becomes strongly red hot, particularly at the top, but yet no explosion takes place. The flame is brighter the larger the apertures of the gauze: and the cylinder of 625 apertures to the square inch, gives a most brilliant light in a mixture of one part of gas from the distillation of coal, and 7 parts of air; the lower part of the flame is green, the middle purple, and the upper part blue.

"I have tried cylinders of 6400 apertures to the square inch, in mixtures of oxygene and carburetted hydrogen, and even in mixtures of oxygene and hydrogen; and though the wire became intensely red hot, yet explosions never took place: the combustion was entirely limited to the interior of the lamp.

"In all these experiments there was

was a noise like that produced by the burning of hydrogen gas in open tubes.

" These extraordinary and unexpected results led to many inquiries respecting the nature and communication of flame: but my object, at present, is only to point out their application to the use of the collier.

" All that he requires to ensure security, are small wire cages to surround his candle or his lamp, which may be made for a few pence, and of which various modifications may be adopted; and the application of this discovery will not only preserve him from the fire-damp, but enable him to apply it to use, and to destroy it at the same time that it gives him an useful light.

" Gauze made of brass wire, $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in thickness, and containing only ten apertures to the inch, or 100 apertures in the square inch, employed in the usual way as a guard of flame, did not communicate explosion in a mixture of 1 part of coal gas, and 12 parts of air, as long as it was cool, but as soon as the top became hot, an explosion took place.

" A quick lateral motion likewise enabled it to communicate explosion.

" Gauze made of the same wire, containing 14 apertures to the inch, or 196 apertures to the square inch, did not communicate explosion till it became strongly red hot, when it was no longer safe in explosive mixtures of coal gas; but no motion that could be given to it, by shaking it in a close jar, produced explosion.

" Iron wire gauze of $\frac{1}{8}$, and containing 240 apertures in the square inch, was safe in explosive mixtures of coal gas, till it became strongly red hot at the top.

" Iron wire gauze of $\frac{1}{8}$, and of 24 apertures to the inch, or of 576 to the square inch, appeared safe under all circumstances in explosive mixtures of coal gas. I kept up a continual flame in a cylinder of this kind, 8 inches high and 2 inches in diameter, for a quarter of an hour, varying the proportions of coal gas and air as far as was compatible with their inflammation; the top of the cylinder, for some minutes, was strongly red hot, but though the mixed gas was passed rapidly through it by pressure from a gasometer and a pair of double bellows, so as to make it a species of blast furnace, yet no explosion took place.

" I mentioned in my last communication to the Society, that a flame confined in a cylinder of very fine wire gauze, did not explode a mixture of oxygen and hydrogen, but that the gases burnt in it with great vivacity. I have repeated this experiment in nearly a pint of the most explosive mixture of the two gases; they burnt violently within the cylinder, but, though the upper part became nearly white hot, yet no explosion was communicated, and it was necessary to withdraw the cylinder to prevent the brass wire from being melted.

" These results are best explained by considering the nature of the flame of combustible bodies, which, in all cases, must be considered as the combustion of an *explosive mixture* of inflammable gas, or vapour and air; for it cannot be regarded as a mere combustion at the surface of contact of the inflammable matter: and the fact is proved by holding a taper or a piece of burning phosphorus within a large flame made by the combustion of alcohol, the flame of the candle or of the phosphorus

phosphorus will appear in the centre of the other flame, proving that there is oxygene even in the interior part.

"The heat communicated by flame must depend upon its mass: this is shown by the fact that the top of a slender cylinder of wire gauze hardly ever becomes dull red in the experiment on an explosive mixture, whilst in a larger cylinder made of the same material, the central part of the top soon becomes bright red. A large quantity of cold air thrown upon a small flame, lowers its heat beyond the explosive point, and in extinguishing a flame by blowing upon it, the effect is probably principally produced by this cause, assisted by a dilution of the explosive mixture.

"If a piece of wire gauze sieve is held over a flame of a lamp or of coal gas, it prevents the flame from passing it, and the phenomenon is precisely similar to that exhibited by the wire gauze cylinders; the air passing through is found very hot, for it will convert paper into charcoal; and it is an explosive mixture, for it will inflame if a lighted taper is presented to it, but it is cooled below the explosive point, by passing through wires even red hot, and by being mixed with a considerable quantity of air comparatively cold. The real temperature of visible flame is perhaps as high as any we are acquainted with. Mr. Tennant was in the habit of showing an experiment, which demonstrates the intensity of its heat. He used to fuse a small filament of platinum in the flame of a common candle; and it is proved by many facts, that a stream of air may be made to render a metallic body white hot, yet not be itself luminous.

"A considerable mass of heated
1816.

metal is required to inflame even coal gas, or the contact of the same mixture with an extensive heated surface. An iron wire of $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch and 8 inches long, red hot, when held perpendicularly in a stream of coal gas, did not inflame it, nor did a short wire of $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch produce the effect held horizontally; but wire of the same size, when six inches of it were red hot, and when it was held perpendicularly in a bottle, containing an explosive mixture, so that heat was successively communicated to portions of the gas, produced its explosion.

"A certain degree of mechanical force which rapidly throws portions of cold explosive mixture upon flame, prevents explosion at the point of contact; thus on pressing an explosive mixture of coal gas from a syringe, or a gum elastic bottle, it burns only at some distance from the aperture from which it is disengaged.

"Taking all these circumstances into account, there appears no difficulty in explaining the combustion of explosive mixtures within and not without the cylinders; for a current is established from below upwards, and the hottest part of the cylinder is where the results of combustion, the water, carbonic acid, or azote, which are not inflammable, pass out. The gas which enters is not sufficiently heated on the outside of the wire to be exploded, and as the gases are no where confined, there can be no mechanical force pressing currents of flame towards the same point.

"It will be needless to enter into further illustrations of the theoretical part of the subject: and I shall conclude this Paper by stating,
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what I am sure will be gratifying to the Society, that the cylinder lamps have been tried in two of the most dangerous mines near Newcastle, with perfect success; and from the communications I have

had from the collieries, there is every reason to believe that they will be immediately adopted in all the mines in that neighbourhood, where there is any danger from fire-damp."

SKETCH OF THE SHEPHERDS OF THE LANDES IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.

[By THOMAS MAYNARD, Esq. From the Journal of Science and the Arts.]

"THIS tract of country lies between the mouths of the Adour and the Gironde, along the sea coast, and, according to tradition, was once the bed of the sea itself, which flowed in as far as Dax. Through this district the Guards marched from Bayonne, at the conclusion of the war in June 1814, to embark at Bourdeaux. This afforded us an opportunity of seeing a country seldom visited by travellers. It is a bed of sand, flat, in the strictest sense of the word, and abounding with extensive pine woods. These woods afford turpentine, resin, and charcoal, for trade, as well as a sort of candles, used by the peasantry, made of yarn dipt in the turpentine. The road is through the sand, unaltered by art, except where it is so loose and deep as to require the trunks of the fir-trees to be laid across to give it firmness. The villages and hamlets stand on spots of fertile ground, scattered like islands among the sands. The appearance of a corn-field on each side of the road, fenced by green hedges, a clump of

trees at a little distance, and the spire of a rustic church tapering from among them, gave notice of our approach to an inhabited spot. On entering the villages, we found neat white cottages, scattered along a bit of green, surrounded by well cultivated gardens and orchards, and shaded by fine old oaks and walnuts. Through the centre of the village, a brook of the clearest water was always seen running amongst meadows and hay-fields, and forming a most grateful contrast to the heat and dust of the sandy road. It was between the villages of Castel and La Buharre that we first saw these shepherds, mounted on stilts, and striding, like storks, along the flat. These stilts raise them from three to five feet: the foot rests on a surface, adapted to its sole, carved out of the solid wood; a flat part, shaped to the outside of the leg, and reaching to below the bend of the knee, is strapped round the calf and ankle. The foot is covered by a piece of raw sheep's hide. In these stilts they move with perfect freedom,

dom, and astonishing rapidity; and they have their balance so completely, that they run, jump, stoop, and even dance, with ease and safety. We made them run races for a piece of money, put on a stone on the ground, to which they pounced down with surprising quickness. They cannot stand quite still without the aid of a long staff, which they always carry in their hands. This guards them against any accidental trip, and when they wish to be at rest, forms a third leg, that keeps them steady. The habit of using the stilts is acquired early, and it appeared that the smaller the boy was, the longer it was necessary to have his stilts.

By means of these odd additions to the natural leg, the feet are kept out of the water, which lies deep during winter on the sands, and from the heated sand during the summer: in addition to which, the sphere of vision over so perfect a flat is materially increased by the elevation, and the shepherd can see his sheep much further on stilts than he could from the ground. This department of France is little known, and if what I have here related be as new to your readers as it was to me at the time I first saw them, this description may possibly afford them some amusement.

ACCOUNT OF THE EARTHQUAKE OF CARACAS.

[By B. PALACIO FAXAR. From the same.]

“THE ridge of mountains, which branches out from the Andes near the isthmus of Panama, and which, taking the direction of the eastern coast, crosses part of New Granada, and Venezuela seems to have been the seat of that earthquake, which on the 26th March, 1812, destroyed many populous towns of the province of Caracas. It is this branch of the Cordillera that forms the Sierra-nevada of Chita, that of Merida-de-Maracaybo, and the height called La-Silla-de-Caracca; and it is between these three remarkable points that the mines of gold of Pamplona, the mineral water of Merida-de-Maracaybo, and the mines of copper of Aroa, are found.

Between the picturesque Sierra-nevada of Merida-de-Maracaybo, and La-Silla-de-Caracca, where spring is perpetual, the earthquake was most strongly felt.

“At the south-east of this ridge of mountains, there are plains of an immense extent, covered with different species of grasses, and watered by innumerable torrents, which falling from the mountains, and uniting in different bodies, majestically enter the Orinoco. These plains were likewise convulsed for above 120 leagues in Venezuela: the towns situate immediately at the foot of the Cordillera, or in the valleys between them, suffered most severely: those seated in the plains did not suffer considerable injury, though

though violently shaken. For five months a continued drought had parched the earth, no rain having fallen, and in the preceding month of December, a slight shock of an earthquake had been felt at Caracas. It was on the eve of the Crucifixion, when Catholics assembled together in their churches to commemorate with public prayers and processions the sufferings and merits of their Redeemer, that this sad catastrophe happened. The weather was fine, the air serene, when between four and five P. M. a hollow sound like the roar of a cannon was heard, which was followed by a violent oscillatory motion from west to east, which lasted about seventeen seconds, and which stopped all the public clocks: the convulsion diminished for some moments, but was succeeded by a more violent shock than the first for 20 seconds almost, keeping the same direction: a calm followed, which lasted about 14 seconds, after which the most alarming trepidation of the earth took place for 15 seconds. The total duration about one minute and 15 seconds. The inhabitants of Caracas, struck with terror, unitedly and loudly implored the protection of heaven; some ran wildly through the streets; some remained immovable with astonishment; while others crowding into the churches, sought refuge at the foot of the altar. The crash of falling buildings, the clouds of dust from their ruins, which filled the air, the anxious cries of mothers, who, inquired in vain for their children lost in the tumult, increased the horrors of this sad day. To this scene of disorder succeeded the most horrible despair. Dead bodies, wounded persons crying for protection pre-

sented themselves every where to those who had escaped from the catastrophe, and who could not turn their eyes from these objects of pity and horror, without meeting with heaps of ruin, which had buried hundreds of unfortunate persons, whose lamentations uselessly pierced their hearts, for it was impossible to give relief, or assistance to all.

"It has been computed that in this calamitous day, near 20,000 persons perished at Venezuela. A great part of the veteran troops were of this number; and all the arms destined for the defence of their country were buried under the ruins of the barracks. The towns of Caracas, Merida-de-Maracaybo, and Laguaira were totally destroyed; those of Barquinieto, Sanfelipe, and others suffered considerably. It is to be remarked that Truxillo, which is situate between Merida-de-Maracaybo, and Sanfelipe, experienced very little damage. At the last place, near the mines of Aroa, the first signal they had of the earthquake was an electric shock, which deprived many persons of their power of motion; and in Valencia, Caracas, and the neighbouring country the inhabitants were, for about twenty days after the earthquake, in an extraordinary state of irritability. Many persons, who suffered from intermittent fevers, recovered immediately in consequence of the effect of the earthquake.

"At Vallecillo, near Valencia, a rivulet spouted out from a hill, which continued to flow for some hours after the earthquake, and which I visited a few days after. The river Guaire, which runs through the valley of Caracas, was greatly swelled soon after the earthquake,

earthquake, and remained in that state for several days. The water of the bay of Maracaybo withdrew considerably, and it is said that the mountain Avila, which separates Caraccas from Laguaira, sunk several feet into the earth.

"The earthquakes continued for many days, we may say, without interruption: they diminished as it were by degrees, though the last were remarkably strong. So late as the month of October of the same year there was a violent shock. The earthquake of the 26th March was felt at Santafé de Bogotá, and even at Carthagena, though it was very little felt at Cumana.

"In the following April a volcano burst out in the island of St. Vincent. About the time of the eruption, a noise like that of a cannon was heard at Caraccas and Laguaira, which caused a general alarm, the inhabitants of each place supposing that the neighbouring town was attacked by the enemy. This roaring noise was distinctly

heard, where the river Nala falls into the Apure, which is more than 100 leagues from Caraccas. In the same year, 1812, many strong shocks of an earthquake were felt at Sannaica, and Curacoa.

"The earthquake of the 26th March alarmed so deeply the inhabitants of Venezuela that they expected to see the earth open and swallow them at every convulsion, and it having happened on the anniversary of their political revolution, made them suppose it had incurred the displeasure of the Almighty. The clergy, who were enemies to the revolution, as their privilege had been diminished by the new constitution of Venezuela, availed themselves of the disposition of the people, and preached every where against the new republic. Such was the beginning of the civil war at Venezuela; a war which has desolated those beautiful countries, and which has destroyed the tenth part of their population."

ABSTRACT OF AN ACCOUNT OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[By JACOB BIGELOW, M.D. From the New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery.]

"IN the United States, exclusive, or possibly inclusive, of Louisiana, the highest point or ridge of land is undoubtedly that of the White Mountains in New Hampshire. From the earliest settlement of the country, these mountains have attracted the notice of the inhabitants and of mariners

along the coast, by the distance at which they are visible, and the whiteness of their appearance during three-quarters of the year (being then covered with snow). They were for a long time the subject of fabulous representations; the Indians had a superstitious dread of them, and travellers who occasionally

ally ascended their summits, returned with exaggerated reports of the difficulty and distance, as well as of the strange productions found on the more elevated parts of their surface.

" These mountains are situated in latitude about $44^{\circ} 15'$ N. and longitude, $71^{\circ} 20'$ W. from Greenwich; and are distant about 150 miles from Boston.

" The party approached them from the north-west, near the town of Lancaster, on the Connecticut river, 25 miles from their base. Thirteen miles from their base, the White Hills presented the appearance of a continued waving range of summits of which it was difficult to select the highest. At Rosebrook's, (within four miles and a half,) the view of them was very distinct: the character of the summits was clearly discerned, five or six of which were entirely bald, and presented the appearance of a grey and ragged mass of stones towering above the woods, with which the sides and base were clothed. In several places a broad continued stripe descended the mountains, having the appearance of a regular road cut through the trees and rocks from near the base to the summit. On examining these with a telescope they were found to be channels of streams, and in several places the water could be seen dashing down the rocks.

" In a plain near the base of the mountains was a pond of one or two acres, situated near the road, and having no other inlet or outlet, appeared to be the principal source of the Saco river. The waters of this stream being collected from several sources, proceed directly toward the side of the mountain. At the point where, to all appear-

ance, they must be intercepted in their course, there occurs one of the most extraordinary features of the place, well known by the name of the Notch. The whole mountain, which otherwise forms a continued range, is here cloven down quite to its base, affording a free opening to the waters of the Saco, which pass off with a gradual descent toward the sea. This gap is so narrow that space has with difficulty been obtained for the road, which follows the course of the Saco through the Notch to the eastward. In one place the river disappears, being lost in the caves and crevices of the rocks and under the shelves of the adjoining precipice, re-appearing at length at the distance of some rods below. The Notch gradually widens into a long narrow valley.

" There is no part of the mountain more interesting than the scenery of this natural gap: the crags and precipices on both sides rise at an angle of great steepness, forming a support for the lofty ridges above. One of the most picturesque objects was a cliff presenting a perpendicular face, of great height, and crowned at its inaccessible summit, with a profusion of flowering shrubs. For many miles below the commencement of the Notch, the eye meets on both sides a succession of steep and precipitous mountains rising to the height of some thousands of feet, and utterly inaccessible from the valley beneath.

" In some instances fire had run over the sides of the mountains, destroying the vegetation, and leaving the dead trunks of the trees standing like scrubble in a field, and presenting a singular appearance of desolation for miles in extent.

" The

"The White Hills have been ascended by various routes. The course which is usually considered as attended with the least difficulty, and which was adopted by Dr. Bigelow and his party, is that which commences at the town of Conway, and follows the course of Ellis river, a northern branch of the Saco, which has its origin high in the mountains. After leaving the borders of cultivation, the course lies through thick woods, on a level, or with a gentle ascent, not much encumbered with an under growth of bushes, for six miles. The party encamped for the night at the mouth of the New river, a principal branch of the Ellis, which takes its name from the recency of its origin, which happened in the month of October, 1775, when during a great flood which took place in consequence of heavy rains, a large body of waters, which had formerly descended by other channels, found their way over the eastern brink of the mountains, and fell down towards the Ellis, carrying the rocks and trees before them in their course, and inundating the adjacent country. By this freshet the banks of the Saco were overflowed, cattle were drowned, and fields of corn swept away and destroyed. Since that period, the New river has remained a constant stream. From the encampment, which was seven miles from the top of the mountain, they proceeded the next day, two or three miles by the side of Ellis river, on a gradual ascent; then leaving the Ellis river for one of its principal branches called Cutler's river, leading directly towards the principal summit. After climbing by the side of the stream for a considerable distance, the trees of the forest around began to diminish in height,

and they arrived at the second zone of the mountain. This is entirely covered with a thick low growth of evergreens, principally the black spruce and silver fir, which rise about the height of a man, and put out numerous long horizontal branches, closely interwoven with each other, and surround the mountain with a formidable hedge a quarter of a mile in thickness.

"On emerging from this thicket the barometer stood at 25.93. giving the elevation above the sea at 4443 feet: they were then above all woods, and at the foot of what is called the bald part, which arose before them with a steepness surpassing that of any ground before passed, and presenting to view a huge, dreary, irregular pile of dark naked rocks.

"Then crossing a plain, a gentle slope of a quarter of a mile, they began to climb upon the side. The ascent of half a mile was laborious, and performed by stepping from one rock to another, as they presented themselves like irregular stairs winding on the broken surface of the mountain. In the interstices of these rocks were occasionally patches of dwarfish fir and spruce, and beautiful tufts of small Alpine shrubs then in full flower. (*July.*)

"Having surmounted this height, they arrived at a second plain, which, like the first, was covered with withered grass, and a few tufts of flowers. There remained now to be ascended only the principal peaks, designated by the name of the Sugar Loaf, or Mount Washington. The day was uncommonly fine, yet the atmosphere was hazy, and the view of remote objects very indistinct.

"The anticipations of the party were not realized in regard to several

several phenomena they had been taught to expect at the summit. The state of the air was mild; the thermometer stood at 57° Fahr. on the summit at 12 o'clock on the same day, at Conway, 25 miles distant on the plain below, it was at 85° . The snow lay in patches of an acre in extent upon the sides, but appeared to be rapidly dissolving. They were not conscious of any material alteration in the density of the atmosphere, as neither sound nor respiration were perceptibly impeded. Instead of an absence from these barren regions of animal and vegetable life, multitudes of insects buzzing around the highest rocks, were found, and every stone was covered with lichens, and some plants were in flower in the crevices within a few feet of the summit. The ascent from the encampment at the mouth of New river, including rests, had employed six hours and an half. The great distance at which these mountains are visible, and apparent length of their ascent, led to estimates of their height, considerably exceeding the probable truth. A mountain barometer of Englefield's construction, stood on the summit, at noon, at 24.23; the thermometer being at 57° . On the same day at Cambridge, this barometer stood at 29.95, and the thermometer at 76° ; this difference of the barometer, after making the necessary corrections, would give, according to Sir H. C. Englefield's formula, a difference of 6250 feet in the altitude of the two places. The uppermost or bald portion of the mountain, (1800 feet in height), was found to consist wholly of a loose irregular disconnected heap of rocks.

Gneiss and micaceous schistus, or

rather an intermediate substance between the two, prevailed. The mica is abundant and brilliant, but its stratification, uneven and irregular, and often interrupted by thin strata of quartz. Owing to the irregular position of the rocks, the strata were found resting in every possible direction. Large veins of quartz very frequently traversed them, and specimens of pure mica, the plates of which are several inches in diameter, were occasionally obtained.

In the middle and lower parts of the mountain, the micaceous slate appeared to be more perfectly formed, and the strata were remarkably smooth and even, and their fissures presenting the most brilliant silvery lustre. The bed of the cascade at New river, was principally of this material, intersected by thick veins of quartz, which contained large crystals of schorl. The pebbles in the streams were chiefly of micaceous slate, and occasionally of gneiss, granite, and pure white quartz. They also met with hornblende containing traces of carbonate of lime. In some places where the geology of the mountain was exposed, the lower strata were of green-stone and green-stone slate, with some granite. Higher up, granite and gneiss prevailed; the green-stone is fine grained, containing pyrites; the green-stone slate contains actinote; the granite contains emerald tourmaline, white quartz, and feldspar, white and reddish mica, and garnets of different sizes: the granite is distinctly stratified. The strata of these rocks are from six inches to many feet in thickness, the granite being thickest; generally two or three feet; the dip of the strata is small, and from the mountain.

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The rock on the summit, and for some hundred feet below, was gneiss, afterwards granite prevailed. Near the Notch the rocks were of coarse reddish jasper, and porphyry.

"The vegetation of the White Hills has been divided with propriety into three zones. 1. That of the common forest trees; 2. that of dwarf evergreens; and 3. that of alpine plants.

"The woods which extend from the base up the sides to the height of about 4000 feet from the sea, consist of the rock maple, the silver fir, the hemlock, the black and white spruce, the white pine, the beech, the black, yellow, and white birch; the underwood was composed principally of the *Viburnum lanfanoides*, the *Acer montanum* and *striatum*, and *Sorbus americana*. On the ground was the *Oxalis acetosella*, beyond every other species of plant, *Dracena borealis*, *Cornus canadensis*, *Gaultheria hispida*, &c.

"Where the hispida forests terminate the second zone of the mountain immediately commences, the line between them being very distinctly drawn. This region consists of a belt of the black spruce and silver firs rising to the height of seven or eight feet; upon the ground under the ever-green trees, there were but few other vegetables; the *Houstonia cærulea*, and *Cornus canadensis* were found in flower.

"Above the zone of firs, which terminates as abruptly as it began, is a third or bald region, wholly destitute of any growth of wood; yet to the botanist this is by far the most interesting part of the mountains. Many of the plants of this region were rare, and not to be

found in the region below, being for the most part natives of cold climates and situations, such as are found in high latitudes, or in great elevations. Among them were natives of Siberia, Lapland, Greenland, and Labrador. Vegetables of this rice, usually known by the name of Alpine plants, have always been found difficult of cultivation, being impatient of drought, and of both the extremes of heat and cold. During the severity of the winter, in their native situations, they are preserved from injury by the great depth of snow under which they are covered, which secures them from the inclemency of the air, while they partake of the temperature of the earth below them. When the snow leaves them, which frequently does not happen till the middle of summer, they instantly shoot up with a vigour proportionate to the length of time they have been dormant, rapidly unfold their flowers, and mature their fruits; and having run through the whole course of their vegetation in a few weeks, are again ready to be entombed for the rest of the year under their accustomed covering of snow. These plants, notwithstanding the high and barren elevations at which they frequently grow, do not suffer for want of moisture, being constantly irrigated by the clouds which embrace them, and by the trickling of water over their roots from the eminences above.

"The vegetation in spots extended quite to the top of the mountain. *Diapensia lapponica* and *Lycopodium lucidulum*, (the former in full flower) were growing within six feet of the summit. All the rocks were incrustated with lichens, among which *Livellus* is the one which

which predominates, and contributes essentially to the dark gray appearance of the mountain.

"In the list of vegetables enumerated by Dr. Bigelow, a considerable number of species are natives of Europe, as well as of America. A question of some interest has arisen whether any plants are originally common to both continents, and whether those species which approach each other so nearly in their external characters as to be known at present by the same names, are in reality the same species. The analogy of the animal kingdom seems to favour the negative of this question. M. Humboldt has asserted, upon the highest authorities, that no quadruped or terrestrial bird, and even that no reptile or insect, has been found common to the equinoctial regions of the old and new world. In like manner he affirms, that the phanogamous plants which have been recognized as natives of the tropical regions of both continents are extremely few. In the temperate zones, the number of American plants which wear European names, is continually diminishing in books. The separation of them has in some instances been carried further than a strict adherence to the present grounds of botanical distinction will justify. Yet there still remain species wholly agreeing in their botanical characters, but sufficiently differing in their qualities, places of growth, times of flowering, &c. to render it not improbable, that they are distinct. There is a species of *æthusa* grows about Boston, which externally bears the strictest comparison with *æthusa cynapium* of Europe. It is, however, altogether destitute of the nauseous

or garlic taste, for which that plant is noted. *Menyanthes trifoliata*, in New England, flowers a month earlier than in Great Britain, though the seasons in Boston are perhaps always more backward. Botanists have not yet distinguished the chestnut tree of America from that of Europe, although its wood is weak and brittle, and never used, as in Europe, for hoops and other purposes where strength and tenacity are required. On ground like the foregoing, a great number of vegetables which have not emigrated since its discovery, and which are not found far to the north of that country, may be suspected, observes Dr. Bigelow, of being really distinct in nature from those which nearly resemble them in Europe, and are known by the same names.

"But as we approach toward the north, and arrive in high latitudes, the probability of finding plants identically the same, is greatly increased. About the arctic circle, the two continents approach each other so nearly, and are so connected by ice during part of the year, that they may, as far as botany is concerned, be considered the same country. The same plants may be equally disseminated on both, and these may extend as far towards the south as the general coldness of the climate suited to their constitution continues. Beyond this they may, for some distance, be found in alpine situations on the tops of the highest mountains. There are also plants of such versatility of constitution, that they bear all the varieties of climate from Hudson's Bay, to Virginia and Carolina. Such plants may well be common to the two continents.

ADVANTAGES

ADVANTAGES RESULTING FROM THE CULTURE OF BEES.

[From Mr. HUISE's Treatise on Bees.]

“**W**AR has its uses, as well as its miseries; it calls forth the energies of a nation, and draws its attention to its own internal resources, and renders it at the same time independent of the natural commodities of other nations. Thus until England was at war with Russia, it was not discovered that we were paying an enormous sum annually to that country for a metal which we possessed in our own native mountains, and also for that timber, which it would take millenaries to exhaust from our own American colonies. It is also a notorious fact, that this country pays annually to the North of Germany from 40,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* for the produce of the Bee, when that same produce could be obtained in this country at a comparatively small expense, and by which the condition of the lower orders of the peasantry would be essentially ameliorated. Unfortunately, in this country the culture of the Bee is made more an object of amusement than of profit. In the gardens of the nobility and the gentry, a few hives are seen; but you are informed that they are glass, for the purpose of seeing the bees work; a circumstance which no person ever yet beheld, and I may venture to say never will. If you leave the gardens of the great, and turn your view to the more humble one of the peasant, you in general view it deprived of its chief

ornament, which I consider an apiary, whether regarded with a view to profit or rational amusement. Poverty may indeed be one obstacle to a more extended culture of the Bee; but prejudice, founded on fear, has a greater share in it. Some farmers are, I am persuaded, not aware of the profit attending a well-conducted apiary, or they would not so glaringly neglect such an essential branch of rural economy. There is not one branch in which the profit is so great, compared with the expense attending it, and in which the management absorbs such a small portion of time. This circumstance alone is one great argument in favour of an apiary, and in the eye of the economist, renders it of great importance.

“ I will state the profit of five years on a fair and equitable scale, making at the same time ample allowance for those losses, which even the most skilful apiarian cannot prevent. I will suppose a person to buy a swarm in 1812, for which he pays one guinea: there is little doubt of the bees making a sufficiency of honey to keep them until the ensuing spring; and after having diminished the entrance and fastened the hive on the stool, the apiarian has no further trouble until the spring, when his bees begin to work. In the month of May or June, his hive swarms, and in about ten days afterwards he obtains another

ther swarm, which is called a cast. His apiary now consists of three hives, from one of which (the cast) it will be most prudent for him to take the honey: as from the smallness of the number of Bees, and lateness of the season, it seldom makes honey sufficient for its support. I will suppose the cast to weigh fifteen pounds: these will bring him, if sold, twenty-two shillings. Thus in the first year the apiarian has received back the price of his original hive, and he has doubled his stock. The second year his two hives produce him four swarms. I would then advise him to sell his casts, which will bring him fifteen shillings each, and add his two swarms to his stock. He has now four good hives, and at the expiration of every year let the apiarian weigh his hives, and take from

them all above thirty pounds, that quantity being sufficient for the support of the best peopled hive through the longest winter. I will suppose on an average, that each hive could spare him ten pounds; the second year he has therefore received one pound ten shillings for two casts, and forty pounds of honey-comb, which at one shilling and six-pence per pound, (but which sells in the shops, at three shillings and sixpence or four shillings) produce him three pounds. The third year, his four hives produce him eight swarms. He follows the same plan as in the preceding years, and at the commencement of the fourth year his apiary consists of eight stocks. At the beginning of the fifth year his apiary has increased to sixteen stocks. I will now calculate the actual profit.

<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1812,—To one swarm,	1	1	0
1813,—To two new Bee-hives.	0	4	0
1814,—To four new Bee-hives.	0	8	0
1815,—To eight new Bee-hives.	0	16	0
1816,—To sixteen new Bee-hives.	1	12	0
1817,—To thirty-two new Bee-hives.	3	4	0
To ten pounds of sugar for feeding the Bees, if necessary, at 8d. per lb.	0	6	8
To thirty-two stools for the hives, at 2s. each	3	4	0
To incidental expenses.	1	1	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	11	16	8

<i>Cr.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1813,—By one cast. . .	0	15	0
By 10lb. of honey taken from the first swarm, at 1s. 6d. per lb. . .	0	15	0
1814,—By two casts. . .	1	10	0
By 20lb. of honey-comb taken from the two swarms	1	10	0
1815,—By four casts. . .	3	0	0
By 40lb. of honey-comb taken from the four swarms.	3	0	0
1816,—By eight casts.	6	0	0
By 80lb. of honey-comb taken from 8 swarms.	6	0	0
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	22	10	0
			Brought

Advantages resulting from the Culture of Bees.

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Dr.	L.	s.	d.	Cr.	L.	s.	d.
Brought over...	11	16	8	Brought over...	22	10	0
				1817,—By 16 casts...	12	0	0
				By 16lbs. of			
				honey - comb			
				taken from			
				16 swarms...	12	0	0
					46	10	0
				Deduct.....	11	16	8
Actual profit in five years					34	13	4
If the apiarian wishes to keep only ten hives, he can							
then sell twenty-two at 1 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> each					23	2	0
					£. 57	15	4

" Thus his profit at the expiration of five years will be 57*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* and leaving him ten good stocks in his garden. I have not enumerated in this estimate, any probable profit which may be derived from virgin swarms, but I trust I have demonstrated the certain profit which can be obtained from a well-conducted apiary.

" I am however, fully persuaded, that the use of the common straw hive tends more to obstruct the culture of the Bee than any other cause. Its shape is particularly inconvenient for the performance of the different operations which the Bees require, and on which the profit of the proprietor principally depends. The operation of deprivation is attended with those difficulties which naturally deter those who are not enthusiastically attached to the Bees, and this sentiment must not be looked for in the minds of those whose only aim in their culture is pecuniary advantage. It is only my enthusiasm and attachment to those insects, which could possibly induce me to persevere in the arduous undertaking of depriving

the Bees of their store from the common hive, and I am not therefore surprised at the general use of suffocation.

" The profit which is obtained from Bees, stands in no proportion with the little time and trouble which their culture demands, and this is sufficient to induce those who calculate things properly, to give the culture of the Bee the preference before all other agricultural occupations, especially as no sacrifice of property, nor extensive capital are necessary for its prosecution. From the same fields which yield corn to man, and forage to beasts, the diligent Bee extracts its food, without diminishing in the smallest degree the crop destined for human or animal support. The same trees which the Creator has formed to furnish the most delicious fruits, and wood for the use of man, yield also to the industrious Bee the materials with which it forms its combs, and which are afterwards applied to the use of man.

" As a proof of the importance which was formerly attached to the culture of the Bee, Wildman quotes a modern

a modern author, who affirms, 'that when the Romans became masters of the island of Corsica, they imposed a tribute of wax on the inhabitants, which amounted to 200,000 pounds per annum; supposing, therefore, that the island retained the same quantity for its own use, we have then 400,000 pounds of wax made in one island, by these wonderful insects. It is known that the proportion of wax to honey is about one to fifteen or twenty, at least it is in this proportion that it exists in this country. In multiplying those 400,000 pounds by fifteen or twenty, we have more than six or eight millions pounds of honey, independently of the 400,000 pounds of wax. What a source of riches for the island of Corsica, if the culture of the Bee was carried on to that extent as formerly, especially as the price of honey and wax is so much higher now than it was then.

"I must confess, that the above calculation appears to be rather exaggerated, but making every allowance for that exaggeration, it is sufficient to shew the actual profit which a kingdom may derive from the culture of the Bee.

"I have by me a French newspaper of the 21st of September, 1787, in which there is an article dated Hanover, August 30th. 'The culture of the Bee is one of the objects of the industry of the inhabitants of this province; the produce of wax is estimated this year (1787) at 300,000 pounds; if we multiply this 300,000 by fifteen, we find that Hanover alone in that year, produced 4,500,000 pounds of honey, a most incredible quantity to be collected in globules, by a particular species of insects.'

"In France the culture of the

Bee was formerly more attended to than at present, although I rejoice to see that it is fast emerging from the obscurity in which it has been so long enveloped. The cause of the decline of the culture of the Bee in France is to be attributed to the excessive imposts with which the country people were burthened, and for the payment of which their hives were taken from them.

"In the work of M. Necker, on the Administration of the Finances, he mentions that the government having demanded of the prefects of the provinces an exact list of all the hives which were kept in their district, the proprietors of the hives on being informed of the circumstance, were alarmed at the consequences which might result, and destroyed their hives entirely. They feared that a tax was about to be laid upon them, and thus for a length of time the culture of the Bee was wholly neglected in France.

"Although the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire are not the richest people in Europe, they may be placed on a level with the people of the majority of other states. This can only be attributed to the goodness and fertility of the soil, which, although it be slightly cultivated, is sufficient to maintain the people in a sort of ease and independence, and also to the culture of Bees, which is carried on to a great extent in all the provinces of the empire, and especially in the maritime provinces. The immense quantity of wax which the Europeans annually draw from Smyrna, Salonichi, and the Morea, and other countries of the White Sea, is well known. In regard to the Black Sea, in the work of Peyssonnel, on the Commerce of the Turkish Provinces on the Black Sea, he says, p. 125, 'Wax is the most

most important article of commerce of Moldavia and Wallachia ; it is of a very fine quality, but the wax of Moldavia is preferable to that of Wallachia ; it is sold at the same price.' Speaking of the commerce of Bulgaria, he says, p. 162, ' an immense quantity of wax is exported from Bulgaria ; it is yellow, and of an excellent quality. It is sold in a pure state ; its price is from thirty-eight to forty-two paras the occa. The para is about 1s. 6d. and the occa about three pounds.'

" In the Archipelago, when a peasant has succeeded in raising for himself a capital of twenty or thirty hives, he considers himself fully able to provide for the wants of his family, by adding to their profit the proceeds of his weekly labour.

" M. Montelle, in his book entitled, *Choix de Lectures Geographiques et Historiques*, tome 5, part II, says, in speaking of the island of Cuba, ' When the Floridas were ceded in 1763, by Spain to England, the five or six hundred miserable beings, who vegetated in those regions, took refuge in Cuba, and carried with them some Bees ; this useful insect repired to the forests, and established themselves in the hollows of old trees, and multiplied with a celerity which appeared incredible. The colony in a short time, which purchased a considerable quantity of wax for religious solemnities, soon collected a sufficiency for those pious customs and other consummations. In 1770, there was a small superfluity, and in seven years afterwards, 7150 quintals were exported to Europe and America. This product necessarily increased under a climate, and on a soil which are equally favourable to it, in an island where the

hives yield four crops every year, and where the swarms succeed each other without interruption.

" In support of what has been here advanced by M. Martelle, we find in the work of Don Ulloa, entitled, ' Philosophical and Historical Memoirs concerning the Discovery of Spain, the following passage :—

" ' I ought not to pass over in silence, that the swarms of Domestic Bees have much multiplied in the isle of Cuba, in the vicinity of the Havannah, during the short space of time from 1764, after the peace had been concluded with England. There were no Bees in the island before that period, for those which were seen were wild, and of a different species. The families, which until that period had resided at St. Augustin, in Florida, having repaired to the island of Cuba, brought with them some hives, which were placed at Guonavacoa, and in other places from mere curiosity. These insects multiplied to such a degree, that they spread to the mountains, and it was observed that they began to be prejudicial to the sugar canes, on which they fed. Their fecundity was so great that a hive yielded a swarm, and sometimes two in a month. There is not that care bestowed upon them which there is in Europe. The wax is uncommonly white, and the honey of a perfect transparency and an exquisite taste. According to this statement, it is evident that honey and wax might become one of the most advantageous branches of commerce for this island, without bestowing much attention on the Bees, nor neglecting the sugar-cane, which will always be the principal object.

" I once inquired of a respectable

able inhabitant of St. Domingo, why the culture of the Bee was neglected in that island. He answered me, that it was because those insects ravaged the sugar-canes, and because the nudity of the negroes exposed them to be much incommoded. Don Ulloa is of the same sentiment in regard to the havoc done to the sugar-canes, but I confess that I do not see how it can take place; if the Bees imbibe the mellifluous juice which may flow from the cracks or chasms in the sugar-canes, it appears to me that it is not a real loss, for this juice would evaporate or it would become the prey of other insects; it would therefore be more advantageous for the Bees to profit by it: and even supposing that a superabundance of hives occasioned some diminution in the produce of the sugar-canes, would not an indemnity for this loss be found with usury, in the quantity of honey which the hives would yield, and especially by the rich crop of wax which they would furnish?

"In regard to the negroes who, on account of their nudity, are exposed to the stings, the answer is very clear; for the Bees never attack any one in the open fields, excepting an attempt be made to catch them when they alight on the flowers. Besides, might not a particular dress be adopted for the purpose of attending the hives? The advantage which the colonists would derive, would amply repay them for the little extraordinary expense.

"On all the coasts of Africa, the negroes are well acquainted with the management and culture of the Bee, and the quantity of wax which the Europeans derive from that country, is the best demonstration

of the fact; their nudity does not prevent them from paying the proper attention to their hives, and we have no proof that they ever make use of any particular covering or guard.

"There are, however, some persons, who fear, that by multiplying the Bees in the sugar islands, the persons employed in the sugar manufactories would be much incommoded. But if the Bees found a sufficiency for their support in the fields, they would not repair to the houses to torment the inhabitants. In the Archipelago, the natives perform the different manipulations of honey, without any fear or danger, when the fields yield a sufficiency of food for the Bees; but if St. Domingo, as well as Cuba, always furnish an amplitude of food for the Bees in all seasons, no fear whatever need be entertained of the work people in the refineries.

"There is, however, one prejudice which exists in this country against the Bees, and although it be confined to the lower classes, it still operates materially towards a prevention of an extended culture of the Bee, and this is, that they are fully persuaded, that the Bees are very injurious to the fruit trees. In imbibing the honey from the flowers, they assert that the Bees derange the fecundation, and the premature fall of the fruit is solely to be ascribed to the action of the Bee.

"On this subject, it may be curious to notice the observations of the famous Linnaeus. 'It is not yet determined,' he says, 'if the Bees and other insects which feed on honey, occasion any injury to the little embryos, or cause any obstruction to generation by imbibing the nectar of the flowers. Accord-

ingly

dingly it cannot be actually explained according to the laws of nature what Quintilian and Seneca report of a villain, who infected the flowers of the trees with poison, in order to kill all the Bees of a poor peasant, which came to imbibe the honey.

“ Notwithstanding the doubt

which M. Linnæus entertains on this point, I am very well convinced that the suction of the honey which the Bees as well as other insects perform on the flowers of the trees, is not by any means prejudicial to them, nor deranges the fecundation in the slightest degree.”

POETRY.

LILY OF THE VALLEY.

[From "LEAVES."]

" **W**HEN morning o'er the mountain beams,
 And round her purply radiance throws,
 While sportive zephyr crisps the streams,
 Or wantons with the blushing rose :
 At that sweet hour I sought the vale,
 Where lingered still the lily pale.
 Meek flower ! I sighed, thou lovest the shade,
 Yet must not undelighting fade !—
 From the damp turf the plant I bore,
 To her whom all my thoughts adore.
 She gazed, and smiled ;—and gently now
 She shook the dewdrops from its brow :
 On me they fell ;—the charm I blest,
 The charm her kindling cheek confest ;
 Still be it thus ! I cried, sincere,
 And thine the sweet, and mine the tear !"

INFANT WANDERERS.

[From the same.]

Rosa con rosa par, stella con stella. ZAPPI.

" **M**ORNING of spring ! sweet infant life !
 To thee and hope and heaven belong !
 Fancy may joy 'mid storms and strife,
 But memory gives to thee the song.

Where

Where meadows slope with flowrets gay,
 Or on the shadowing copses side,
 Two lovely children oft would stray,
 Or where 'mid rocks their streamlets glide.

And Leila's opening casement near
 Violets and scented shrubs abound,
 But one dear rose, than all more dear,
 By Lilan planted, spells surround.

Pleased would she watch its budding flowers,
 And gayest woodnotes wildering sing,
 And o'er it shed in gladdening showers,
 Fresh waters from the fountain spring :

Oh ! if the admiring verse could trace
 The varying bliss her bosom knows ;
 Much would it tell, and with that grace
 Which nature's graceful self bestows.

For, Childhood ! still thy rapturous dreams
 Gleam through the past in tenderest light,
 Even as the young moon's trembling beams
 Play 'mid the darken'd clouds of night !

But Lilan comes, his winning tongue
 The pledged walk claims, nor she denies ;
 Round her his fond arm careless flung
 They pass, joy sparkling in their eyes.

Shadowing his brow, and smooth and bright,
 Adown the thick dark ringlets strayed,
 And o'er his cheek, where glowed delight,
 One lingering curl luxuriant played.

Her lighter tresses feathering wave
 O'er her fair front, as sports the wind,
 While rosebuds, that her Lilan gave,
 Bloomed lovelier on her breast reclined.

But lo ! the sunny shower descends,
 To spread fresh fragrance through the vale ;
 And where a broad oak's foliage bends,
 Our wanderers shelter from the gale.

Hence viewed, the hilly walk they chose,
 Where partial light the path illumines,
 While in the east the rainbow glows,
 O'er-arching the wild forest's glooms.

Ceased is the shower; the rainbow fades,
 They pass, unnumbered joys to find.
 But oh! what means the frown that shades
 My Lilan's brow, my Leila's mind?—

'Tis but a shade! at Love's command
 What storms arise! what tempests cease!
 Her hand she gave, he kissed the hand—
 Forgiveness beamed in smile of peace.—

More charmed, more fond, afar they rove;
 Still fancied bliss their steps pursue;
 Now where deep winds the visted grove,
 Now where the landscape bursts to view.

But soon the dubious evening-ray
 Sunk 'mid the gathering glooms of night:
 Fain would they trace their homeward way,
 But rocks and wild woods mocked their sight.

Then rose the moon with transient smile;
 Yet hand in hand the wanderers stray;
 Till 'mid a ruin's grass-grown pile
 Sheltering, their wearied forms they lay.

There on a tomb, with deep moss sear,
 Pillowing their heads, in sweet repose,
 Were found, loved babes! a lucid tear
 Still lingering on their cheek of rose."

THE CASTLE LAKE.—A VILLAGE LEGEND.

[From the same.]

"**F** AINT with toil, mad with rage, by a brave foe subdued,
 From the battle he led his discomfited train;
 O'er revenge then fierce brooding in silent disdain,
 Unconscious his steps wildering mazes pursued.

Now the setting moon sunk, not a star pitying beamed
 O'er the gloomy expanse, through the deep forest shades
 Alone and despairing he traversed its glades,—
 When some fabric he spied, 'mid the light-flash it gleamed.

As the clouds fall in torrents, the steep he ascends,
 With his buckler of strength, and his terrible arms;
 A shelter he seeks, nought his spirit alarms,
 Though 'tis virtue alone 'mid such danger defends.

The

The portal he enters, indignant and bold,
 His firm steps resound through the wide-echoing hall;
 But no friend comes to cheer, nor yet foe to appal;
 Sullen solitude reigned, wrapt in gloom drear and cold.

'Twas the mid hour of night, and now wilder the storm
 Round the battlements raved, and the red lightnings flew;
 Ha! the shrill shriek of triumph he hears, while to view
 Rises ghastly and fearful a dark threatening form!

O'er its path moved a torch, through the void self-borne moved,
 While the deep bell of death heavy sounds pealing ring:
 Adventurous knight! then thy cries round thee clung,
 And the keen stings of conscience thy bared bosom proved!

Fain his steps would recede, but their purpose was vain;
 His eye, bent on darkness, around wildly glared,
 But no object explored through the vacuum they dared,
 Save the motionless spectre that frowned on his pain.—

Oh, it speaks!—low and hollow the sounds sink away
 Through the wide yawning caverns that open around!
 While blue gleams flash, oft broken, athwart the profound,
 And in horrors yet deeper the phantom array,

"Feel thy crimes, wretch," it cried, "feel the vengeance they meet,
 Let thy blood freeze unmoved, let thy nerves be unstrung,
 O'er thy disjointed clay be the damps of death hung
 While it crumbles unformed, as thy crimes I repeat.

Mark! 'twas I led thy steps to these dungeons abhorred,
 For 'twas here, dragged from day, in the glory of youth,
 While secure I reposed on thy faith, on thy truth,
 That I fell, thrust from life, by a base murderer's sword.

Knowst thou me? ha! recoil not; my wealth was enjoyed,
 The domain thou usurpedst gave thee splendour and power!
 But at length is arrived the retributive hour
 When thy falsehood avails not, its bulwarks destroyed!

Would'st thou plead then for mercy!—her hope fled thy soul
 When my innocent babes, as they looked in thy face,
 With their eyes beaming love, as they sought thy embrace,
 Felt thy ruffian stroke, saw their blood mingling roll,

View them smile o'er thee now! nought of sorrow they know—
 But behold, wretched mortal, yon train that succeeds!
 Doomed on earth to endure of thy violent deeds,
 Of oppression and death all the complicate woe,

Ha!

Ha! no more—the dark spirit of vengeance I hear!
 It calls thee away to the dreadful unknown.—
 Ye wild waters arise, ye proud towers be o'erthrown,
 Nor one vestige of scenes crime-polluted appear!"——

It ceased: Nature heard; the wild waters arose,
 The proud towers were engulfed in the fathomless deep:—
 But now o'er them unconscious the waves seem to sleep,
 Yet no shrub near them bends, nor sweet flower brightening glows!—

Full oft to this spot the good villagers lead
 The curious or pious, recounting the tale;—
 While of Nature these talk, how her causes prevail,
 And these of the fate that for vice is decreed!"

THE LAY OF THE LAUREATE.

PROEM.

[By ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq.]

" **T**HERE was a time when all my youthful thought
 Was of the Muse; and of the Poet's fame,
 How fair it flourisheth and fadeth not, . .
 Alone enduring, when the Monarch's name
 Is but an empty sound, the Conqueror's bust
 Moulders and is forgotten in the dust.

How best to build the imperishable lay
 Was then my daily care, my dream by night;
 And early in adventurous essay
 My spirit impeded her wings for stronger flight;
 Fair regions Fancy opened to my view, . .
 " There lies thy path, she said; do thou that path pursue!

" For what hast thou to do with wealth or power,
 Thou whom rich Nature at thy happy birth
 Blest in her bounty with the largest dower
 That Heaven indulges to a child of Earth, . .
 Then when the sacred Sisters for their own
 Baptized thee in the springs of Helicon!

" They promised for thee that thou shouldst eschew
 All low desires, all empty vanities;
 That thou shouldst, still to Truth and Freedom true,
 The applause or censure of the herd despise;
 And in obedience to their impulse given,
 Walk in the light of Nature and of Heaven.

" Along

" Along the World's high-way let others croud,
 Jostling and moiling on through dust and heat;
 Far from the vain, the vicious, and the proud,
 Take thou content in solitude thy seat;
 To noble ends devote thy sacred art,
 And nurse for better worlds thine own immortal part!"

Praise to that Power who from my earliest days,
 Thus taught me what to seek and what to shun;
 Who turned my footsteps from the crouded ways,
 Appointing me my better course to run
 In solitude, with studious leisure blest,
 The mind unfettered, and the heart at rest.

For therefore have my days been days of joy,
 And all my paths are paths of pleasantness:
 And still my heart, as when I was a boy,
 Doth never know an ebb of chearfulness;
 Time, which matures the intellectual part,
 Hath tinged my hairs with grey, but left untouched my heart.

Sometimes I soar where Fancy guides the rein,
 Beyond this visible diurnal sphere;
 But most with long and self-approving pain,
 Patient pursue the historian's task severe;
 Thus in the ages which are past I live,
 And those which are to come my sure reward will give.

Yea in this now, while Malice frets her hour,
 Is foretaste given me of that meed divine;
 Here undisturbed in this sequestered bower,
 The friendship of the good and wise is mine;
 And that green wreath which decks the Bard when dead,
 That laureate garland crowns my living head.

That wreath which in Eliza's golden days
 My master dear, divinest Spenser wore,
 That which rewarded Drayton's learned lays,
 Which thoughtful Ben and gentle Daniel bore, ..
 Grin Envy through thy ragged mask of scorn!
 In honour it was given, with honour it is worn!

Proudly I raised the high thanksgiving strain
 Of victory in a rightful cause achieved;
 For which I long had looked and not in vain,
 As one who with firm faith, and undeceived,
 In history and the heart of man could find
 Sure presage of deliverance for mankind.

Proudly

Proudly I offered to the royal ear
 My song of joy when war's dread work was done,
 And glorious Britain round her satiate spear
 The olive garland twined by Victory won;
 Exulting as became me in such cause,
 I offered to the Prince his People's just applause.

And when, as if the tales of old Romance
 Were but to typify his splendid reign,
 Princes and Potentates from conquered France,
 And chiefs in arms approved, a peerless train,
 Assembled at his court, .. my duteous lays
 Preferred a welcome of enduring praise.

And when that last and most momentous hour
 Beheld the re-risen cause of evil yield
 To the Red Cross and England's arm of power,
 I sung of Waterloo's unequalled field,
 Paying the tribute of a soul imbued
 With deepest joy devout and awful gratitude.

Such strains becomened me well. But how shall I
 To hymeneal numbers tune the string,
 Who to the trumpet's martial symphony,
 And to the mountain gales am wont to sing?
 How may these unaccustomed accents suit
 To the sweet dulcimer and courtly lute?

Fitter for me the lofty strain severe,
 That calls for vengeance for mankind oppress;
 Fitter the songs that youth may love to hear,
 Which warm and elevate the throbbing breast;
 Fitter for me with meed of solemn verse.
 In reverence to adorn the hero's herse.

But then my Master dear arose to mind,
 He on whose song while yet I was a boy,
 My spirit fed, attracted to its kind,
 And still insatiate of the growing joy; ..
 He on whose tomb these eyes were wont to dwell,
 With inward yearnings which I may not tell;

He whose green bays shall bloom for ever young.
 And whose dear name whenever I repeat,
 Reverence and love are trembling on my tongue;
 Sweet Spenser, .. sweetest Bard; yet not more sweet
 Than pure was he, and not more pure than wise,
 High Priest of all the Muses' mysteries.

I called

I called to mind that mighty Master's song,
 When he brought home his beautifullest bride,
 And Mulla murmured her sweet undersong,
 And Mole with all his mountain woods replied ;
 Never to mortal lips a strain was given,
 More rich with love, more redolent of Heaven.

His cup of joy was mantling to the brim,
 Yet solemn thoughts enhanced his deep delight ;
 A holy feeling filled his marriage-hymn,
 And Love aspired with Faith a heavenward flight.
 And hast not thou, my Soul, a solemn theme ?
 I said, and mused until I fell into a dream."

THE LAY OF THE LAUREATE.

EPILOGUE.

[By the same.]

" **I** S this the Nuptial Song ? with brow severe
 Perchance the votaries of the world will say :
 Are these fit strains for Royal ears to hear ?
 What man is he who thus assorts his lay,
 And dares pronounce with inauspicious breath,
 In Hymeneal verse, the name of Death !

Remote from chearful intercourse of men,
 Hath he indulged his melancholy mood,
 And like the hermit in some sullen den,
 Fed his distempered mind in solitude ?
 Or have fanatic dreams distraught his sense,
 That thus he should presume with bold irreverence ?

O Royal Lady, ill they judge the heart
 That reverently approaches thee to-day,
 And anxious to perform its fitting part,
 Prefers the tribute of this duteous lay !
 Not with displeasure should his song be read
 Who prays for Heaven's best blessings on thy head.

He prays that many a year may pass away
 Ere the State call thee from a life of love ;
 Vexed by no public cares, that day by day
 Thy heart the dear domestic joys may prove,
 And gracious Heaven thy chosen nuptials bless
 With all a Wife's and all a Mother's happiness.

He

P O E T R Y.

He prays, that for thine own and England's sake,
 The Virtues and the Household Charities
 Their favoured seat beside thy hearth may take ;
 That when the Nation thither turn their eyes,
 There the conspicuous model they may find
 Of all which makes the bliss of human-kind.

He prays, that when the sceptre to thy hand
 In due succession shall descend at length,
 Prosperity and Peace may bless the Land,
 Truth be thy counsellor, and Heaven thy strength ;
 That every tongue thy praises may proclaim,
 And every heart in secret bless thy name.

He prays, that thou mayest strenuously maintain
 The wise laws handed down from sire to son :
 He prays, that under thy auspicious reign
 All may be added which is left undone,
 To make the realm, its polity complete,
 In all things happy as in all things great :

That through the will of thy enlightened mind,
 Brute man may be to social life reclaimed :
 That in compassion for forlorn mankind,
 The saving Faith may widely be proclaimed
 Thro' erring lands, beneath thy fostering care ; ..
 This is his ardent hope, his loyal prayer.

In every cottage may thy power be blest,
 For blessings which should every-where abound ;
 Thy will beneficent from East to West
 May bring forth good where'er the sun goes round ;
 And thus thro' future times should CHARLOTTE's fame
 Surpass our great ELIZA's golden name.

Of awful subjects have I dared to sing,
 Yet surely are they such, as viewed aright,
 Contentment to thy better mind may bring :
 A strain which haply may thy heart invite
 To ponder well, how to thy choice is given
 A glorious name on Earth, a high reward in Heaven.

Light strains, tho' chearful as the hues of spring,
 Would wither like a wreath of vernal flowers ;
 The amaranthine garland which I bring
 Shall keep its verdure thro' all after hours ; ..
 Yea, while the Poet's name is doomed to live,
 So long this garland shall its fragrance give

“ Uncasy

" Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown";
 Thus said the Bard who spake of kingly cares :
 But calmly may the Sovereign then lie down
 When grateful Nations guard him with their prayers ;
 How sweet a sleep awaits the Royal head,
 When these keep watch and ward around the bed !

L'ENVOY.

Go, little Book, from this my solitude, . .
 I cast thee on the waters : . . go thy ways ;
 And if, as I believe, thy vein be good,
 The world will find thee after many days.
 Be it with thee according to thy worth : . .
 Go, little Book ! in faith I send thee forth."

FLIGHT OF QUEEN MARGARET AND PRINCE EDWARD AFTER THE
 BATTLE OF HEXHAM.

[From Miss HOLFORD's Margaret of Anjou.]

" **T**RAITORS ! Ye loyal, glorious dead,
 For us, who fell on Hexham's plain,
 In an ungrateful cause ye bled !
 Oh ! ye have vied in vain !
 The warm blood trickles down my side,
 My heart with grief is torn and rent,
 Yet still my spirit was unbent,
 And every wound I had defied,
 Save that which thro' my soul a mother's tongue has sent !

" Cold orb of night ! thy rays are falling
 Where England's perish'd pride lies low,
 Thy pale looks o'er the scene appalling
 A ghastly lustre throw !
 There, stretch'd along in hideous sleep,
 Our thousands lie, a frozen heap !
 Fast knit in loyalty and love,
 Hard, hard and valiantly they strove,
 Even while they felt Fate's withering frown
 On every effort looking down !
 Thrice was the hand of death uprear'd
 Thrice 'gainst my breast the bow was bent,
 Thrice bold Affection interfer'd
 And seiz'd the boon for Edward meant !
 Now heaven bestows the just award,
 And human gratitude is spar'd !"

This

This burst of generous wrath expended,
 The wreck of Edward's failing strength,
 Passion with feebleness contended,
 But soon the unequal contest ended,
 And nature sank at length ;
 For as they left the sheltering dell
 To tempt the wide and dreary plain,
 Edward, subdu'd by toil and pain,
 No more the conflict might maintain,—
 He shudder'd, groan'd, and fell !

In Margaret's fierce and stormy breast
 A thousand warring passions strove,
 Yet now, unbid, a stranger-guest
 Dispers'd and silenc'd all the rest—
 Thy voice, Maternal Love !
 Ambition, Hatred, Vengeance wild,
 Hot Ire, and frozen Pride were flown,
 While gazing on her lifeless child,
 On heaven she cried, in frenzied tone.
 " Oh, save my gallant boy ! oh, Edward ! oh, my son !

Yet tho' maternal softness stole,
 With force resistless, o'er her soul ;
 Yet tho' a tear, from anguish wrung,
 Upon her burning eye-lid hung,
 To aid her fainting boy she sprung !
 The helm that crush'd his drooping brows
 With hasty hand aside she throws,
 And next the hauberk's rigid clasp
 Yield to the mother's eager grasp ;
 Swift from his mangled breast she tore
 The linen stiff with blackening gore,
 The dew-embued grass she press'd
 Against his burning, throbbing breast,
 The trampled grass—small aid, I ween !
 Yet in that hour of anguish wild
 'Twas all a mother and a Queen
 Might yield a dying child !

Now from the lofty arch of heaven
 Had every lesser light withdrawn,
 For in the distant east was given
 The promise of the coming dawn ;
 A long faint line of saffron light
 At first the morn's arrival hinted,
 Then, bursting glorious on the sight,
 Day's dazzling orb arising bright,
 With gold the far off mountains tinted.

Behold !

Behold ! o'er yonder eastern height
 Day comes with roses on his brow !
 False promiser ! so gay and bright,
 What deadly tidings on thy flight
 To thousands bringest thou !
 Where is thy vest of funeral grey ?
 Thy robe of mist, thy rain-drops ? Where
 The frequent, chill, and sullen tear ?—
 Oh, walk not in the pride of May
 O'er the dire wreck of yesterday,
 Extinguish'd hope, and strength, and life—
 The refuse cold of human strife !
 Bring shuddering winds, whose sobbing breath
 And hollow sighs may sweep yon solemn scene of death !

Still with Despair's unnatural force,
 The Queen supports the seeming corse,
 In vain each eager care she tries,
 No answering sign of life replies :—
 " 'Tis frozen silence all ! " she cries, —
 " Oh, *now*, inexorable Fate,
 I feel, I feel thy conquering hate !
 I yield !—a crownless Queen, a mother desolate !

" Yet thus it shall not be ! " she cries,
 " My child, my Edward shall not die ! "
 And the compassionating skies
 Forgave the mother's blasphemy.
 A frantic glance around she threw
 O'er the inhospitable plain,—
 A dreary region met her view,
 She look'd for help in vain !
 Her gaze no low-roof'd hovel bless'd,
 No track stretch'd o'er the waste by traveller's foot impress'd.

See, from the covert of the wood,
 A grim, gaunt ruffian form advance ;
 Close by the unconscious Queen he stood,
 Like prowling beast in wait for blood,
 Watching his prey with hungry glance !
 Rude harness, such as outlaws wear,
 And desperate men who roam the waste,
 (Children of havoc and despair)
 His sinewy limbs encas'd :
 On his hard brows, by toil embrown'd,
 A cap of rusty iron frown'd ;
 The shaggy mass of raven hair,
 Eye, rolling wild with reddening glare,
 The lurking watch, the weapon fell,
 Hard held, and often rais'd, the ruthless purpose tell.

While

While Margaret felt beneath her grasp
 Returning life's tumultuous gasp,
 Saw the breast heave, the eye-lids ope,
 And hail'd the blissful dawn of Hope,
 And hung in ecstasy to trace
 The faint bloom tinge the livid face ;
 Ah, then, how little did she think
 How close she stood on ruin's brink !
 Nor warning voice, nor step foretold,
 Till Danger grasp'd her in his hold !
 Turning, she met, in mute surprize,
 The red and lurid glare shot from a ruffian's eyes !

What spark, what gleam of hope was near
 That hapless Lady's lot to cheer !
 She stood amid the wilderness
 Forlorn in lonely wretchedness !
 Gaunt strength and cruelty were nigh,
 And Avarice mark'd, with burning eye,
 The many colour'd gems that shone
 Conspicuous on her costly zone ;
 She, at whose nod the nation bow'd,
 Whose voice, like thunder, shook the crowd,—
 Oh, dire reverse !—must she endure
 To meet her fate from hand obscure !
 Oh, must a robber's glaive be dyed
 With the imperial stream which feeds that bosom's pride !

Still firm the Royal Lady stood,
 And calmly eyed the man of blood,
 Strong in that panoply whose charm
 Defies the meditated harm ;
 The strength that in the heart resides
 The ruffian's sinewy force derides ;
 The savage paus'd.—Dismay'd, he felt
 Each nerve relax, each purpose melt ;
 Yet 'twas nor pity, nor remorse
 That check'd him in his murd'rous course ;—
 He dar'd not strike !—Queen Margaret's gaze
 In air the uplifted weapon stays ;
 Instinct within his vassal soul
 Felt and obey'd the strange controul ;
 Trembling he stood, yet knew not why,
 Oppress'd beneath the Sovereign's eye !
 Oh, strife sublime ;—of issue glorious !
 'Tis mind, majestic mind, o'er brutal strength victorious !

The Queen, with conscious triumph, saw
 That deep dismay, that shuddering awe.

Oh,

Oh, when a band of created lords
 Engirt her with protecting swords,
 And when on her despotic breath
 Hung fame and life, or shame and death,
 'Twas Fortune's gift! The weak and vain,
 The pamper'd minions of whose train,
 As often as the great and bold
 The pow'r-dispensing sceptre hold :
 But now, an exile from the throne,
 Wandering abandon'd and alone,
 She *felt* the triumph was her own ;
 She stood as if the abject band
 Still waited on her dread command,
 And, waving her imperial hand,
 With lofty look the robber eyed,
 And in a tone of temper'd pride,
 "Thou com'st in happy time! save thou thy Prince!" she cried.

Him, the abhorr'd, detested, loath'd,
 Whom Crime in all her terrors cloth'd,—
 Was it on *him*, that unappall'd,
 For aid a helpless woman call'd !
 To him! a murderer gaunt and grim!
 Those trusting, social words to him?
 "Aid thou thy Prince!"—how strange, how new,
 How sweet, how powerful the appeal!
 Along each startled nerve it flew
 And trembled in his heart of steel!
 "Give me the Prince!—thro' flood and fire,
 Tho' men and devils should conspire,
 This sinewy arm and trusty blade,
 Against opposing worlds, thee and thy boy shall aid!"

Swift as the generous promise past,
 Upon the scatter'd arms he sprung,—
 The glittering fragments, heap'd in haste,
 On the young warrior's spear he hung,
 And o'er his giant shoulders flung.
 The Prince, tho' life began to speak
 In his quick pulse and changing cheek
 Yet saw not, heard not;—when his waist
 A rugged, nervous arm embrac'd,
 He dream'd his corselet's iron clasp
 Confined him with uneasy grasp,
 And as the vigorous robber strode,
 Scarce bending with his various load,
 He marvell'd that his drowsy steed
 Press'd forward with no hotter speed!

The

The Queen,—her courage did not swerve
 Tho' anguish throb'd in every nerve !
 Fatigue, disaster, and affright
 Had prov'd her thro' that live-long night, —
 Her frame was woman's,—but her soul
 Contemn'd the body's weak controul !
 The fever's fire was in her blood,
 The cold drop on her temples stood,
 Her long, dishevell'd, raven hair
 Stream'd wild along the morning air,
 Her pale and haggard cheek, her eye
 Full of strange light,—her garb forlorn
 Amid the tangled forest torn, —
 All told superior misery !

Along the moorland, drear and wild,
 Silent their weary path they hold ;
 In vain the summer sunshine smil'd
 Upon the grim and sullen wold,
 O'er whose brown waste no harvests bloom,
 Save where the golden-created broom
 Or purple heath-flower break the gloom.
 Silent they cross'd the lonely fell,
 Silent the matted ling they press'd,
 No cheering object rose to tell—
 Here, wanderers, ye may rest !

All that a woman might abide
 Had that unshrinking Lady tried ;—
 She falter'd now—her dizzy sense
 Half yielding to the toil intense,
 Gasping she spake, “ Oh, tell me, friend,
 Of this our weary path when shall we reach the end :—”

The robber, turning to reply,
 Beheld the Queen with heedful eye ;
 By the long rugged journey worn,
 Her sandals slight were rent and torn ;
 Still as she trod, the prickly gorse
 Check'd with its stings her painful course ;
 Those royal feet, once fenc'd with care,
 Are now unshielded, bleeding bare,
 While at each step the poignant smart
 Rush'd shivering to her stubborn heart !
 The soften'd savage, in a tone
 Till then to his rough tongue unknown,
 The much-enduring Queen address'd,
 “ Bear yet a little while, and, Lady, thou shalt rest.

“ Fear

" Fear not,—a few hard moments more,
 One struggle, and thy toils are o'er!
 Where yon blue cloud of smoke ascends,
 The wide and barren moorland ends,
 That smoke behind its wavering veil
 Hides the fair opening of the dale.
 Beslrew my heart! right glad am I
 That shelter and repose are nigh,
 For well I wot, thy sinking frame
 Would soon thy dauntless spirit shame,
 Tho' 'twere as hardy, tough and brave,
 As e'er was bred in outlaw's cave!"

As nigh they drew, the fragrant smoke
 Threw round their forms its filmy cloak,
 Or soar'd, by wanton breeze upborne,
 In curling incense to the morn;
 The frequent bleat, the tinkling bell,
 Of shepherd's cur the chiding yell;
 The beaten path of mild descent
 Which from the savage moorland bent,
 The gale which came with odours fraught
 Late stolen from some bloomy thorn,—
 All these a mingled message brought
 Of comfort to the heart forlorn!
 Bless'd message! e'en the drooping Queen
 Half smil'd as she look'd round to hail the softening scene.

Screen'd from the passing traveller's gaze
 And shelter'd from the noontide blaze,
 Like hermit's cell, or Sybil's grot,
 Nestled in shade the peasant's cot;
 Before its door an aged dame
 Carol'd a song of rustic frame,
 And while beside her cow she bent,
 And fill'd, intent, the cleanly pail,
 The morning music of content
 Was echoed thro' the tiny vale,—
 A clownish ditty—nor the tongue
 Less rude and tuneless than the song;
 And yet that uncouth strain was fraught
 With music ne'er by minstrel taught:
 What skill, what cunning may impart,
 What genius bright, or toilsome art,
 The pure, brisk, genuine glee, fresh from a lightsome heart!

Between her task, and song, the dame
 Wist not that stranger-footsteps came;
 1816. P

Now

Now she would pause, with fond caress,
 Her mute companion to address,
 And now resume her simple strain
 And bid the valley ring again,
 While chanticleer, with rosy crest,
 With neck erect and golden breast,
 Swelling and strutting by her side,
 Ruffled his plumes, in conscious pride,
 And ever and anon in the shrill descant vied.

With hollow, eager, craving eye
 The Queen the teeming pail beheld ;
 She would have spoke—but, parch'd and dry,
 Her powerless tongue the word withheld,
 And her wan lips, tho' op'd to ask,
 Quivering and mute, refus'd the task ;
 Yet while the milky streamlet flow'd,
 Through every burning vein more fierce the fever glow'd !

Still onward with his precious load,
 The stout, unbending Rudolph strode,
 And stood the unlatch'd door beside,
 Ere his dread form Dame Maudlin spied :
 With eyelids wide and open mouth,
 Breathless she eyed her guest uncouth,
 Then sudden on the wind she sent,
 In echoing cries her loud lament,
 And every saint in heaven implor'd
 To save her from the ruffian's sword ;
 On Rudolph's ear the cry was lost,
 Relentless, he the threshold cross'd,
 Push'd wide the half-consenting door,
 And, glad his toilsome task was o'er,
 Laid his half-conscious charge upon the rush-strewn floor.

Meanwhile the dame's bewilder'd eye
 Upon the speechless Margaret fell,
 Fix'd grew her gaze, and suddenly
 Her tongue gave o'er its boisterous cry
 As bound by wizard spell !
 The stranger's wild and awful glance
 Held her awhile in helpless trance,
 The pail abandon'd, half o'erturn'd,
 Shedding its milky treasure stood ;—
 The Queen in vain no longer, yearn'd,
 But springing towards the wasting flood,
 Bath'd deep her parching lip, and cool'd her boiling blood !

Ere

Ere yet the eager Queen forbore
 The sweetest draught she e'er had tasted,
 Lo! Rudolph from the cottage door
 With glad and urgent tidings hasted!
 "The boy revives!—no more he lies
 With filmy, half-extinguish'd eyes:
 Haste, Lady, haste! with doubtful gaze
 He scans my rugged visage o'er,
 And wildly towards the open door
 His rapid glance impatient strays!
 Hark! he cries 'Mother!' Lady, hear!
 I'll speed and tell him thou art near!"
 He paus'd not, and, with lighten'd breast,
 The Queen on his swift footstep press'd,
 And pass'd the humble gate, an uninvited guest.

The Prince, tho' weak, to speech and sense
 By kindly nutriment restor'd,
 With many a quick yet broken word,
 Gazing around in dark suspense,
 The changes of his fate explor'd:—
 "How came we here? Where have we been?
 What means this strange, unwonted scene?
 What evil chance has fallen, that I
 Outstretched, unarmed, and bleeding lie?
 Save *thee*, my Mother, all is strange!
 Nay, while I gaze, methinks e'en thou,
 Partaking in the general change,
 Bend'st on thy son an alter'd brow!
 Whence comes it?"—while he spake, the smart
 Of festering wound thrill'd to his heart,
 As 'twould the poignant truth in all its force impart!

Hexham's red field and all its woes
 Swift to his shuddering fancy rose;
 He heard the foe's insulting shout,
 He saw the battle's deadly rout;
 The baffled struggles of the fight,
 The foul defeat, the mingled flight,—
 All rush'd upon his brain, and swam before his sight!

No longer pours his faltering tongue
 Of questions wild a hurrying throng,
 Memory had told him of the fall
 Of creat'd fame, of hope, of all!
 A tear from each clos'd eyelid gush'd,
 In silence deep his voice was hush'd,
 Save when the workings of his soul
 Break loose—too restless for controul;

P 2

Then,

Then, but half-heard, mid smothering sighs—
 "Lost, lost!" from his wan lips in broken murmur dies!

That roof of thatch had often rung
 With rustic carol stootly sung,
 The glee-inspiring rebeck there
 Of minstrel, stray'd from wake or fair;
 The simple, soft, complaining strain
 From rustic reed of love-lorn swain,
 The cheerful sound of neighbour's greeting,
 The bagpipe's hum at merry-meeting
 When dark Yule-tide had clos'd the door
 Against the rattling tempest's roar;
 The blazing, crackling log, the laughing
 Of merry souls the Yule-cup quaffing;
 The welcome wild of nymph and swain
 When fragrant May is come again.—
 Such din, unknown to statelier halls,
 Had often rock'd its humble walls,
 But the heart-wasting sighs of care,
 The central groan of deep despair,
 Till Greatness trod its floor, had never echoed there!

Maudlin at length dismiss'd her fear,
 And with unshrinking step drew near;
 No whisper to her thought reveal'd
 What guests her tiny cottage held,
 Nought knew she, but that grief and care
 And weariness had shelter'd there;
 Full little did she dream, I ween,
 Of England's heir, and England's Queen!
 And yet in Margaret's form, the eye
 Of skill'd observance might espy
 Midst that forlorn and woeful change,
 A motley mingling, sad and strange,
 Of grandeur and of misery!

Still round her waist, a costly zone,
 The Orient's dazzling produce, shone,
 Which scarce the tatter'd robe confined,
 Whose loose shreds wav'd with every wind;
 Her matted, long, unbraided hair,
 Her wounded feet, unshod and bare,
 E'en these, some glittering toys display,
 Sad remnants of a better day!
 Idly they shine! their gleam abhorr'd
 But mocks with ghastly smile the fortunes they record!

Dame Maudlin, now no more unseen,
 With rustic grace salutes the Queen,—

"Good

" Good folk ! altho' ye crave it not,
 I bid ye welcome to my cot !
 Belike, had my old man been nigh
 He might have blam'd your courtesay,—
 Well, well ! mayhap your piteous plight
 Had put good manners out of sight :
 Ah me ! what cruel cautiſſ's sword
 Yon stripling's milk-white breast has gor'd ?
 Alack ! how like a drooping flow'r
 Too rudely dash'd by summer show'r,
 He hangs his pretty head ! poor youth !
 Oh ! 'tis a ruthless deed ! a dismal sight in sooth !

" Nay, grieve not, Lady ! grieve not so !
 For tho' thou dost not sigh nor speak,
 A tear is drying on thy cheek,
 And, by thy trembling lip, I know,
 Untold, thy bosom teems with woe !
 Good Lady ! be of better cheer !
 Old Oswald will anon be here ;
 With him a shepherd lad, who knows
 Each herb that in our meadows grows ;
 From humblest weeds his skill produces
 Kind balms, and anguish-healing juices ;
 He says the smallest blossom's bell
 Bears treasure in its secret cell,
 Nor talks he idly,—for in sooth
 His deed has often vouch'd his truth !
 Then grieve not, Lady, thus ! Gerald shall cure the youth."

Just then, the writhing Prince confest
 What anguish stung his wounded breast ;
 His feverish starts and twisted brows
 Betray his sharp and arrowy throes ;
 Rudolph, impatient, fiery, bold,
 Brook'd not the suffering Prince's pain,
 His fierce eyes on the dame he roll'd,—
 " Do thou this drooping boy sustain,
 Rudolph shall fly himself and seek the skilful swain."

Quick rising, he in haste resign'd
 His charge to Maudlin's gentler care,
 Whose bosom, honest, warm and kind,
 Supported England's royal heir !
 The mild caress, the cautious hand
 That chaf'd his temples damp and faint,
 Consoling whispers, soft and bland,
 That hush'd, yet pitied his complaint,—

All

All spoke the tender care, I ween,
Of one who had a mother been.

With rocking, lulling, soothing motion,
Like the calm swell of unvex'd ocean,
Or bearded corn that waves beneath
The warm west wind's caressing breath,
And song monotonous, whose strain
Ne'er hush'd a cradled babe in vain,
Did Maudlin still the sufferer's pain;
Lo! Edward yields!—the gentle spell,
Resistless, on his senses fell,
Unconsciously each closing eye
The kind compulsion own'd of Maudlin's lullaby.

And not alone o'er Edward's eyes
The silent friend of sorrow crept,
Margaret forgot her miseries
And on the scatter'd rushes slept!
Subdued, she dropt her royal head
Upon her hard uncurtain'd bed!
Unseemly couch!—the cottage floor
Trode by the foot of rustic boor!
Ambition! *here* thy votaries lead,
Thy dazzled, flatter'd, pamper'd train,
The slaves who in thy pageant's tread,
The proud, the sanguine, and the vain!
Oh, bid them bend the aspiring eye
Low as the cottage floor, where lie
Yon victims of thy flattery!"

THE MORNING OF THE BATTLE OF Tewksbury.

[From the same.]

"**A**LAS! how beautiful! how strong!
How flush'd with hope! how warm with life!
Yon glitt'ring, sparkling, victim-throng
Press forward to the strife!
What nervous arms! what lofty crests!
What beaming eyes! what throbbing breasts!
Hark! how they boast!—mark! how they tread!
Yet heav'n has pass'd their sentence dread,—
'Tis doomsday!—Like a morning dream,
A flash, a breath, an April gleam,

They

They were, and are not !—All the throng,
 So proud, so beautiful, so strong,—
 Their place is void, their forms are fled !
 Fate frowns from yonder skies, and they are withered !

'Tis May !—A bright and cloudless morn
 Smiles on the world,—on every thorn
 The newly open'd blossom glows,
 And rich the woodland music flows !
 Each hails the promise for his own,
 As if the beam on nature's face
 Shone forth his single crest to grace,
 And spake to him alone !
 Alas ! the welkin's dazzling eye
 But mocks the fleeting pageantry !

In weary march the night had pass'd,
 And Lancaster with joy espied
 Fair Tewksbury's hoary tow'rs at last
 Reflected in Sabrina's tide.
 Gloster had clos'd her gates, and sent
 Loud insults from each battlement,
 Nor did the rebel town make known
 Her enmity in scoffs alone,
 For many a mile, from copse and dell,
 As onward pass'd the armed train,
 An arrowy show'r around them fell,
 And many a gallant form lay slain,
 Unseen the hand that wrought his bane ;
 But as the shades of night withdrew
 And morn's wide prospects burst to view,
 Of day's revealing glance afraid,
 Dispers'd each darkling ambuscade,

Night's cares and toils, and lurking foes,
 Were vanish'd ; each elastic mind,
 Refresh'd and cheer'd, already throws
 The weary thought behind :
 Bold Beaufort, who the vaward held,
 As morning's dewy mists dispell'd,
 And Tewksb'ry's turrets tipt with light
 Rose on his view, a welcome sight,
 Thro' all his host the signal past,—
 That signal to the soldier dear,
 Which bids him from his toils forbear
 And pause a little while to taste
 The brief repose and light repast !
 The shrilling horn in echoes loud

From

From line to line the message sent,
 When, lo ! unmarshall'd and unbent,
 The mute and pompous armament
 Tumultuous mix, a murmur'ing crowd !

On Severn's banks in gladsome groups,
 In thoughtless mirth, the scatter'd troops
 Waste the free hour ;—some cast aside
 Their heavy harness, and divide
 With vig'rous arm th' opposing tide ;
 Outstretch'd in idleness, a few
 The busier throng supinely view ;
 O'er some, the transient slumbers steal,
 While tougher hearts, averse and loth
 Mild nature's gentle rule to feel,
 Do mock their prostrate comrades' sloth ;—
 Loud Laughter, song, and jest make known
 That freedom hails the hour her own.

Nor did the crested chieftain's scorn
 Their cumbrous helms aside to throw,
 And woo the freshness of the morn
 To fan each galled brow,
 And many a richly blazon'd shield
 Lay scatter'd on the dewy field ;
 But the loud laugh, the song, the jest,
 echoes of the careless breast,
 Rose from the humbler swarm,—the rest,
 Tho' thrown aside their outward gear,
 Did still their bosom-burthens bear !

Prince Edward in the centre line
 With Wenlock's did his pow'rs combine,
 And Margaret, with her Royal Heir,
 The weary midnight march did share :
 Behold ! on milk-white palfrey borne,
 Her light casque sparkling in the morn,
 With rested lance,—her slender waist
 Within the golden cuirass cas'd,
 Upraising her undazzled eye
 To meet the fair and flatt'ring sky,
 By hours of irksome toil unquell'd,—
 The English Pallas ! Hark ! how loud
 The trumpet-peal and shouting crowd,
 Proclaim her presence on the field !

Now many a Knight, with duteous heed,
 Press'd forward, emulant to gain

From

From Margaret's hand the gemmed rein,
 Or from the golden stirrup freed,
 To lift her from the boarded steed,
 And proud and prosperous was his chance
 Whose speed obtain'd a fav'ring glance
 Or won the charge of shield or lance !
 Nor did their ardent strife aspire
 To loftier meed, or title higher
 Than matchless Anjou's trusted squire.

Mid all those chieftains, scarce a brow
 The lapse of so much time might boast
 As robs youth's ringlets of their glow,
 O'ersprinkling them with autumn's frost !
 They were the sons of sires who all
 Had early heard the fatal call
 Which bade them to their stripling heirs
 Forego their troubles, toils and cares !
 War's blast had o'er their cradles blown
 Its hoarse stern lullaby ;—the brand
 Flash'd in the unscar'd infant's hand,
 The tiny morion grac'd his brow ;
 Each lisping orison implor'd
 The God of battles to impart
 An iron arm, a lion heart,
 A foot which might not turn, a ruin-dealing sword !

And now as varying nature sways,
 Each Knight the hour of pause bestows,—
 While one in fierce indignant phrase
 The losses of the night displays,
 And counts the unavenged blows,
 Another quits the past to scan,
 With wiser heed, the future plan :
 In social parley some combine,
 While others, mute and saturnine,
 With pleached arms, and eye, whose beam
 To anchor in the earth does seem,
 In secret commune with their heart,
 Nor deign its whispers to impart :

But lo ! with every foaming steed
 Press'd onward to its utmost speed
 As rushing to the charge, De Vere
 And Devon's Earl lead up the rear !
 Anon the trumpet brays aloud,
 And soon the wide-dispersed crowd
 Start from their idleness,— the call
 Of that shrill horn doth rouse them all !

Tis

" 'Tis stirring time!—The foe is nigh!
 York comes apace! This hour demands
 Keen heads, I trow, and busy hands!
 The next decides your destiny!"

Inur'd to battle, every heart
 The signal hails! In rapid change,
 The scatter'd squadrons form and range,
 And spear, and battle-axe and dart,
 Each knows its station; those who lay
 Slumb'ring or sportive on the mead
 Now form the close and bright array,
 Prepare the shaft, or rule the steed,
 And wait, with breast resolv'd, the deed
 Which stills that breast for aye, or bids another bleed!"

WINTER.

[From Mr. WORDSWORTH's Thanksgiving Ode.]

" **H**UMANITY, delighting to behold
 A fond reflection of her own decay,
 Hath painted Winter like a shrunken, old,
 And close-wrapt traveller—through the weary day—
 Propped on a staff, and limping o'er the plain,
 As though his weakness were disturbed by pain;
 Or, if a juster fancy should allow
 An undisputed symbol of command,
 The chosen sceptre is a withered bough,
 Infirmly grasped within a palsied hand.
 These emblems suit the helpless and forlorn;
 But mighty Winter the device shall scorn.

For he it was—dread Winter!—who beset,
 Flinging round van and rear his ghastly net,
 That host,—when from the regions of the Pole
 They shrunk, insane ambition's barren goal,
 That host,—as huge and strong as e'er defied
 Their God, and placed their trust in human pride!
 As fathers persecute rebellious sons,
 He smote the blossoms of their warrior youth;
 He called on Frost's inexorable tooth
 Life to consume in manhood's firmest hold;
 Nor spared the reverend blood that feebly runs,—
 For why, unless for liberty enrolled
 And sacred home, ah! why should hoary age be bold?

Poet

Fleet the Tartar's reinless steed,—
 But fleetest far the pinions of the wind,
 Which from Siberian caves the monarch freed,
 And sent him forth, with squadrons of his kind,
 And bade the snow their ample backs bestride,
 And to the battle ride;—
 No pitying voice commands a halt—
 No courage can repel the dire assault,—
 Distracted, spiritless, benumbed and blind,
 Whole legions sink—and, in one instant, find
 Burial and death: look for them—and descry,
 When morn returns, beneath the clear blue sky,
 A soundless waste, a trackless vacancy!—"

SONNET.

[On the same subject. By the Same.]

"**Y**E storms, resound the praises of your King!
 And ye mild seasons—in a sunny clime,
 Midway on some high hill, while Father Time
 Looks on delighted—meet in festal ring,
 And loud and long of Winter's triumph sing!
 Sing ye, with blossoms crowned, and fruits and flowers,
 Of Winter's breath surcharged with sleety showers,
 And the dire flapping of his hoary wing!
 Kpit the blithe dance upon the soft green grass;
 With feet, hands, eyes, looks, lips, report your gain;
 Whisper it to the billows of the main,
 And to the ærial zephyrs as they pass,
 That old decrepit Winter—*He* hath slain
 That Host, which rendered all your bounties vain!"—

A HOME PIECE.

[From Mr. SOUTHEY'S Pilgrimage to Waterloo.]

"**O**NCE more I see thee, Skiddaw! once again
 Behold thee in thy majesty serene,
 Where like the bulwark of this favoured plain,
 Alone thou standest monarch of the scene—
 Thou glorious Mountain, on whose ample breast
 The sunbeams love to play, the vapours love to rest!

Once

Once more, O Derwent ! to thy awful shores
 I come, insatiate of the accustomed sight ;
 And listening as the eternal torrent roars,
 Drink in with eye and ear a fresh delight :
 For I have wandered far by land and sea,
 In all my wanderings still remembering thee.

O joyful hour, when to our longing home
 The long-expected wheels at length drew nigh !
 When first the sound went forth, " They come ! they come !"
 And hope's impatience quickened every eye !
 " Never had man whom Heaven would heap with bliss
 More glad return, more happy hour than this."

Aloft on yonder bench, with arms disspread,
 My boy stood, shouting there his father's name,
 Waving his hat around his happy head :
 And there a younger group, his sisters came :
 Smiling they stood with looks of pleased surprise,
 While tears of joy were seen in elder eyes.

Soon each and all came crowding round, to share
 The cordial greeting, the beloved sight ;
 What welcomings of hand and lip were there !
 And when those overflowings of delight
 Subsided to a sense of quiet bliss,
 Life hath no purer, deeper, happiness.

The young companion of our weary way
 Found here the end desired of all her ills ;
 She who, in sickness pining many a day,
 Hungered and thirsted for her native hills,
 Forgetful now of sufferings past, and pain,
 Rejoiced to see her own dear home again.

Recovered now, the homesick mountaineer
 Sate by the playmate of her infancy,
 Her twin-like comrade,—rendered doubly dear
 For that long absence : full of life was she,
 With voluble discourse and eager mien
 Telling of all the wonders she had seen.

Here silently between her parents stood
 My dark-eyed Bertha, timid as a dove ;
 And gently oft from time to time she woo'd
 Pressure of hand, or word, or look of love,
 With impulse shy of bashful tenderness,
 Soliciting again the wished caress.

The

The younger twain in wonder lost were they,
 My gentle Kate, and my sweet Isabel :
 Long of our promised coming, day by day,
 It had been their delight to hear and tell ;
 And now when that long promised hour was come,
 Surprise and wakening memory held them dumb.

But there stood one, whose heart could entertain
 And comprehend the fulness of the joy,
 The father, teacher, playmate, was again
 Come to his only and his studious boy ;
 And he beheld again the mother's eye,
 Which with such ceaseless care had watched his infancy."

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

[From the same.]

"THIS but a page of the great book of war,—
 A drop amid the sea of human woes !
 Thou canst remember when the Morning Star
 Of Freedom on rejoicing France arose,
 Over her vine-clad hills and regions gay,
 Fair even as Phosphor who foreruns the day.

Such and so beautiful that Star's uprise ;
 But soon the glorious dawn was overcast :
 A baleful track it held across the skies,
 Till now, thro' all its fatal changes past,
 Its course fulfilled, its aspects understood,
 On Waterloo it hath gone down in blood.

Where now the hopes with which thine ardent youth
 Rejoicingly to run its race began ?
 Where now the reign of Liberty and Truth,
 The Rights Omnipotent of Equal Man,
 The principles should make all discord cease,
 And bid poor human kind repose at length in peace ?

Behold the Bourbon to that throne by force
 Restored, from whence by fury he was cast :
 Thus to the point where it began its course,
 The melancholy cycle comes at last ;
 And what are all the intermediate years ?—
 What, but a bootless waste of blood and tears !

The

The peace which thus at Waterloo ye won,
 Shall it endure with this exasperate foe?
 In gratitude for all that ye have done,
 Will France her ancient enmity forego?
 Her wounded spirit, her envenomed will
 Ye know,—and ample means are left her still.

What tho' the tresses of her strength be shorn,
 The roots remain untouched; and as of old
 The bondsman Samson felt his power return
 To his knit sinews, so shall ye behold
 France, like a giant fresh from sleep, arise
 And rush upon her slumbering enemies.

If we look farther, what shall we behold
 But every where the swelling seeds of ill,
 Half-smothered fires, and causes manifold
 Of strife to come; the powerful watching still
 For fresh occasion to enlarge his power,
 The weak and injured waiting for their hour!

Will the rude Cossack with his spoils bear back
 The love of peace and humanizing art?
 Think ye the mighty Moscovite shall lack
 Some specious business for the ambitious heart;
 Or the black Eagle, when she moults her plume,
 The form and temper of the Dove assume?

From the old Germanic chaos hath there risen
 A happier order of established things?
 And is the Italian Mind from papal prison
 Set free to soar upon its native wings:
 Or look to Spain, and let her despot tell
 If there thy high-raised hopes are answered well!

At that appeal my Spirit breathed a groan
 But he triumphantly pursued his speech:
 O Child of Earth, he cried with loftier tone,
 The present and the past one lesson teach!
 Look where thou wilt, the history of man
 Is but a thorny maze without a plan!"

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

FOR THE YEAR 1816.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism, Christian Ethics, Polemics, Discourses, Single Sermons.

IN our review of the literature of the year 1810, we noticed the first part, the only part then published, of Mr. Boothroyd's "Biblia Hebraica, or the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament without points, after the manner of Kennicott," with various readings and explanatory notes. We have now to congratulate the laborious editor upon the completion of his arduous undertaking, in two quarto volumes demy, 4*l.* 10*s.*—royal, 6*l.* 6*s.* It is introduced by a modest preface, illustrative of the proposed object, and indicative of the authorities chiefly selected for reliance. The text is clear and elegant, but, as the title expressly affirms, without the points, which, for reasons we formerly stated, should, in our judgment, have been introduced. The notes are critical and explanatory: they form a running comment, and occupy about a third part of the work, and in the poetical part of the Scriptures, about half. They

consist of original remarks by the editor himself, with extracts and abridgments from the ancient Jewish targums and commentators, as well as from an extensive body of Christian writers and divines, as Buxtorf, Bochart, Däthe, Rosenmüller, Houbigant, Dimock, Pilkington, Shuckford, Kennicott, Louth, Geddes, and Good. The text he has adopted is that of Vander Hooght, from which, however, he occasionally deviates; and in such cases he usually leaves a chasm in the order of the Hebrew, and notices in the margin the passage he proposes to substitute, together with the grounds on which such preference is founded. It appears, indeed, to have been at one time his intention to have boldly incorporated such emendations into the body of the work itself, and thus to have offered to the world a revised text, instead of the common text with marginal emendations: in which case the Old Testament of Mr.

Mr. Boothroyd would have run on a precise parallel with the New Testament of Griesbach. We are not sorry that the author relinquished this daring design. Most desirable, indeed, would it be in the hands of a man whose taste, judgment, erudition, and freedom from all bias should fully qualify him for the task—but where is such a scholar to be found? Griesbach has occasionally failed, and Mr. Boothroyd, though an indefatigable reader, has no pretensions to take his post next to the German critic. Though he discerns well generally, he is occasionally seduced into an approbation of criticisms possessing too much refinement. Such is his view of the meaning of *אחרית* in Num. xxiii. 10, in our common lection rendered correctly enough “my last end.” “Dean Pilkington, (says Mr. B. upon this text), in his visitation sermon, has endeavoured to prove that this term here, and Deut. viii. 16, and Prov. xxiii. 17 means the *future state*. Such a sense will give importance and interest to the request of Balaam. The great German critic Michaelis has adopted this same thought, and produced strong reasons in support of it. See Syntag. Comment. Part I. p. 107.” It is very true that *אחר* and *אחרית* are of extensive import, and denote whatever may be signified by posteriority or succession:—as *last or latter time, hereafter, posterity, or successive generation*, which last is the sense assigned to the present passage by the Septuagint, το *σπέρμα μου*, and at least as substantial a sense as that of a future state of being. *Last or latter end*, however, which is the common rendering, that length of days, that temporal prosperity, that heartfelt enjoyment of beholding children

and grandchildren, that quiet departure from life which was the especial promise to the righteous, is here evidently adverted to;—and the idea ought not to be relinquished for any other which the pruriency of a warm and active imagination may be able to hunt out. Of the same character is the following remark on Judges v. 21? חרירי נפשי ען. The versions ancient and modern of this clause have no connexion with the context. Dathe, ‘Calcabas, O Deborah, robustus!’ Green, ‘O my soul, thou hast trodden down *their* strength.’ Houbigant, by a slight alteration, reads: חרירי נפשי ען *provaluit cadavera fortium!* That the line should be applied to the torrent Kishon, is to me evident; and, without any alterations of the text, how noble is the image, when the torrent is considered as a person, and addressed in this sudden manner, “Thou treatest on the bodies of the mighty.” More might perhaps be urged in vindication of the image that ascribes feet to a river than Mr. Boothroyd is aware of. It was a favourite simile with Lucretius, and may be found in lib. v. 273, and again, lib. vi. 638: it was hence copied by Virgil and Horace, and has been in frequent use among later poets. But the conversion of a river into a war-horse, prancing and trampling down an enemy, is to the present hour a new idea, except to those who, like Houbigant and Mr. Boothroyd, can trace it in the passage before us, in which, we freely confess, we have neither eyes nor glasses sufficiently powerful to detect its existence. There is so much force and poetry in the common rendering, that it is unnecessary to look further; nor does the idea here substituted bear any

my comparison to it in majestic pomp or dignity. Deborah was judge of Israel—the whole plan of the attack on Sisera, and his utter discomfiture and destruction, was of her devising, under the influence and special order of the Almighty: she it was who appointed Barak to the chief command on the occasion, went with him to the battle, and inspirited his troops by her presence. In her triumphal song after the victory was achieved, he represents all Nature as leagued on her side: the stars in their courses fought against the enemy—the river Kishon swept them away—"O my soul," she exclaims, "thou hast crushed the mighty—thou hast overwhelmed MIGHT itself."

Again, Ps. cxxi. 1. Dr Lowth supposes that the two first verses of his psalm are spoken by the king, on his approaching, as a suppliant, to the ark, preparatively to some warlike expedition: and that the remainder of the psalm is the high-priest's answer delivered from the tabernacle. Have we, continues Mr. B. any proof that *הררי* signifies the ark, or heaven, or above? I prefer our marginal reading, and think that there is an allusion to the idols which were worshipped on the hills. The second chorus in this view is an answer to the first: "Shall I lift up mine eyes to the hills? Cometh mine help from thence? My help is from Jehovah, who made them." This suggestion is ingenious, but unnecessary. The Jews had their favourite and their sacred hills, as well as the heathen;—such were the hills Hermon, and Misor, Mount Zion and Mount Moriah. It was doubtless, as Green observes, towards these mountains, on which Jerusalem was built, on which the tabernacle was placed, and whence

Jehovah assisted his people in distress, that king David, if he be the personage here referred to, lifted up his eyes, and from whence he expected his help would come. It is not necessary that *הר* (*char*) *הרים* (*charim*) should import heaven, or an ark: it is enough that it should signify height, or hill on which the ark was placed: though as a philological fact we may mention that the synonym of this term in several of the oriental languages, and especially in the Persian, does literally import heaven, and the heavenly sphere, and this both under the form

چرخ (*charkh*) and *چرمک* (*chäremeh*) the radical idea being that of giration, or revolution:

whence *چرخ دوار* (*charkhe*

duvar) signifies equally *cælum volubile*, or *fortuna volubilis*. The beautiful psalm before us is unquestionably, as bishop Lowth has observed, of a dramatic character; in which the two first verses were recited by the king, in person or by substitute, and the remainder by some other party. Lowth supposes the whole of the remainder to be the recitation of the high-priest alone. Horsley, whose version, or rather comment on the Psalms, Mr. Boothroyd does not appear to have seen at the time, divides the sacred ode into four parts: the first and second verses containing the king's prayer; the third the song of a semi-chorus of priests on one side; the fourth that of a semi-chorus of priests on the other; and the four last verses the reply of the high-priest while receiving the king on the uppermost step. Either explanation will answer the purpose: possibly the last is most consonant

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with

with the busy and rapturous action which appears to have accompanied the public division of the temple. But as, after all, there is much uncertainty upon the subject, we prefer the former explanation for general use, as being simpler and more easily comprehended.

In Mr. Boothroyd's text, the psalms, and indeed all those parts of the Old Testament which are commonly regarded as poetical, are printed in measured lines. In this distribution of the text some degree of imagination must necessarily be exercised: yet as these portions of the Bible possess an evident rhythm—and a rhythm which, in some degree or other, runs through every translation, and never altogether loses its measure, — we approve the general attempt, and have seldom been dissatisfied with his modulation. The most interesting part of the work, indeed, and that most richly tessellated with attractive and animated illustration, is that before us, and particularly the Psalms and sublime book of Job. In the last he has very largely copied from Mr. Good's version and notes: he opens the book with the exordium of this "elegant and accomplished orientalist," as he calls him—and adopts almost the whole of his emendations. He has also drawn largely from other able critics, and upon the whole we have been best pleased with the masterly execution which he has given us of this difficult but wonderfully majestic poem.

We have not yet quite done with Mr. Boothroyd; since we find him, now that he has completed his *Biblia Hebræica*, engaged in trying his skill at a new English version of the entire Bible, by a prospectus which he entitles "Reflections on the Authorized Version of the Holy

Scriptures; intended to show its Defects, and the *Necessity* of attempting to improve it; with a specimen of such an attempt." That our established version is not without its defects is only to say, that it is a human production. Its defects, indeed, are numerous, and in some instances important; but whether, under all the circumstances of the case, they are either sufficiently numerous or sufficiently important to produce a *necessity* for improving it generally by a new version—is a question which requires deep and serious canvassing, before it be decidedly answered. Of one point we are certain, that unless such a version were a real and acknowledged improvement, we had far better remain as we are; and consequently we are sure also, that there is no necessity for a mere *attempt* at improvement, though we have no scrupulous quarrel with the term, as in the present case it is evidently introduced on the score of modesty. Every art and science has and ought to have its proper technology; and where the nomenclature has been long established, and a few particular terms, whether right or wrong, have acquired a habit of conveying particular ideas, and, still more, have associated themselves with particular trains of feeling—it is not a little that should induce us to part with them. Choke-damp and fire-damp, mawkish and black-jack, cawk and killes, sound awkwardly in the improved vocabulary of the mineralogical lecture room, and may possibly be proscribed for the more modern terms, *carbonic acid gas*, *carburetted hydrogen gas*, *copper pyrite*, *barytes*, and *grey-wacke*; but however we may thus amuse ourselves in the *apocryphal* experiments

periments of parlour-instruction, we must still employ the more vulgar, possibly the more incorrect and cacophonous terms among the workmen in the mines of Cornwall, and the coalfields of the Forest of Dean, or, with all our scientific acquisitions, we should speak a language which would not be understood, and which, however we might be disposed to show off, the workmen would discover little disposition to learn.

This remark applies to arts, sciences, and professions of every kind; and certainly not less to the study and practice of the Christian religion than to those of any other description. But there is also in the language of the English authorized Bible an air of venerable simplicity and antiquity, a kind of cathedral awe and solemnity, which is highly favourable to an impressive effect: whilst it still continues plain and comprehensible, it is neat and elegant, and is at the same time becoming a language by itself; so that the very style alone is by association apt to inspire us with serious and devotional feelings; which we much fear would in a considerable degree be done away by trimming it up into the modernized flow of colloquial diction. There are, we well know, a few passages that have not been able to withstand the progress of time, and are become superannuated and obscure; and there are others, we are sorry to admit, that do not fairly or explicitly interpret the sense of the original. Could the former be retouched, and the latter amended, every point would be accomplished for which we are anxious. As an individual, Mr. Boothroyd has discovered very excellent qualities for this purpose; for he has shown sufficient erudition, and a consider-

able portion of judgment, taste, and impartiality; and, if he meet with encouragement enough to induce him to persevere, we wish him all success: but we would rather that a work of this importance, even upon the reduced scale to which we have thus limited it, should not be left to the hands of an individual. It is the proper province of the heads of the national church and of the national universities: and as there is in the present day, in these venerable and learned bodies, a perfect sufficiency of talents of every kind for the purpose, we feel a hearty longing that it should be undertaken by them concordantly: the subject has long been started, the expectation of the people has long been excited; individuals of every persuasion have been, and still continue to be making their separate attempts: and nothing can prevent a multiplication of unauthorized versions of the Bible to an almost incalculable number, distracting the public attention and the public sense by their discordant renderings, but a candid, critical, and expurgatory revision of the text now in use under the authority of the national episcopacy.

“*Ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη*, &c. — The New Testament, with theological and philological notes.” 3 vols. 8vo. London. Valpy. 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* This is a valuable present to the public, and affords an excellent specimen of neat and elegant typography. The editor is the Rev. E. Valpy, of Norwich, and his intention is obviously to furnish a correct impression of the Greek Testament, with such amended texts as have been of late universally, or nearly universally, acceded to by scholars. In few words, the text is that of Griesbach, with a retention of such words or phrases

of the Elzevir lection as, in the proposed amendments of the former, seem less consonant to the doctrine of the English church, and have not yet obtained the sanction of the English hierarchy: upon which subject the editor appears to have conducted himself with peculiar caution, and yet with a kind of apprehension that, with all his caution, he may in one or two instances have overstepped the modesty of his proposed march. "Si quid," says he, "doctrinæ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, quæ ab Apostolica puritate, simplicitate, et dignitate, proximam facile tenet, minus consentaneum in his videatur, quod non factum spero, et nolim, id penitus pro non dicto et retractato esse volo." It is possible there may be some persons to whom such a conduct may appear uncandid and culpable: but while almost every sect is preparing one or more editions of the Scriptures for their own use, either in the original text, or a vernacular version, it would indeed be hard that the great body of the established church should not likewise be allowed an exemplar for itself, with those passages retained, which, though at present in a state of indecision, have stood part of the text for ages, and are peculiarly consonant with the doctrines of their own creed. It will be time enough for the members of the church to abandon them, when the conflict of criticism is over, and the doubts of its most learned and liberal divines, and especially of its spiritual rulers, are removed. The notes are chiefly transcripts or abridgments from Grotius, Elsner, Raphelius, Bos, Palairet, Kypké, Rosenmüller, and Hardy: and the editor has evinced an elegance and purity of style which does high credit to his classical attainments.

"Biblical Gleanings: or a collection of passages of Scripture that have been generally considered to be mistranslated in the received English version: with proposed corrections. Also the important various readings in both Testaments; and occasional notes interspersed, with a view to the illustration of obscure and ambiguous texts. Together with several other matters tending to the general elucidation of the Sacred Writings. By Thomas Wemyss." 8vo. 7s. 6d. This long title runs away with the author's preface; but it answers our purpose, as supplying its place, comparatively in few words. Mr. Wemyss has taken much pains with his subject, and seems to be a reading, a thinking, and a well-intentioned man. But he wants method, and does not always think aright. His direct drift is to present the English reader with an epitome of all he has heard, and far more than he has understood, for the last twenty or thirty years, about various readings, wrong translations, and obscure texts: of which, however, after all, it is impossible to make him a competent judge, without initiating him into a knowledge of the original tongues, and the original texts upon which the whole of these grammatical, and philological, and critical niceties are dependent. In order, nevertheless, to accomplish, or to try to accomplish this point, Mr. Wemyss has ransacked almost as many dusty books as the renowned knight of La Mancha before he set forward on his adventurous and busy journey. Yet he is not quite so candid as the historian of the valorous hero of La Mancha, since he too often conceals from us his authorities, which in the former case are unfolded with curious minuteness and precision.

recision. His travels, moreover, are quite as erratic; for though we are led on through a regular series of classes and chapters, the subject matter, or adventures of one part double upon us so repeatedly in others, under the form of various readings, illustrations, transpositions, improved punctuations, passages availed at, passages made ludicrous by a particular version, passages inefficient, discordant, corrupted by Latinisms, Syriisms, Grecisms, Hebraisms, &c. that we have been as much bewildered as if in the labyrinth of Crete: nor have we been able in various instances, in consequence of the author's having suppressed the names of the writers from whom he affects to have copied, to follow up his authorities for all the doubts, and deviations, and errors here set forth for the instruction of his unlanguage'd countrymen: and hence, in many instances, we have ventured, as the readiest, and perhaps the safest method, to refer them to the hot-bed of his own imagination. Several of his criticisms are indeed avowedly original, and as these rather savour of a trifling spirit or mistaken judgment, than of sound learning and discretion, we have possibly made him chargeable with more errors of the same description than honestly fall to his share. In few words, we see no benefit likely to result from a work of this description; calculated to disturb the plain and genuine belief of the unlettered Englishman, without giving him a possibility of settling the numerous points upon which his doubts or his wonder may be excited; and which may work him up to scepticism, but can never work out his faith. Surely, it is enough to let the battle of criticism be confined to critics, without call-

ing into the field the peaceable and quiet rustics who have never been drilled to military exercise, and know nothing of the lines and figures of tactics.

"The History of the Destruction of Jerusalem, as connected with Scripture Prophecies. By the Rev. George Wilkins, A.M. &c." 8vo. This is a perspicuous and judicious dissertation upon the subject in question. It is divided into nine chapters, of which the first eight may be regarded as prolegomenal to the last. It commences with an examination of the authenticity of the Gospel narrative, and establishes the divinity of our Saviour. It proceeds to prove, that the Evangelists lived and wrote at the periods usually assigned them by common history and tradition: that the gospel of St. Matthew was written first between the dates of 38 and 63 A. D. in the Chaldee (more probably the mixed or vernacular tongue) for the use of the Jewish converts: that St. Mark's gospel appeared next, and was circulated at Rome under the immediate superintendence and direction of St. Peter, who delivered it to the Jewish churches, confirmed by his own authority: and that the third gospel, which is that of St. Luke, was written, according to Origen, at the express command of St. Paul; and, according to Michaelis, first circulated in Palestine: in order to correct the inaccuracies of the accounts which were then in circulation, and to deliver to Theophilus a true and genuine document, so as to silence several idle stories which might have prejudiced him against the Christian religion. And our author hence accurately concludes, that as St. Peter and St. Paul both suffered martyrdom at Rome under the

the tyranny of Nero, and before the destruction of Jerusalem, it is evident that all these gospels must have been pre-existent to that calamitous event. He then proceeds to describe the cause and progress of the Jewish war; the history and topography of the city and temple; the particulars of the siege; the character of Titus; the sympathetic prediction of our Saviour on the approaching ruin of the Jewish polity; the revolt of the inhabitants; the army of the besiegers; the horrors of the famine sustained; the desertion of the Jews to the Roman camp; the progress of the cruelties exercised against the besieged; the ultimate entry of Titus into the temple amidst a carnage of six thousand Jews; the proclamation of the victor as Emperor; and, finally, the return of the Romans to their capital, after having reduced Jerusalem to a heap of ruins. The prophecies that relate to this wonderful scene of misery are examined in series, and attentively compared with the various accounts of the destruction of the city that have reached us from the pens of different historians; chiefly that of Josephus, of whose life, and particularly that part of it which is immediately connected with the events before us, the author gives an interesting sketch.

"Apostolical Preaching: considered in an examination of St. Paul's Epistles." 8vo. This publication, though anonymous, evinces a descent in a right line from one who has a just view of the subject treated of, and who gives evident proofs of his belonging to the clerical profession. It is a calm and temperate, and well reasoned essay, in the form of chapters, upon the possibility of supporting all the essential points

of that system of doctrine which Christian divines distinguish by the epithet evangelical, without running into any of those peculiar tenets, which are commonly known by the name of Calvinistic. The writer first descants on the importance of the preacher's office, and ably points out how largely the general interest of religion depends on the manner in which the duties of this important office are discharged. He then proceeds to show the doctrines that should be chiefly propounded from the pulpit by commenting on the nature of the doctrines preached by the Apostles themselves. He next descants progressively on the corruption of human nature, as decisively taught in the sacred epistles; the necessity of divine grace, and of the operation of the Holy Spirit to produce a sincere conversion to the Christian faith, perseverance in it, renunciation of sin, and a life of practical holiness; the subject of justification by faith in Christ, which our author asserts to be the main pillar of the Christian system, and of apostolical instruction, and "the removal of which would be the subversion of every other doctrine; with which, in short, [continues he,] the whole must stand or fall." The writer then proceeds to discuss the article of good works; and concludes by observing, that the two extremes of a strongly marked calvinistic preaching, and that which its advocates choose to call rational Christianity, are equally to be avoided by those who would preach apostolically. Let preachers of every kind "give their days and nights, [says the author, and it is impossible for him to close with more important advice,] to the study of the Apostles, not with a design of obtaining, from detached

etached passages, support for any pre-conceived opinion, but for the purpose of imbibing, through the influence of the Holy spirit, their mode of argument, of precept, of illustration, of exhortation; in a word, the general one of their preaching. A fixed reference to any other examples leads insensibly to a partial representation of the gospel, if not to absolute error."

"A Scripture Help, designed to assist in reading the Bible profitably. By the Rev. Edward Bickersteth," 8vo. This is one of the most useful biblical expositions on a small scale that has of late years been presented to the public. It has no flourishes in various readings, doubtful passages, or erroneous renderings; but goes directly home to the heart and the understanding of those who are of early or low condition in life, and consequently make no pretensions to worldly wisdom. "It is, [says the writer,] the duty and privilege of every man to read the bible for himself:"—and it is clear, to adopt another of his assertions copied from one of the church homilies, "that man's human or worldly wisdom, or science, is not needful to the understanding of the scriptures:"—and he hence gives a mere epitome of the chief historical and doctrinal parts of the bible in all their simplicity, and touching interest; accompanied only with an explanation of such terms as being still retained in the language of the original from which the translation has been made, require to be explained, and with such practical remarks as the subject seems naturally to suggest. The work before us is a thin, but closely printed octavo, of about 200 pages; yet we are glad to find that the excellent

and pious author has given an abridgement even of this little work, so as to render it still further accessible to the poor.

"*Spurinna, or the Comforts of Old Age*; with notes and biographical illustrations. By Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart." 8vo, *qs.* This is, in some sort, an imitation and counterpart of Cicero's well-known and elegant work on the same subject. Its express object is to show the superior sources of comfort possessed by the genuine and practical Christian, compared with the utmost that could be brought forward by the heathen philosopher. The very excellent author, like his great archetype, has made choice of a didactic discussion, and a dialogue form. "The venerable bishop Hough, [says he,] is the *Caio* of my drama; a prelate who enjoyed an extraordinary degree of health of body and mind, to the advanced age of ninety two, and died, as he had lived, respected and beloved. He is well known for his manly resistance, as President of Magdalen College, to the tyranny of James II. His private letters, lately published by our friend Mr. Wilmot, present an amiable portrait of his mind; and have enabled me in some degree to mark his peculiar manners and mode of expression, so as to offer a view of his character in his ninetieth year, in the spring which succeeded the hard frost of 1739, the point of time which I have fixed for this dialogue. The two other parties are his friend and correspondent, bishop Gibson, and Mr. Lyttelton, (afterwards Lord Lyttelton) his neighbour in the country." Bishop Hough is of course the chief speaker, and the subjects argued by him are the consideration of old age, as it is charged with unfitting for

for public life—as it is attended with infirmity of body—as it diminishes the power of animal enjoyment—and as a state of anxiety on account of the approach of death. The dialogue is upon the whole well sustained; sufficiently animated; and replete with enlivening anecdotes or allusions. The two leading sources of consolation appear to be, that as the zest of the sensual life diminishes, that of the intellectual life spreads and becomes keener, till it at length terminates in immortality; and that in all the troubles of the present state of being, private or public, relating to the state or the church, there is a presiding providence that sees, directs, controls, and superinduces, to the well-being of individuals of nations, and of the world.

We admire the religious liberality that animates the present work, because it is sufficiently distinguished from a latitudinarian, or generalising spirit. In the sense of Chillingworth, and of the present writer, we admit, and are disposed to contend, that “the Bible only is the religion of protestants;” and in the sense of St. Austin, as well as of Sir Thomas Bernard, are forward to make a distinction between error and heresy, “*errare possum; hereticus esse nolo*;”—but we think the author has pushed his era somewhat too forward, and is, in some degree, chargeable with an anachronism, when he makes bishop Gibson alarmed at the growth of METHODISM; and beholds the Methodists “extending themselves over the kingdom, and threatening the subversion of the establishment.” We ought not, however, to conclude, without observing, that the venerable bishop Hough does not participate in this alarm: “I respect, [says he,]

even the errors of the conscientious Christian; and feel the impossibility of a perfect union of sentiment in rational beings who think for themselves. While we bear in mind that we are the descendants of fallen and imperfect creatures, we can hardly presume that of all sects, we alone are without any shade of error, or warp of prejudice; and we should be very careful how we intermix any desire or interests of our own with the concerns of religion.”

“Institutes of Christian Perfection, of Macarius the Egyptian, called the Great. Translated from the Greek, by Granville Penn, Esq.” 12mo. As the influence of Greece, whether literary or political, extended, its language extended with it. Hence Rome was more than once endangered with being *grecised*, and the Greek school-masters were banished from the city simultaneously; hence we find the influence of this language extending over the cap of the Caucasus, and the wild regions of Moscovy; and from the same cause we behold it voyaging up the whole range of the Mediterranean, establishing itself at Alexandria, and divaricating over Egypt, Ethiopia, Persia, and every adjoining country. Macarius, who was an Egyptian Christian, and who on account of his superior attainments, was contradistinguished from others of the same name by the surname of *the Great*, was hence acquainted with, and wrote in the Greek tongue. He was born in Upper Egypt, A. D. 307; was highly esteemed and revered in his day; and his *Institutes*, which are here presented to the English reader, formed the most popular part of his productions. They consist

consist rather of detached sentences than of a well sustained or concatenated train of argument; or of propositions in a regular line of derivation. They are, however, valuable in themselves, and the illustrative notes that accompany them make them far more valuable than they would be otherwise. In one or two instances, we think we perceive a disposition in the ingenious and excellent translator to give somewhat of an inflexion of the author's text, to a support of his own peculiar opinions. As a single example, we may observe that, where Macarius, speaking of the Jews who had slain the prophets, and had afterwards "proceeded to such an extremity of wickedness as to feel no reverential awe for the Majesty of the Master himself"—adjoins, that in consequence of this *καθάρως ἀπεβλήθησαν καὶ κατεβλήθησαν*. This by Mr. Grenville Penn is rendered "they were *once and for ever* cast out, and overthrown. *Katharōs*, however, imports literally *altogether, utterly, totally*, "*penitus omnino*." Yet having, in our opinion, somewhat super-extended the meaning of the term, he proceeds to show, that not only in the opinion of Macarius, but of many of the more celebrated fathers of the Christian church, the same doctrine of an everlasting expulsion of the Jews was believed and supported: and consequently that all the modern hope and expectation of a restoration of the Jews to a wide and national conversion, are completely unfounded, and all our efforts to accomplish such a purpose completely visionary.

"Baxteriana: containing a Selection from the works of Baxter. Collected by Arthur Young, Esq. F.R.S." 12mo. 5s. 6d. This is al-

together a most interesting little volume. The selection is made with taste and judgment, from the most impressive parts of a deeply impressive writer; and it is made by a character who, till of late, in the season of grey hairs, shut out from the visible world by blindness, and on the verge of the grave, never began, as he himself ingenuously tells us, "seriously to think of that of which a Christian ought to think every day of his existence—a future state."—"I will not lay down my pen," it is thus he closes his volume, "without most earnestly entreating those who are but entering on life, to be persuaded to pay a constant attention to the duties of religion, especially to the four great means of grace, prayer, public worship, reading the Scriptures of truth, and, as much as circumstance will permit, meditating on their contents. I can with truth assure such, that when I reflect on the various errors and miscarriages of my life, previous to my mind taking a serious turn, I am clearly convinced that I should have avoided many, had I listened with more submission to the persuasion of a most valuable and pious mother, whom I did not learn sufficiently to esteem, till many years after I had lost her: and I speak this in allusion both to temporal and eternal objects.—O my young friends, let me with truth assure you, that though I have experienced some highly flattering, and partaken of many brilliant scenes, yet would I not exchange the consolation and hope which Christianity gives me while blind, and quickly descending to the grave, for the most pleasing moments of my former life, with rejuvenescence to enjoy them."

For the sermons of the year we have

have left ourselves but a small space. Those of a collective form are chiefly the following.

Dr. Hunt's "Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, principally in the years 1814, 1815, and 1816. To which is added the second edition of a sermon preached for the benefit of the Colchester National Schools in the year 1813." 8vo. 7s. 6d. The subject of the last sufficiently explains itself: the academical discourses are designed chiefly as a "defence of the liturgy of the church of England against the innovations of modern Socinians," and a refutation of Calvinistic notions respecting the nature of the ministerial office. The subject is upon the whole well treated; but the manner is at times a little too lofty, and in a few instances unnecessarily repulsive.

"Nine Sermons on the Nature of the Evidence by which the fact of our Lord's Resurrection is established; and on various other subjects. To which is prefixed, a dissertation on the prophecies of the Messiah dispersed among the Heathen. By Samuel Horsley, LL.D. &c. late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph." This volume, like the Bishop's notes, and, in part, version of the Psalms, is compiled by his son, the Rev. Henrge Horsley, from loose scraps, and unfinished compositions found after his death. There are in many instances, examples of the genuine and animating spirit, the bold and decisive tone of the great original when exercising his best manner. But upon the whole we do not think it will be to his credit to go deeper into the *caput mortuum* of his relics: and have much to regret that this great prelate did not bring forth, during his

life, the writings that have since been published, or had not left them in a form more fitted for posthumous publication.

"Sermons: by Thomas Snell Jones, D.D. Minister of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Edinburgh" 8vo. 10s. 6d. Twenty in number, on various subjects: the doctrines evangelical: the style bold, impressive, richly variegated with strong, often original imagery, and making a powerful attack on the heart.

"Sermons: chiefly on devotional subjects. By the Rev. Archibald Bonar, Minister of Cramond." 8vo. 10s. 6d. Fourteen in number: plain, practical, highly important, and easily intelligible, making a forcible appeal to the understanding.

Besides these, we have to notice various collections of Sermons from different writers: of which the principal are "British Pulpit Eloquence—a selection of Sermons in chronological order, from the works of the most eminent divines of Great Britain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: with biographical and critical notices." 8vo. 12s.—"The French Preacher: or Sermons translated from the most eminent French divines, catholic and protestant, with biographical notices, &c. By Ingram Cobbin." 8vo. 14s.—"Farewell Sermons of the most eminent of the Non-conformist Ministers, delivered at the period of their ejection, 1662. To which is prefixed, an historical and biographical preface." 8vo. 11s. The young minister will find great advantage in adding all these to his library, though, in various respects, of unequal value.

The chief single sermons that have occurred to us in the course of

of the year, are the Bishop of Gloucester's "Charge delivered to the Clergy of the diocese of Gloucester, at the primary Visitation of that diocese in the year 1816:" modest, serious, impressive, and perspicuous. Mr. Gurney's "Serious Address to the Clergy of the United Kingdom, on the duties of the Pastoral Office, in a Visitation Sermon, preached at St. Paul's, Covent Garden:" warm, earnest, peculiarly solemn, and bor-

dering on the doctrines of modern Calvinism. Dr. J. P. Smith's "Reasons of the Protestant Religion—a discourse delivered at a Monthly Association of Dissenting Ministers and Congregations, held at the Meeting-house in Islington, May 4, 1815." Sober, liberal, judicious, and replete with a spirit of candour which cannot be too widely imbibed.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprising Physiology, Medicine, Surgery, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Perspectives, Fluxions, Meteorology, Arithmetic.

WE open this chapter with a work of a very extraordinary kind, and which equally on account of its merit and its demerit, (for in our judgment it has a great deal of both) is entitled to a more prominent notice and examination than we can usually find space to allow. The work we mean is "an Introduction to Comparative Anatomy and Physiology; being the two Introductory Lectures delivered at the Royal College of Surgeons, on the 21st and 25th of March, 1816. By William Lawrence, F. R. S. &c." 8vo. The old Corporation of Surgeons have rendered themselves worthy of the academical change of name, and the pecuniary patronage of the legislature with which they have recently been dignified; for, shaking off the ignoble sloth in which the greater part of the preceding century had been slumbered away, they have awoke to activity, liberality and science; to the best interests of their profession, and the real good of their country. Among other valuable achievements, they have established an annual course of anatomical and physiological lectures, open to a gratuitous attendance of the medical and chirurgical students of the

metropolis, and delivered, season after season, by the most celebrated or respectable members of their own body, who for this purpose are honoured with the title of professors.

It was on this occasion, that the two introductory lectures before us were composed; and we are told that they "are now printed in consequence of the author having been repeatedly asked for copies of them." The rich and extensive museum of the college is well known to consist of the anatomical and physiological treasures of the late Mr. J. Hunter, to explain and illustrate which is the chief object of the lectures; and Mr. Lawrence succeeds to the professorial chair, after it has been filled by the illustrious names of Sir Everard Home, Mr. Astley Cooper, Mr. Abernethy, and having been occasionally occupied by Mr. Cline. The education, the talents, the peculiar studies and drift of mind of the author before us, fully justify the college in choosing him to be the successor of such distinguished characters; but we much mistake if the court can have heard without pain, or the public will peruse without surprise, the very singular train of doctrines, the

the confident attack upon authorized opinions, the daring and undisguised scepticism, the bold avowal of materialism, deism, and we fear we shall have to prove atheism, which the pages before us unfold; and which we cannot but lament were ever suffered to be ventilated in a place so consecrated to genuine science, and before an audience so youthful, so ingenuous, and so ready to receive as sound doctrine, whatever in such a situation would be allowed to be delivered. We cannot also but lament that the course of foreign study to which Mr. Lawrence has addicted himself, and with which we are well acquainted, having followed him in the series of his publications from an early period of his life, should have led him to such mischievous results; and that in pursuing so indefatigably as he has done, a field well worthy of cultivation, but demanding a nice and perpetual vigilance, he should so frequently have been poisoned, while boldly and incautiously collecting his wild honey.

The attentive physiologist, from the time of Hippocrates (we might indeed go much higher) to the present day, has beheld a general unity of action subsisting through all the organs of the animal frame, and the respective functions which they exercise, which it has been difficult to account for but by the interposition and control of a fine attenuate and active, but invisible substrate or *materies*, which has in all ages been regarded as the principle of life, equally distinct from the intelligent mind, and the external and corporeal fabric. To this a variety of names has been given, according to the fancy of the nomenclator; as *Ενρμηον*, Archæus,

Plastic Nature, *Materies Vitæ*, with many others; and as a great variety of essences has been ascribed; as animal spirit, ether, fire, electricity, spirit of animation, oxygen, Galvanic gas, according to the peculiar study of the physiological chemist. No harm has happened from these sportive sallies of the imagination, while some benefit has usually been obtained from the experiments to which every succession of new views has given rise. In the meanwhile, though we have made no discovery into the nature of the vital principle, its existence, as a distinct *ens*, has been constantly felt, and, with a very few exceptions, constantly admitted by philosophers, as well as by anatomists. Even the school of Epicurus, which denied the existence of the soul, and its survival of the dead body, by arguments so strong and cogent, as in some degree to shake the faith of perhaps every one who is not fortified by the impregnable doctrines of revelation, and to which modern scepticism has been utterly incapable of adding any thing of the slightest degree of weight, felt compelled upon this point, to walk within the trammels of common opinion. They not only, however, joined in the common opinion, but fought upon this point, manfully and successfully in the common cause, subverting on the one hand the idle conjecture of Aristoxenus, which referred all the operations of life to a sort of *harmony* which one set of organs maintained with another, without any controlling medium; and on the other, the equally visionary conceit of Anaxagoras, to which he gave the name of *ὁμοιομερεια*, and which consisted in supposing that every distinct

distinct organ is produced from a distinct set of molecules of its own nature and properties: both which hypotheses have been revived under various modifications in recent times; and openly contending, not only that the principle of life has a real and substantial entity, and is as much a part of the body as the eye, the finger, or the foot, - in the language of Mr. Lawrence's favourite poet, Lucretius, iii. 96.

*Esse hominis partem nihilo minus, ac manus,
et pes,
Atque oculi.*

but that it is formed of the finest, most attenuate, and subtilized auras or gases; as *calor, vapor, aer*, and a fourth substance still more active, more attenuate, more volatile than any of the rest, but which eludes all research, and is intractable to all analysis.

Atque anima est animæ porro totius ipsa.

It was one of the chief objects pursued by Mr. John Hunter, the founder of the College Museum, to determine, if possible, by direct experiments, whether this principle, whatever be its nature, and by whatever name it may have been distinguished, has an actual existence; and his well known train of experiments, and train of reasoning, have proved satisfactory to most men of science in the present day; and especially to Sir Everard Home and Mr. Abernethy; both of whom have contributed with their own powerful talents to uphold, and give additional force to the same doctrine, as well within as without the walls of the College-theatre. Mr. Lawrence, who was a pupil of the latter, succeeds, as we have already observed, to these able physiologists in possessing the profes-

sorial chair; and, as we have already observed also, he opens his first lecture by setting them up as models of excellence for personal talents and professional labour. All this occurs in the first lecture, which is indeed a very judicious and comprehensive epitome of what has been done in the field of physiology and comparative anatomy, and is justly entitled to a very high degree of praise.

We no sooner, however, open the second lecture, than we find that these distinguished characters, with Mr. J. Hunter at their head, are only set up like ninepins to be knocked down one after the other, according to the order of the proposed game. Their favourite doctrine is not only declared to be altogether visionary, but treated with no small degree of levity and ridicule. Now such a mode of ratiocination would have appeared to us not perfectly becoming the character of a young man, and particularly of a young man so situated, had the system he was about to plant in its stead been as impregnable as the Rock of Gibraltar. But our readers, if we mistake not, will think it somewhat less becoming, when, in as few words as possible, we shall have unfolded to them what is the real nature of the hypothesis, for we cannot call it system, which Mr. Lawrence has ventured to offer as a substitute for that which he has thus outrageously attacked, and flattered himself with having subverted.

The author commences the subject of his second lecture with the following manly and important engagement: "I shall endeavour to convey to you clear notions of the subjects which I propose for your attention; I will, therefore, carefully explain to you the sense of the terms

terms employed, and avoid all those which have an equivocal meaning. I exhort you to be particularly on your guard against all loose and indefinite expressions: they are the bane of all sciences, and have been remarkably injurious in our own." He then proceeds to observe, that "organization means the peculiar composition which distinguishes living bodies.—Vital properties, such as sensibility and irritability, are the means by which organization is capable of executing its purpose.—Functions are the purposes which any organ or system of organs executes in the animal frame.—Life is the *assemblage of ALL the functions*, and the general result of *their exercise*." This is precisely the old hypothesis of Aristoxenus, which was dignified by the name of the *system of harmony*, and unfolded almost in the same words. And consequently the objections which proved fatal to the one in the hands of the Epicureans and Stoics, will prove equally fatal to the other in the hands of any one who may use these objections in the present day. It was rebutted formerly, and may, therefore, be so still, that "life is not the assemblage of ALL the functions of the animal frame," for the function of walking, of talking, of all or any of the external or internal senses may cease, and yet the life remain. And hence, again, it is not "the *general result* of the exercise of *all* the functions;" for the idiot is as much alive as the philosopher, who has scarcely a mental function belonging to him; and Mr. John Hunter was as much a living being as at any time, when labouring under a paroxysm of angina pectoris, or whatever else it might be that extinguished, for nearly an hour, the two important

functions of pulsation and breathing; during the whole of which time his mental faculties, external senses, and voluntary powers were in as full activity as ever. We hold the author to his terms, because he has specially invited us to do so, by engaging for their accuracy and precision. The general corollary is, that "organization is the instrument, vital properties the active power, function the mode of action, and life the result." So that the only *living*, or *vital* and *active power* is *properties*, which it is the direct drift of the lecture to prove are *non-entities*; while functions are modified actions of these non-entities operating upon organized matter as an instrument, and life is somehow or other, for we are not told how, the result of the whole. The dilemma is complete, and it is impossible for the author to extricate himself. He falls prostrate at the very threshold. Properties cannot exist by themselves; you must give them a substrate of some kind or other, or you cannot figure to yourself a notion of them. Properties of matter *imply* necessarily the existence of matter; properties of a triangle, the existence of a triangle; properties of a sphere, the existence of a sphere; and consequently living or vital properties the existence of life. So again material properties must be the *result* of matter; triangular properties the *result* of a triangle; spherical properties the *result* of a sphere; and living or vital properties the *result* of life. Now, in the axiom before us, the common order is inverted; and life is made the *result of its own properties*, instead of its own properties being made the result of life. The fall of the pheasant, it seems, produces the discharge of the

the fowling-piece; and not the discharge of the fowling-piece the fall of the pheasant.

In the very next passage we find, if we mistake not, a similar looseness of expression, notwithstanding the author's predetermined caution in his use of terms. "The matter, [says he,] that surrounds us is divided into two great classes; living and dead: the latter is governed by *physical laws*, such as attraction, gravitation, chemical affinity; and it exhibits *physical properties*, such as cohesion, elasticity, divisibility, &c. Living matter also exhibits *these properties*, and is subject in a great measure to *physical laws*." Now here is an evident attempt to distinguish between *laws* and *properties*; while the examples offered under each destroy the very distinction which is aimed at; for the terms *law* and *property* apply equally to all of them; *attraction*, for example, is as much a physical property as *divisibility*; and *cohesion* has as much its laws as *gravitation*. Yet according to the wording of the passage, it should seem that attraction, gravitation, and chemical affinity are not *physical properties*, but *physical laws*; and that cohesion, elasticity, and divisibility, are not *physical laws*, but *physical properties*: while in the remainder of the lecture they are all regarded in one common light, and appealed to as common causes of physical phenomena.

In denying the existence of a living principle as a distinct essence, Mr. Lawrence's grand argument is, that it does not fall *sensibly* within the sphere of the experienced train, or "succession of events," in which, physiology, "like all other branches of human knowledge, consists." p. 143. "In the study of

the physical sciences," he remarks, p. 148, "we observe the succession of events, ascertain their series and order, and refer the *phenomena* ultimately to those general properties or principles, of which the name does not indicate *any independent existence*, but is to be regarded as the generalised expression of the facts. Experience can only exhibit the order and rule of succession of the *phenomena*, which indicate the action of the cause. When one event is observed constantly to precede another, the first of these is called *cause*; and the latter effect; and, we believe that the preceding event has a power of producing that which succeeds; although, in reality, we know only the fact of succession," p. 149.—"In our examination of the *phenomena* exhibited by living beings, we follow a method analagous to that pursued in the physical sciences. We trace the succession of events as far as observation and experiment will enable us to pursue them, and we refer them ultimately to a peculiar order of properties, or forces, called *vital*, as their causes," p. 150.

Now all this is the language of Mr. Hume; his direct train of argument, as nearly as may be, in his own words. And it never has been, and we may venture to say never will be indulged in without leading the person who uses it to an extreme he was not at first aware of. The conclusion to which Mr. Hume felt himself necessarily driven, was that the only active powers in nature are *impressions* and *ideas*; that an external world is of no use, and that we cannot prove its existence. The conclusion to which Mr. Lawrence is driven is, that the only active powers in nature are *physical*

physical and living properties, distinct from physical and living bodies, as being the cause of them; and though he does not deny the existence of an external world, yet as he contends that every thing which passes in it is the result of such properties operating upon each other, and that to these alone we are to "refer the succession, series, order and PHENOMENA of events" in physical and animal nature; he stands as little in need of an external world as Mr. Hume, in whose footsteps he has so closely trodden: while the grand death-blow to the whole of this peculiar view of the subject is, that all these properties to which the PHENOMENA of nature are to be referred, are themselves nonentities, and are "to be regarded merely as the generalised expression of the facts." p. 148.

"The object of explanation," says Mr. Lawrence, p. 167, "is to make a thing more intelligible."—How far he has succeeded in this object we must leave the reader to determine. But upon this explanation, such as it is, he ventures to extend his voyage much farther than he seems to have proposed to himself at first; and with that fondness for the marvellous, which usually characterises great travellers, thinks himself next capable of undermining the existence, not only of a medium or distinct principle of life, but of all other media or distinct powers or principles whatever, which have hitherto been supposed the direct agents in every part of nature: while with respect to the first of these, he tells us, p. 166, that "there are many names for it, as each successive speculator seems to have fancied that he should establish his own claim to
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the offspring, by *baptizing* it anew. Either of the names, and either of the explanations may be taken as a sample: they are all equally valuable, and equally illustrative. Most of them have long lain in cold *obstruction* (we suppose *oblivion* is meant) amongst the *rubbish of past ages*; and the more *modern ones* are hastening to the vaults of all the Capulets.—To make the matter more intelligible this vital principle is compared to magnetism, to electricity, and to galvanism; or it is roundly stated to be oxygen. 'Tis like a camel, or like a whale, or like what you please." p. 169.

We do not undertake to say what the vital principle is, nor at present even to substantiate its distinct existence. Of the former we profess to know as little as we do of magnetism or electricity; and the latter we must for the present leave to the arguments that have been for so many ages urged in its favour by the wisest and most distinguished characters of almost every school. We have not time to re-state them, much less to add to their weight or number: our only object, *thus far*, is to shew that whatever be their strength or weakness, the attack before us is not calculated to disturb them, and that consequently they possess the same precise degree of force which belonged to them antecedently to its being made.

Such is our object *thus far*: but we have yet an ulterior and more important object to accomplish; and which indeed must be our apology for the length to which this article is protracted. It is to show the danger of indulging in speculations of this kind; of breaking up established opinions without
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sufficient grounds, and of resigning ourselves to a loose and indeterminate diction in a hunt after new conjectures.

As a distinct and intermediate principle is not wanted in the functions of the body, so neither is it, in our author's logic, in those of the mind: and it is hence his next object to show that man is just as destitute of an intelligent spirit, as he is of a distinct vital energy. The same energy of living properties, (or living non-entities) which operating through the medium or instrument of an organised structure, produces in Mr. Lawrence's view, the phenomena of the latter; produces also, in his opinion, the phenomena of the former: and, as the respiratory function, which is one mode of action of these non-entities of living properties, produces breathing, so "the cerebral functions," which are another mode of action of the same non-entities, produce all the phenomena of intellect; all those wonderful processes of thought known under the names of memory, reflection, association, judgement, reasoning, imagination," p. 156: and consequently a principle of *mind* is as little demanded as a principle of *life*: and the soul, as well as the vital energy, is also "like a camel, or like a whale, or like what you please."

"Having thus satisfied himself that both the *corporeal life*, and the *mind* of man are the result of mere properties, insubstantial things operating upon an organized structure, Mr. Lawrence passes easily from sentient to insentient nature; and applying his philosophical touchstone to the latter region, as well as the former, persuades himself that

all the ethereal fluids of modern science are just as visionary and unfounded as the preceding principles; and, as we have already observed, that all the phenomena of the physical world are the result of mere *physical properties*, or non-entities, operating through the medium of unorganized matter. "You will *naturally* remark that the *existence* of the magnetic, electric, and galvanic fluids, which is offered as a proof of the existence of a vital fluid, is as much a *matter of doubt as that of the vital fluid itself*," p. 170, and in like manner, p. 168. "If the properties of living matter are to be explained in this way, why should not we adopt the same plan with physical properties, and account for gravitation or chemical affinity by the supposition of appropriate subtle fluids?"—What then? does Mr. Lawrence not know that gravitation and chemical affinity have been, and still are, at least *attempted* to be accounted for upon this very plan? Has he never heard that Sir Isaac Newton did not take gravity for an essential property of bodies; suggesting, on the contrary, and supporting his suggestion by very cogent arguments, that this extraordinary power is the result of an elastic medium of a peculiar nature, and endowed with peculiar laws, existing through all nature; by the operation of which alone he thought himself able to account for the phenomena which the property of gravitation is perpetually unfolding to us. We refer the writer particularly to the preface of the second edition of his *Optics*, which we would recommend him to study thoroughly.

Having thus given as effectual
a death-

a death-blow to the doctrine of Sir Isaac Newton, and of modern chemistry, as to that of Mr. John Hunter, and modern as well as ancient physiology, Mr. Lawrence grows progressively bolder as he fancies he grows more victorious, and conceives that there is as little need for the intervention or existence of an invisible deity, as there is for that of subtle invisible media of any other kind. "It seems to me," says he, "that this hypothesis or fiction of a subtle invisible matter, animating the visible textures of animal bodies, and directing their motions, is only an example of that propensity in the human mind, which has led men at all times to account for those phænomena, of which the causes are not obvious, by the mysterious aid of *higher and imaginary beings*. Thus in the earlier ages of the world, and in less advanced states of civilization, all the appearances which the progress of science enables us to explain, by means of *natural causes*, have been referred to the immediate operation of the divinity." p. 175—"Thus we find at last that the philosopher with his *archeus*, his *anima*, or his subtle and mobile vital fluid, is about on a level in respect to the mental process, by which he has arrived at it, with the

Poor Indian, whose untutor'd mind
Sees God in clouds, and hears him in the
wind.

"It may appear unnecessary," our author continues, "to disturb those who are inclined to indulge themselves in these *harmless reveries*. The belief in them, as in *sorcery* and *witchcraft*, is not grounded in reasoning, and therefore has nothing to fear from argument. I only

oppose such hypotheses when they are adduced with the array of philosophical deduction, because they involve suppositions *without any ground in observation or experience*, the only sources of our information on these subjects." p. 177. He concludes by telling us triumphantly, that the "complete failure (of these suppositions) in every instance, has now led almost universally to their abandonment; and may induce us to acquiesce on this point in the observations of Lucretius on a parallel subject.

Ignoratur enim quæ sit natura animas :
Nata sit, an contra, nascentibus insinuetur,
Et simul intereat nobiscum morte dirempta,
An tenebras orci visat vastaque lacunas.

In plain English, "we know nothing about the nature of the soul; whether it be ever born or insinuated into the body upon birth; whether, destroyed by death, it die when we die; or whether it be doomed to visit the dark and boundless caverns of the lower world." In the time of Lucretius there may have been nothing unbeseeming, nothing unphilosophical in this language. The independent existence of the soul, and its separate survival after the body are doctrines of revelation, rather than of reason. But revelation has been given to little purpose, and the world has lived to little purpose for the last two thousand years, if it be in the same precise degree of ignorance upon these points now in which it was then. There are unquestionably a few who do not admit that they have derived any new information either respecting the existence of the soul, or that of the deity, from this authoritative and veritable source; as there are, perhaps, others who do not allow it to be an authoritative

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or veritable source of information at all; and we lament that Mr. Lawrence should compel us to add his name to the one or the other of these two classes: but of this we are certain, that to whatever extent such classes may exist, and to which of them soever Mr. Lawrence may belong, the promulgation of the doctrines before us are not less unseemly to the enlightened age and the public theatre in which they were delivered, or to the grave and venerable body that founded the course, and made choice of Mr. Lawrence as their professor; than the loose and mistaken reasoning on which they are founded, is to the sober march of strict logical argument, and severe analysis.

"Essays on Insanity, Hypochondriasis, and other nervous affections. By John Reid, M.D. &c." 8vo. 9s. These essays take a range not merely through the different species of insanity properly so called, but through an inordinate indulgence in many physical propensities, and subjugation to many domineering passions closely connected with the state of the mind; as fear, pride, remorse, love of solitude, intemperance. The author's ideas are rather of a metaphysical than a medical character, and somewhat more theoretical than practical. They are often, however, forcibly expressed, and enriched with good original hints: and had they been worked into a more methodic arrangement might have formed a book of frequent reference. Such indeed was the author's intention, and we are sorry to learn from the introductory part of the volume, that "domestic circumstances have interfered with the prosecution of that object." Dr. Reid discusses melancholy in the popular, rather than

in the technical sense of the term, as a disease of mental depression and gloom, rather than as an insanity limited to a single object or train of ideas, whether the effect produced be of an exciting or dejecting character: and consequently he contemplates mania as *violent* madness, rather than as *universal*, or extending to every pursuit and train of ideas. There are a few medical writers who have embraced the same notion, yet they are but few, and rarely of distinguished name. The common professional distinction should be maintained, or the student and the public must be bewildered in a confusion of the terms made use of. In like manner, *remorse* in the following passage seems to be a term mistaken for *regret*. "Remorse itself is considered, perhaps, too indiscriminately as a compensation for misconduct. When it is an *unproductive feeling* merely, and not a *regenerating principle*, instead of mitigating, it can only serve to aggravate our defence." We concur with the author far more cordially in his liberal and benevolent observations on lunatic asylums, and his mode of treating insane patients.

"Commentaries on some of the most important diseases of Children. By John Clarke, M.D. Part the first, royal octavo." It is enough for the present to announce the work before us. The subject treated of, so far as the learned author has brought it before us, is discussed in a sensible, discreet, and practical manner; and his directions for managing an infant at birth, are peculiarly worthy the attention of every intelligent mother. We shall pursue the subject more at large when the present Commentaries are completed.

"*Remedies*

“ *Radiments of the anatomy and physiology of the human body; consisting of tables, &c. compiled for students of those sciences beginning their researches.* By T. J. Armiger, &c. Part first.” 8vo. This work also on account of its imperfect appearance at present, it is enough to usher before the public. The author writes modestly, and pretends to no originality: but he is clear and simple; and his book will probably be of value when completed by two additional parts.

“ A general system of Toxicology: or a treatise on Poisons, drawn from the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms; considered as to their relations with physiology, pathology, and medical jurisprudence. By M. P. Orfila, M. D. &c. Translated from the French.” Vol. 1. Parts I. II. We took a glance at the original work in our review of the foreign literature of the preceding year; and we are glad to meet with a commencement of it in an English dress. It will be a truly valuable publication, and the translator, who seems to improve as he proceeds with his labour, exhibits talents, and a knowledge of his subject quite sufficient for the purpose. The poisons chiefly noticed in the portion of the first volume before us are those of the metals, the concentrated acids, caustic and carbonated alkalies, caustic alkaline earths, phosphorus, powdered glass, and cantharides. It is a great recommendation to the present work, that the ingenious author not only points out in a masterly manner the peculiar nature of the poison he treats of, and its effects on the animal system, but in most cases indicates its best and most practicable antidote. Thus

the baneful effects of muriate of tin, which is much used in various manufactories, is counteracted when swallowed, by throwing into the stomach a large quantity of milk. If sulphate of zinc, often used as a speedy emetic, be taken by mistake, or in excess, vomiting is in the first instance to be freely encouraged by copious draughts of mucilaginous fluids, till we have reason to believe that the whole of the poison has been discharged; when the sickness should be repelled by opiates. So a solution of muriate of soda (common salt) is an antidote to the poison of nitrate of silver, if administered a short time after this poison has been swallowed. The concentrated mineral acids, when swallowed accidentally, or by design, may be best neutralized by swallowing calcined magnesia; which should be given in repeated doses, mixed up with water, as long as there is reason to suppose that any uncombined acid remains in the stomach. If calcined magnesia be not at hand, recourse should be had to any other antacid, even a solution of common soap, which may be obtained in every family. For acetate of lead (white lead or cerusse) M. Orfila has found that the best mode of treatment is to convert it into sulphate of lead, which is a perfectly harmless compound; and that this may be obtained by administering an active dose of any of the soluble sulphates, as that of magnesia for example.

He has also observed, as was indeed observed some time ago by Dr. Majendie, that many poisons are far more active when introduced into the system through the medium of the blood, than through that of the stomach. Such is the case with nitrate

nitrate of silver, or lunar caustic. A solution of a third of a grain of this substance in two drachms of distilled water, injected into the jugular vein of a strong dog, occasioned his death, after severe suffering, in four hours and a half. Two grains, dissolved in three drachms of distilled water, and injected into the jugular vein of a small dog, killed him in six minutes; half a grain introduced in the same way, killed another dog in eleven minutes. In these experiments the lungs were found to have suffered the greatest injury, being rendered in some places preternaturally dense, and loaded with a dark-coloured blood. Twelve grains of nitrate silver were introduced, in a solid form, into the stomach of a strong dog, through an opening in the esophagus, which was then tied below the opening to prevent vomiting: the animal did not die till the sixth day, and did not appear to have suffered very violent symptoms, in the estimation we mean of the experimenter: who adds, however, that the mucous coat of the stomach, near the pylorus, exhibited numerous perforations about the size of a pin's head. To another dog twenty grains were given in solution without serious mischief: on the third day 32 grains more were given, which made him vomit repeatedly: and he was afterwards destroyed by a larger dose.

"A Treatise on the Nature, Economy, and Practical Management of Bees, &c. By Robert Huish." 8vo, 12s. After the very curious, instructive, and interesting history of this extraordinary insect, published a few years ago by the elder Huish, and which we are astonished has never been translated into our own tongue, it is not easy

to add any thing very important upon this subject. Yet Mr. Huish has offered various valuable remarks upon the general economy of the bee, and may be studied with great advantage by all who have an opportunity of cultivating its mellifluous produce. The objects he treats of are the natural history of the bee;—its different species, food, queen-bee, and mode of treatment; various forms for hives, and descriptions of several, as proposed by foreign, or British apiarists:—enemies to the bee, and disorders to which it is subject: profits producible by a due cultivation of this curious insect, and attention to its fertility: means of distinguishing between genuine and adulterated honey.

"Chemical Essays principally relating to the arts and manufactures of the British dominions. By Samuel Parkes, F. L. S." 5 vols. 12mo. The subjects treated of are the following: On the utility of chemistry. On temperature. Specific gravity. Calico-printing. Barytes, Carbon. Sulphuric acid, The fixed alkalies. Earthenware, and porcelain. Glass. Bleaching. Water. Sal Ammoniac. Edge-tools. In the broad meaning applied of late by many to the term chemistry, all these subjects may be regarded as belonging to the study;—and in any meaning of the term, they must be considered as closely connected with it. The work will upon the whole be found highly useful to those for whom it is chiefly intended—the artisan and manufacturer. But it is an unequal production. Several of the essays are evidently written with a deep and familiar knowledge of the subjects discussed; as those on barytes, sulphuric acid, and edge-tools. But there

there are others in which the ingenious author appears to be far less at home; and consequently which are more obscurely drawn up, and by no means free from erroneous notions; as the essay on temperature, and on sal ammoniac. The work, however, is well worthy of encouragement; and we shall hope, in a new edition, to see the mistakes we now glance at corrected. The last volume consists entirely of addenda, and an index: the former in many instances highly valuable, and which may hereafter be advantageously incorporated in the body of the work.

"A Treatise on the External Characters of Minerals. By Robert Jameson, Regius-Professor of Natural History." 8vo. The author published a few years ago a *System of Mineralogy*, in two volumes octavo: and the work before us is intended as an accompaniment to the preceding. He has republished indeed the former in a second edition subsequently to the treatise before us, and by extending it to three volumes, has been enabled to embody the general substance of the treatise on external characters. His system, or rather that of professor Werner, whom he undertakes to follow, may now be regarded as complete: and there can be no doubt that Mr. Jameson's explanation and illustration of it, add much to its strength, and extension, and perhaps to its duration. There is in truth a new and simpler arrangement introduced into the present, than was given under the former edition. The chemical characters of minerals are, indeed, as much repudiated as ever, and the external characters made as much as ever the sole ground of reliance. But the prior division of genera are

banished, and that of families substituted in their place. The families, however, are not only more numerous in this than in the former publication, but they are arranged in a different order, and have undergone several changes, as to the members which they respectively contain. The author shows most perspicaciously that he is indefatigable in the improvement of his favourite science; as he does also that his labours to this effect are by no means in vain. Of all who wrote (at least in our own country) towards the close of the last century upon this subject, Kirwan was unquestionably the most zealous and the best informed; but as a practical mineralogist, and in respect of actual acquaintance with fossils as they present themselves in the great field of nature, Kirwan was a mere novice compared to Mr. Jameson. The department of the former was the laboratory and the study: he was an expert chemist, and a vigorous writer, and his analysis of earths and waters, together with his various publications on these subjects, will preserve his reputation amidst all the revolutions of chemical science. But the school of Jameson is the great globe itself; his museum, its continents and its islands; his language is most eloquent, and his knowledge most precise when he conducts his readers amidst mountain-ranges, or into the bowels of the teeming earth. If man, according to Bacon, be the priest of nature, the interpreter of her secret and oracular language—our author, in the same spirit, leads his disciples to an actual and personal devotion: to watch her signs, note all her communications, and thus to come to a full understanding of the mysterious

rious laws by which she has wrought in times past, and still continues to work. Geology, heretofore, was the opprobrium of philosophy, and the contempt of all those who valued theories only for the number of facts upon which they were supported. Now a better era has commenced. The earth's surface is not so completely unknown as to warrant the production of an hypothesis at variance with the most striking phenomena which it exhibits; and those who have not ascertained what are the constituent parts of mineral bodies, and the order and relations of their distribution, will henceforth hardly presume to explain the physical causes to which their present appearance is to be ascribed.

"An Elementary Introduction to the Art of Mineralogy, including some account of mineral elements and constituents; explanation of terms in common use; brief accounts of minerals, and of the places and circumstances in which they are found. Designed for the use of the student. By William Phillips, member of the Geological Society." 8vo. The author has drawn up this "*elementary introduction*," as he calls it somewhat tautologically, from works of reputation:—chiefly those of Haüy, Brogniart, Jameson, and the Aikins; and has intended it principally as a companion to the manual of the last writers, which he thinks has not always bestowed sufficient attention to the minor distinction of minerals, notwithstanding its more prominent characters are given with sufficient accuracy. He feels, and every one must yet feel, great difficulty in regard to the arrangement of species, notwithstanding all that has of late been attempted to simplify the

subject: and every work proves that there is at least equal difficulty in the description, which, if short, and confined to the external, or the chemical characters, or the constituent parts, must be imperfect, and if allowed, as it generally is, to embrace the whole, is too diffuse and voluminous.

"A familiar treatise on perspective, &c. By Charles Taylor. With fifty-one engravings." 15s. This treatise is an easy and perspicuous illustration of the perspective art, designed rather for private than for professional students, and hence divested as much as possible of technical phrases, and abstruse disquisition. It is divided into four essays:—on the theory of vision, and the principles of perspective connected herewith; on the elements of the art; on the perspective of shadows; and on keeping, or aerial perspective. The figures correspond in manner as well as in matter with the text: they are simple, familiar illustrations, without any formidable intricacy, or multiplicity of lines.

"The principles of fluxions: designed for the use of students in the universities. By William Dealtry, B.D. F.R.S. &c. second edition, with corrections, and considerable additions." 8vo. This work is greatly improved in its present form; and it will serve, or ought to serve to enhance its value in the estimation of a *Cambridge* student, that, in many respects it answers the purpose of a comment upon the Principia of Newton, to which there are frequent and specific references. The subject discussed is of very high importance, and it is here discussed with clearness and ability. No production of the inventive faculties ever

ever occasioned so rapid a change in the state of the abstract sciences, or has any led to such extraordinary and important results, as the fluxional calculus. By furnishing ready, and for the most part, obvious means of resolving geometrical magnitudes, and physical actions into their own constituent elements; or, contrarily, of expanding intellectually the nascent portions of either magnitudes or operations to their ultimate, and permanent results; much of the structure and organization of the universe, previously either lost beneath the surface of visible things, or covered by the mist which envelops the remoter objects of creation, has been brought from the recesses in which it was concealed for ages, and exhibited to public view. The deep secrets of nature have been extorted from her; and those extremes which elude the cognizance of the senses have been found within the reach of this powerful calculus. It is a prime object, however, with the present writer as much to improve the machinery of the world within us, as to unfold that of the world without us. "It must not be forgotten," says he, "that one of the great benefits to be derived from mathematical studies is *the discipline of the mind*. The mere knowledge of certain truths is to the great body of literary men a matter only of secondary importance when compared with the advantages which result from the exercise of the understanding, and the improvement of the reasoning faculty. The Elements of Euclid have in this view been justly considered as of singular excellence. Their peculiar value arises in a great measure from the perspicuity of every part.

The chain of reasoning is preserved entire, and the reader proceeds from step to step, with the argument fully before him, and with an evidence of its truth which cannot be doubted."

"Metrology: or an exposition of weights and measures; chiefly those of Great Britain and France. By P. Kelly, L. L. D." 8vo. The subject here treated of is rather to be wished than to be hoped for. No system of simplification is more demanded—no security against imposition more requisite; yet such is the power of habit, and such the dread of alteration upon points of long standing, however defective, that every nation seems rather disposed to plod on in the heavy, intricate, and tangled path of its forefathers, than make a bold push to free itself from acknowledged difficulties, and enter into a clearer, shorter, and unobstructed road. The scheme has been tried in France: but although we meet with a daily display of the new Greek terms in all the books of science, the work before us asserts that a mortal hatred is still manifested against them by the bulk of the people, and that there is now little chance of their ever getting into popular use, at least upon any thing like scientific principles, in consequence of an allowance on the part of government in 1812, to divide several of the metres which were found to approximate in weight or measure to certain of the old divisions, not into decimal parts, which forms the very basis of the whole machinery, but into the vulgar sections of thirds, twelfths or sixteenths, or whatever may be the proportions in popular use. The work before us exposes the difficulties which must

must necessarily attend a proper correction of unharmonious systems of weights and measures; and proposes water as the standard or radical test.

"A treatise on profits, discounts and interest: explaining how to complete the gross amount of any net sum; to secure a certain net profit after a discount has been allowed therefrom; and to compute by short rules, interest of

money; with many tables. By John Lowe, Birmingham." 12s. 6d. This will be found a useful work by those for whom it is chiefly intended. The net cost is separated from the additional charges of rent, taxes, wear and tear of tools, building, persons and leases, wages in every shape, &c.; while the author indicates the respective value of all these.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Politics, and Political Economy.

“THE History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain : containing a general history of the Arabs, their institutions, conquests, literature, arts, sciences, and manners, to the expulsion of the Moors, &c. By James Cavanah Murphy.” Royal 4to. This is an interesting subject—and it has lately engaged the pen of various writers at home as well as abroad; for it is only five years ago that Mr. Bourke published in quarto also his “*Concise History of the Moors in Spain*,” and still more lately that the same topic was pursued by Mr. Power, in his “*History of the Mahometan Empire in Spain*.” The work before us, however, inclines more to an architectural illustration of the period before us than either of the preceding, and is, in fact, intended as an accompaniment or introduction to an atlas folio upon this subject, which has been lately given to the public by the same writer, under the title of “*The Arabian Antiquities of Spain*.” Yet in point of real value, of sound information, and authentic interest, the preceding works have but little to offer in comparison with the present, which instead of being a meagre, ill-digested compendium from the works of Cardonne, Florian, the Abbé de Marigny, and a few Spanish authors, which is the real cha-

acter of the preceding, aspires to a higher character, and “is either abstracted immediately from the most approved Arabic historians, or is compiled, where these failed, from other authorities best deserving credit.” From the preface to the work it appears that the public are in fact indebted for it to the researches of three individuals. The Introduction, which presents a precise account of “the early history of the Arabs, previously to their conquest of Spain, having been communicated by the acute and learned historian of ancient Greece (Dr. Gillies):” the first part, containing the political and military history of the Mahometan Empire in Spain, together with a topographical account of Cordova, and the translation of the Arabic inscriptions in the appendix, having been executed by Professor Shakespear, of the Honourable East India Company’s Military Seminary: and the remainder of this part, comprising a topographical account of the principal seats of the Moorish Empire in the peninsula, together with the whole of the second part, which treats of the literature, sciences, arts, manufactures, and commerce, as well as of the civil and military institutions of the Arabs, having been composed by Mr. Horne, sublibrarian of the Surrey Institution. Of the authorities consulted

consulted by these authors it is but just to observe that they have given ample and satisfactory accounts; while every page exhibits the reality and extent of their laborious inquiries. This volume is further illustrated by a neat and correctly engraved map, shewing the principal conquests of the Arabs under the Kalifs or succession of Mohammed.

"The Arabian Antiquities of Spain," to which we have already alluded, is the production of Mr. Murphy alone, and is the temple to which he preceding history forms only the portico. The interesting but imperfect descriptions of Arabian art, exhibited in the volumes of several modern travellers as still existing in different parts of Spain, excited in Mr. Murphy an ardent desire to visit them. He accordingly embarked for that country, and arrived at Cadiz in May, in the year 1802, whence he proceeded to Grenada, through lower Andalusia. The governor of the Alhamrà, desirous that the knowledge of its splendid architectural remains should be accurately transmitted to posterity, obligingly facilitated the author's access to that royal palace at all hours of the day, while he was employed in the agreeable task of measuring and delineating its interior works. Equal facilities were offered at Cordova, the remains of whose celebrated mosque and bridge are delineated in the former part of the work. "Seven years," says Mr. Murphy, "were unremittingly devoted to these delightful pursuits;" and since the author's return home nearly seven years more have been wholly given to preparing for publication the present work." The engravings are a hundred in number; and we have seldom seen so many, and such various specimens

of art executed in such a style of beauty, and with so much apparent fidelity.

"An account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and its dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India: comprising a view of the Afghann Nation, and a history of the Douranee Monarchy. By the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, &c." 4to. 3l. 3s. Mr. Elphinstone writes from a personal knowledge of much that he describes: he was for some time the official resident at the Court of Poona, and afterwards envoy to the King of Caubul. This is an interesting and intelligent work, and in connection with Sir John Malcolm's account of the Sikhs, gives us a pretty fair insight into a part of Southern Asia to which we have hitherto been nearly strangers. The embassy appears to have been composed of various active and well-informed individuals, to each of whom a distinct task was judiciously assigned. "The geography," says the author, "was allotted to Lieut. Macartney, and he was assisted by Capt. Raper, already known to the public by his account of a journey to the sources of the Ganges. The climate, soil, produce, and husbandry, were undertaken by Lieut. Irvine, and the trade and revenue by Mr. Richard Strachey. The history fell to Mr. Robert Alexander, and the government and the manners of the people to me." The work is accordingly divided into five books. 1. The geography of Afghanistan. 2. General account of the inhabitants. 3. Particular account of the Afghann tribes. 4. The provincial divisions. 5. The royal government of Caubul. The Afghann or Afghann tribes, stretching from the Jumna to the Indus, irregularly in the

the line of the Panjab, are well known to consist of various hardy and warlike tribes, often indulging in jealousies among themselves, but always uniting, and making common cause in case of danger from foreign powers. One of the most restless and extensive of these tribes is the Dooraunee, and from this tribe has been derived a sovereign dynasty, which, under different chieftains, has evinced great ambition, extensive conquests, and high military glory. Both Persia and India have been alternately, and in one or two instances, simultaneously the scenes of their invasion; and, under the celebrated Ahmed Shah, the theatres in which, to a considerable extent, they established themselves: for this enterprising and intrepid character not only succeeded in laying a part of Persia under tribute subsequently to the death of Nadir Shah; but in 1756 entered Delhi in triumph, and forced the emperor to a cession of the Panjab and of Sind. Ahmed died in 1773, in the fiftieth year of his age: and since this period the Dooraunee dynasty has sustained all those reverses, which so peculiarly characterise the possession of empire in the east. At the time of the embassy before us, the government was in the hands of Shah Shuja, a grandson of Ahmed Shah, and son of Timor Shah: the court was established at Caubul, and to this city the embassy had to direct its route. From the jealousy, however, with which it was viewed by the rajahs in the neighbourhood, and especially from the misfortunes of Shuja himself, it terminated without any important result.

“Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh: accompanied by a geographical and historical Account of

those Countries; with a Map. By Lieut. Henry Pottinger, of the hon. E. I. C. Service.” 4to. This, like the preceding, gives us an account of the border territory of India, and describes also the banks of the Indus, and the Indus itself. The travels of Lieut. Pottinger, who was accompanied by Capt Christie, like the embassy of Mr. Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, was for the purpose of counteracting the political manœuvres of Bonaparte in the east: but they seem to have been diversified by more perils and eventful incidents. For the sake of obtaining a more intimate knowledge of the people, and the countries they were to pass through, our travellers, from the first, were commanded to assume a disguised character. This we do not think much to the credit of the British nation, in whose public service, in some sort, they were at this time engaged: nor is it much in unison with its greatness that these official characters should have been ordered to degrade themselves into the habit and pretensions of Afghan (here speak Uffghan) horse-dealers. In other territories they found it more advisable to merge the mockery of horse-dealers into that of religious devotees in circumstances of utter destitution, to prevent being pillaged, as they would otherwise have been, of the money they had about them; and under this disguise they were so thronged by the populace, and had so many questions of casuistry proposed to them upon points to which they were utter strangers, that they ran the utmost risk of detection, and appear, in several instances, to have been strongly suspected. At other times they assumed the guise and character of physicians, and were overloaded with applications for medical

dical advice, in which they seem to have been more successful than in leading the public devotions of the temple upon which last Lieut. Pottinger seems occasionally to have been completely ashamed, not to say panic-struck, at his own hypocrisy. "One evening, says he, as my guide was riding on the camel with me, he observed that the people of the country exclaimed *hyyu, toubah!* "alas! alas!" if I neglected my prayers. I excused myself on the plea of having no water to wash. "Take sand," said he: and at eventide, being a little in front, he stopped to go to prayers. I could not decline joining him; and therefore, watching his motions, I went through the forms. However I did not repeat this afterwards, for having come on thus far in safety, I considered that the most likely way to lose the *divine protection* would be treating devotion with levity." In such sort the present disguised embassy was conducted; its officers sometimes scorching on moving hills of burning sands, and tantalized with beautiful deceptions, or images of extensive lakes of cool and quiet water immediately before them; sometimes shivering with severe cold, and wading through mountain snows; sometimes basking in all the luxury of an Asiatic paradise, and at other times hungry and destitute, amidst inhospitable, roving tribes, and in climates as inhospitable as their inhabitants, till at length, divided into two parties, it arrived at Hyderabad, the capital of Sinde. Upon the whole, the various towns and general face of the country, and even the count of Hyderabad itself rather, indicate how flourishing, populous, and, in various places, wealthy and luxurious, this part of Asia was formerly,

than it continues to be at present: for moral and political, physical and architectural ruin seems to be spreading its ghastly track in every direction, and without some great and speedy change, to be prophetic, in no distant period, of a wide and uninhabitable waste.

"Travels of Ali Bey in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey, between the years 1803-1807. Written by himself, and illustrated by maps, and numerous plates." 2 vols. 4to. Who is Ali Bey? A person assuming this name appeared not long since in France, and is said, Nov. 15 and 20, 1813, to have attended the sittings of the National Institute; and to have read both to the scientific and historic classes, a memorial on his travels; but who the person really was that thus designated himself, or whether the present travels in their actual state are the genuine work, or portray the real course of his peripatations, is a question which we cannot undertake to solve, and which the editor, in his advertisement to the first volume, finds difficult to handle. That the name is fictitious is admitted; but the existence and truth of the character is attempted to be supported by various documents which, after all, do not appear to be scrupulously satisfactory. He is even said, indeed, to have been in England in 1802, and to have left this country for Spain in the course of the same year. From Spain he proceeded, according to the routine here laid down, to Morocco: "he continued, it is said, in Morocco from June 1803 to Oct. 1805, when he embarked at Larisch for Tripoli. In January 1806 he sailed for Cyprus, where he staid two months. He arrived at Alexandria in that year.

year. In October he went to Cairo: in December to Suez, and from that place sailed to Jeddo. He proceeded on the Mahomedan pilgrimage to Mecca, where he arrived in January 1807. He returned to Cairo in June of that year; went with the caravan to Jerusalem in July, and from thence to Acre, Mount Carmel, Nazareth, the sea of Galilee, the river Jordan, Damascus, and Aleppo. At the end of October 1807 he visited Constantinople." The maps delineate the kingdom of Morocco, Northern Africa, the coast of Arabia on the Red Sea, showing our traveller's route from Cairo to Mecca: with itineraries in the Isle of Cyprus, and between Cairo and Constantinople.

Whoever may be the subject of these travels, and we can have no doubt of the travels themselves being genuine, he is a man of extensive observation and intelligence. We have as little doubt also of the truth of his Mussulman character, by which alone he was able, in the course of his pursuits, to obtain an introduction into various Mahometan recesses, so as to disclose a variety of ceremonies and other transactions that are punctiliously concealed from the eye of a Christian. He is said to have been a spy of Bonaparte; but there is nothing in the work to justify such an assertion. His account of the Kaaba, or holy temple at Mecca, and, indeed, of Mecca itself, is well worthy of attention; as is also his description of the high festival of the pilgrimage to Mount Arafit, engaged in annually by the innumerable hosts of pilgrims that arrive at Mecca for the purposes of Mussulman devotion. To obtain a view of the procession which took place

Feb. 17, the author left the city the preceding afternoon upon a camel, and at nine o'clock the following morning reached the foot of the mountain. "It is here that the grand spectacle of the pilgrimage of the Mussulmen must be seen. An innumerable crowd of men from all nations, and of all colours, coming from the extremities of the earth, through a thousand dangers, and encountering fatigues of every description, to adore together the same God, the God of nature. The native of Circassia presents his hand in a friendly manner to the Ethiopian, or the negro of Guinea; the Indian and the Persian embrace the inhabitant of Barbary and Morocco; all looking upon each other as brothers, or individuals of the same family, united by the bands of religion." Arafit is a small mountain of granite, about 150 feet high, in a plain about three quarters of a league in diameter, surrounded by barren mountains. It is inclosed by a wall with stair-cases to the summit, surmounted by a chapel. The tradition is, that upon this elevation Adam met Eve, after a long separation; and the parent of mankind is pretended to have been the architect of the edifice. The assemblage described is almost incredible: 80,000 men; 2,000 women; 1,000 children; 60 or 70,000 camels, asses, and horses, at sunset moved down a narrow valley with precipitation, as the prayers are not allowed to be said at Arafit, but at Mordelisa in the vicinity. The next day the pilgrims encamped at Mina to visit the house of the Devil, which it seems the arch-enemy has had the malice to build hard by, though in a very contracted spot, of difficult access. Here each of the itinerants threw seven small stones, of the size of peas,

peas, at the dwelling, in token of his displeasure. This form was afterwards repeated, and on the 20th of February returned to Mecca.

"The Narrative of Robert Adams, a sailor, who was wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa, in the year 1810, was detained three years in slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert, and resided several months in the city of Tombuctoo. With a map, notes, and an appendix." 4to. We have copied so largely from this important volume in a preceding part of the Register, that it is only necessary to notice it in the present place. The splendid fictions of the great emporium of the Desert are destroyed by Adams's account, who reduces its gaudy palaces to huts, and its mansions to mud-walls; and all its pageantry and wealth to gew-gaw and beggary. How honourable is it to the character of our own country, that the traffic in Christian as well as in Negro-slaves is now completely abolished by the commanding influence of its humanity and its victorious arms.

"Tracts relative to the Island of St. Helena: written during a residence of five years. By Major-General Alexander Beatson, late Governor, &c. Illustrated with views." 4to. It is highly probable that these tracts would never have seen day-light, had it not been for the interest which recent events have given to the very singular spot they are designed to describe. Governor Beatson seems rather to have directed his attention to the agriculture of the island than to any other point: and with the exception of the introductory dissertation, nearly the whole of the present volume is directed to this subject. It consists, indeed, for the most part of papers first

published by the author in a periodical journal printed under his patronage and support, and which was entitled the *St. Helena Register*. In these papers he strenuously recommends the plough in preference to the spade, which had hitherto been employed almost exclusively. In consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, he encouraged the ingress of Chinese peasants and labourers, who are chiefly made choice of for the same purpose in Ceylon and various parts of the Deccan. To preserve a due supply of water in the driest seasons he imitated the Indian method of collecting it in its descent from the hills, in enormous tanks or reservoirs, so as to be capable, at all times, of fertilizing the lower grounds in every direction by means of openings or gutters. And to preserve the soil from being washed down the declivities of steep hills, he advised the forming of belts around their sides as a substitute for the terraces employed by the Chinese on the sides of mountains too precipitous to be ploughed; an ingenious method which is extensively practised in our own country on the sloping hills of Dorsetshire. The soil and climate of St. Helena are equally favourable to the different grains of Europe and of India; and, in conjunction with these, Governor Beatson set the example of cultivating potatoes, which appear to answer very abundantly, mangel-wurzel, cress-lettuce, and various other esculents for man and domestic animals. The political history and chorography of the island, were given a few years ago, in a very interesting octavo volume by Mr. Brooke; and we now seem to be in possession of all the information we can require respecting this picturesque and romantic spot.

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"The climate of St. Helena," says General Beaton, "is perhaps the mildest and the most salubrious in the world, and is remarkably congenial to the human feelings. Neither too hot nor too cold, it preserves throughout the year that medium temperature which is always agreeable. This temperature, however, varies considerably according to the elevation of the land. At Plantation-house the range of the thermometer during the year was only from 61° to 73° . At Long Wood, although at the same height above the sea, it was generally 5° lower: proceeding, no doubt, from the situation being more exposed to the south-east trade wind. In James's Town it is generally from 5° to 7° higher than at Plantation House. These are the temperatures within doors. In the open air, at Plantation House, the thermometer sometimes falls to 52° , which happens between June and September; and in this winter-season (if it may be so called) the inhabitants living in the country find it necessary, or at least comfortable, to make use of fires in their rooms. Thus it will be perceived there is a diversity of climate; so that a person residing in James's Town in the warm season, may pass, within the short space of an hour, from the medium temperature of India to that of the spring or summer months in England. From thunder and lightning this climate may be said to be wholly exempted. In the course of sixty years only two flashes of lightning are recollected: and these, I believe, were unaccompanied with thunder; neither is it subject to those storms and hurricanes which occasionally afflict and desolate many other tropical islands. The trade winds generally blow

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with uniform steadiness, very seldom increasing beyond what is called a fresh breeze." Hence, as well as from other causes, the anchorage at St. Helena is far more secure, as well as more extensive than at the Cape, in consequence of the latter being exposed at all times to tremendous gales; whence, before the navigation around the Cape was well known in respect to coast and season, the shores of the Cape were the voracious grave of whole navies. The natural strength of the island, and its ability, with a very small force; to resist almost any degree of strength that could be brought against it, is pointed out by the author with great judgment and accuracy.

"An Historical Account, interspersed with Biographical Anecdotes of the House of Saxony, &c.; with a Memoir of the Life of his Serene Highness Leopold George Christian Frederic, Duke of Saxony, Prince of Saxe Cobourg Saalfeld. By Frederic Schöberl." 8vo. This is an acceptable and interesting present to the public, and a due tribute of respect to a princely and gallant stranger who has cheerfully quitted the Court of his father to be connected with the high fortunes of the British crown and the British people. He has the commanding claim upon our respect of having been, throughout the whole struggle of the continent, the determined and open enemy of Bonaparte, of having first of all the German princes who formed the confederation of the Rhine, ventured to declare publicly against France; of having taken an active and conspicuous part in the bloody battles of Lutzen and Leipsic; and of having entered Paris with the victorious allied army, March 31, 1814. It is

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not necessary in the present place to say more, as we have made various extracts from the volume, illustrative of the virtues of Prince Leopold and his public spirited ancestors in a preceding part of our Register.

"The Civil and Military History of Germany, from the landing of Gustavus to the conclusion of the treaty of Westphalia. By the late Francis Hare Nayler, Esq." 2 vols. 8vo. The period here selected comprises one of the most interesting, as well as one of the most busy epochs of German history. The hardy and protracted and successful struggle for political freedom against the tyranny of Austria, and for religious freedom, against the tyranny of the Vatican, are developed with a warm and discriminating pen. The chief heroes of the complex scene are the ever memorable and immortal Swede, Gustavus Adolphus, equally renowned for his prowess and his humanity; and the bold and confident and dazzling Wallenstein, equally celebrated for his courage, and his spirit of intrigue, and who only wanted the virtue of honesty (but what can supply its place?) to make his character as truly great as it was glittering and splendid. In Gustavus the protestants found a brave and steady champion, whose arm was raised in their defence from the unbiassed dictates of his conscience: himself a friend to the doctrines of Luther, he made no invidious distinction between his followers and those of Calvin. He took the sword in hand to maintain the most sacred of all rights, liberty of conscience, and he invariably set an example of the toleration for which he fought. Wallenstein, on the contrary, attached to no cause or public principles, could be relied on by no party, and

made all in turn the tools of his ambition. Educated by his father as a protestant, and afterwards converted by a Jesuit to the church of Rome, he ever retained more faith in the stars than in the Evangelical Union or the Catholic League. His actions were regulated by astrological calculations; and the same enthusiasm which made him a votary of this most visionary science, enabled him to achieve exploits which astonished the world, and swelled his train with warriors of the most enterprising character, and determined courage.

The late war and the late peace are still prodigal of publications relating to each event. The following are the chief which the year has ushered before us.

"The Russian Prisoner of War among the French. By Moritz Von Kotzebue, Lieut. of the General Staff of the Imperial Russian Army, Knight of the Order of St. Waldimir. Edited, with the addition of a preface and a postscript, by the author's father. Translated from the German." This is a lively, interesting history of the author's variegated march from Polouk, where he was unfortunately taken prisoner by the Bavarians, at that time in confederacy with the French, to Paris. His name proved a talisman, notwithstanding Bonaparte's personal abhorrence of his father. The scenes are so busy, so diversified, so full of terror and exultation, of hope and despair, that the journey is a kind of romance of real life. General Wrede and General St. Cyr are spoken of in very high terms, as men of honour and humanity, as well as of courage and military glory. The latter, says our author, "inquired where my father was, and smiled when I said that he had still one foot in Russia, but that the other

was

was raised in order that he might, in case of necessity, set himself down in England."—"Your father is right to take precautions, but our emperor is good," was the general's answer. Then turning to Massena, he said, "You will take care that our prisoner is well lodged, and, above all, that he does not die of hunger."—The Massena here referred to is a son of the general of the same name. He undertook the task assigned to him with transport, for it had happened that these two young officers had presided over their respective outposts, antecedently to the reconnoitre that terminated in Kotzebue's captivity, and had just previously to the last battle emptied together a flask of wine; and parting on the shrill call of the trumpet, had exchanged mutual pledges of service in the event of captivity. They now embraced in the presence of St. Cyr, who was not displeased when he heard the little anecdote of their plighted friendship. In spite, however, of all the good will of his generous captors, Kotzebue was, on various occasions, in no small peril of dying of hunger.

"The Congress of Vienna. By M. de Pradt. Translated from the French." 8vo. This review (for such it is) of the proceedings and arrangements of the general congress, has excited much attention on the continent, from the official character sustained by its author during the mischievous but dazzling career of Bonaparte. He was, in fact, ambassador on the part of France at Warsaw, when his imperial master fled from his army in Russia, overwhelmed with discomfiture and disgrace, and left it to be consumed equally by frost and famine; of which flight the author was one of

the first to give a kind of official narrative. The present volume is, upon the whole, a justification of, or rather an apology for, the political distributions that were then acceded to, though he objects to many of them. He complains of the advantages given to Austria in Italy, thinks Saxony and Denmark have been ill-used; but approves of the establishment of the new state of Belgium. With more propriety, we think, he might weep over the degraded condition of Poland—still amputated, and forced piece-meal into the oppressive grasp of three separate potentates. He looks with a jealous eye upon the proud and lofty eminence of Britain; but does justice to the high character in which she appeared at the general congress. Of all the assembled powers, he tells us, Britain only had nothing for which to negotiate. What she possessed, she had no one to ask for leave to keep;—she kept it, and demanded no more. But these possessions, which were not, which might not be brought into question, are such as could not possibly have entered the dreams of the most sanguine politician a hundred years ago. We will only add, while England conducts herself, as she has done for the last twenty years, with the same unswerving rectitude, and public faith, the same chivalrous spirit to uphold the cause of political freedom, and outraged humanity in every part of the globe, and the same moderation, disinterestedness, and consummate wisdom in the exercise of the transcendent means she possesses, she will deserve the high character and the unrivalled power she has attained, and the world will be the happier for having them concentrated in herself.

"The Second Usurpation of
S 2 Bonaparte,

Bonaparte; or a History of the Revolution in France in 1815, particularly of the Victory of Waterloo, &c. By E. Boyer." 2 vols. 8vo. One of the most interesting accounts of the precipitous flight of the French army from the snows and Cossacks of Moscow, and the accumulated horrors to which they were exposed, is contained in M. Labaume's "Campaign in Russia." This work was translated by Mr. Boyer, and according to his present statement, paved the way for his obtaining a correspondence with various persons who were spectators of many of the most prominent scenes or events that have since occurred. It is from this correspondence and connexion he affirms the matter of these volumes to be chiefly derived: but we do not perceive that he offers much that has not been offered before, or at least much of what is truly important. And where naked fact fails, or simple reality has been exhibited before, he endeavours to supply the place of novelty by calling to his aid the colours of imagination. Of this character is the greater part of the following passage:—"While the gallant Blucher was employed in pursuing the flying enemy, the Duke of Wellington slowly led his army over the field of battle. The noise and confusion which so lately reigned were heard no more, and all was hush and still;—*save when the moans of the wounded, or the agonizing shrieks of the dying burst upon the ear. The moon rising in unveiled majesty shed a pale and mournful light on the horrors of the scene. When the Duke contemplated the piles of dead which were heaped on every side, and thought with the lives of how many brave fellows the glory of that day had*

been bought, and how many hearts even the joyful news of the victory would sadden, the sternness of the soldier was forgotten, the feelings of the man resumed their power, and *he burst into tears.*"

We now advance towards our domestic hearths; and shall notice first:—

"The State of the United Kingdom at the Peace of Paris, Nov. 20, 1815, respecting the People, their Domestic Energies, their Agriculture, their Trade, their Shipping, and their Finances. By George Chalmers, F.R.S. S.A." This is a useful summary so far as it goes. It gives undeniable proof, from public and unquestionable documents regularly laid before Parliament, and which are, or may be in the hands of every man, that the nation, from the commencement to the close of the war, was in a most thriving state, equally in regard to population, extent of agriculture, local improvements, shipping, and general commerce. But it does not bring down the account to the present times, nor touch upon the causes of our distresses. Upon the whole, however, we do not think these are difficult to solve; some of them are of a more, and others of a less fugitive nature; but we trust, before we again meet the public, it will appear that the most durable of them will be giving proof of a temporary existence.

"England and the English People. By Jean-Baptiste Say. Translated by J. Richter." 8vo.

"A Defence of our National Character and our fair Country-women, from the aspersions contained in a late French publication, &c. By G. M." 8vo.

The last is in reply to M. Fillet's well-known lampoon, entitled "L'Angleterre,"

Angleterre," of which, as we shall give an account in our review of Foreign Literature, and have to take up a few of the arguments offered upon it by G. M., we shall say no more at present, nor of the subject to which it alludes. The first of the two tracts contains some *home-truths*, but they are not of much moment nor peculiarly characteristic. The author seems to have been a sharp observer, but his residence was too cursory to allow him to imbibed any radical knowledge of our peculiar customs or distinctions.

"Principles of Population and Production, as they are affected by the Progress of Society, with a view to Moral and Political Consequences. By John Weyland, Jun. Esq. F.R.S." 8vo. Offering some new views, well worthy of consideration, and which ably oppose the first principles of Mr. Malthus.

"The Agricultural State of the Kingdom in February, March, and April, 1816, being the Substance of the Replies of many of the most opulent and intelligent Landholders to a Circular Letter sent by the Board of Agriculture to every part of England, Wales, and Scotland." 8vo. This is the mysterious book which has excited so much inquiry and alarm in consequence of its suppression by the Board. Why that suppression should have taken place we know not; the book is harmless enough in itself, and the replies it contains for the most part too destitute of intellect to produce any alarm whatever, had the book been otherwise. But the Board had caught the general mania, and had frightened itself into convulsions. The hysteric-fit has now nearly subsided.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing Biography, Antiquities, Philology, Classics, Poetry, Drama, Novels, and Romances.

THE year has been peculiarly productive of biographical accounts; but few of them are of a very high degree of interest, in respect to subject or style.

"A Memoir of Major-General Sir R. R. Gillespie, Knight Commander of the Bath, &c." 8vo. The life of a brave and intelligent officer, and especially when that life has fallen a sacrifice in the service of his country, deserves the monument of a public record. Robert Rolle Gillespie was born in the county of Down in Ireland, Jan. 21, 1766: his disposition was open and frank; his manners elegant, and his person handsome. At an early age he entered into the army; and, in different ranks and capacities, took, successively, an active part in most of the severe and protracted warfare in Europe, the West Indies, and India. Generous, enterprising, and fearless, he was always foremost in hazardous expeditions; and from want of an adequate discretion, was occasionally embarrassed and unsuccessful. This mixture of character accompanied him to the last, and was, in fact, the cause of his unfortunate and lamented fall, which took place during the Nepaul war, while leading on the attack against the fort of Kalunga. "It has been

said of this attack," observed Mr. Canning, on moving a vote of thanks to the Marquis of Hastings and the army of India, "that it was made rashly; but if rashly, the error has been amply atoned by the fall of the intrepid leader."

"The Life of William Hutton, F.A.S.; including a particular account of the Riots at Birmingham in 1791. To which is subjoined, the history of his family; written by himself, and published by his daughter, Catharine Hutton." 8vo. This may be called the "Adventures of a Silver-Penny:" it gives a succinct account of the author's rise in life from a penniless state to a state of more than competency: the habitual industry that spurred him on, and the mischievous speculations that occasionally pulled him back. He died highly respected at the very advanced age of 94; and the present history of his life, which is somewhat too garrulous, was drawn up by himself a short time antecedent to his decease.

Upon the diversified "Life of Thomas Holcroft" it is unnecessary to dilate, as we have copied largely from it in another part of our Register.

Paulo majora canamus.

"The Political Life of William Wildman,

Wildman, Vi-count Barrington, compiled from original papers, by his brother, Shute, Bishop of Durham." 8vo. Lord Barrington's political career commenced in 1740; at which time he joined with that party which, in the course of the next year, compelled Sir Robert Walpole to retire from administration. In the change of ministry that ensued, his lordship took no official situation: but a few years afterwards he was made a lord of the admiralty, then secretary at war, and in March 1761 became chancellor of the exchequer, and a member of the cabinet. The situation, however, to which he was most attached, and which best suited his talents, was that of secretary at war; where his strict and regular attention to his official duties, his rules with respect to promotion, his impartial observance of them, and his kind and conciliating manners, may form a fair example for the imitation of his successors. Those parts of his official correspondence which are brought to view by this publication, represent his character in the most pleasing light as a man of courtesy, correct and comprehensive judgment, moral rectitude, and unswerving independence of mind. "On the conduct of the American war in 1775, he had the misfortune, says the right reverend biographer, to differ from his colleagues in office; and as soon as he found that difference irreconcilable, he applied to his Majesty for leave to resign. Whatever might have been the original discussion of right, it was now merged in the question of expediency. The point for consideration then was, whether it were expedient, or even practicable, to carry the British arms through the wastes and wilds of

America. Lord Barrington thought it *was not practicable*, and that even if it were, it would by no means be *expedient* to attempt it, with a sanguinary and ruinous waste of men and money: that in its consequences we had not merely to apprehend a temporary check to national prosperity, but that the very existence of Great Britain might eventually be endangered by the faithless and hostile attempts of France on a country improvidently drained, and left destitute of troops and means of defence. At the same time Lord Barrington bore with stoical calmness more than his own official share of the *public odium* of measures of which he disapproved; measures, the persevering in which was the cause of his quitting administration."

These remarks are fully borne out by the noble viscount's official letters; as it is also, that he as much disallowed and combated the question of *right* on the part of the British Government respecting the American contest, as the questions of *expediency*, and *practicability*. "When he perceived that his *remonstrances* were ineffectual against the measures adopted for the coercion of America, he applied personally to the king for his majesty's permission to resign. He sought no merit with the public; he made no attempt at popularity. This circumstance so honourable to him, was generally *unknown, even to his nearest relations and dearest friends, until after his death*." There is no difficulty in conceiving that a man thus unaddicted to party might conscientiously connect himself with any minister whom the king could conscientiously appoint, and whom he himself believed to have the real good

good of his country at heart. And as little difficulty is there in conceiving, that a man thus independent of mind, by thus uniting with different administrations, and retiring when his conscience whispered him to retire, might be regarded by the public opinion, as a fawning sycophant always fond of employment, careless of whom he served, and ever ready to enlist under one party as soon as he was turned adrift by another. We can only ascribe it to this cause that Junius appears to have taken so false an estimate of his real sentiments and moral integrity, and on various occasions, and under different signatures to have spirted out upon him the deepest venom of his pen. Thus, in his private letter to Mr. Woodfall, No. 61 — "The proceedings of this wretch are unaccountable.—Next to the Duke of Grafton, I verily believe that the blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to Lord Barrington." In like manner in his letter signed Scotus (*Miscellaneous Letters*, cx1.) he describes him as "a man whose whole life has been employed in acting the part of a false, cringing, fawning, time-serving courtier:—a man who never had a different opinion from the minister for the time being." Whilst in his pretended "*Memoirs of Lord Barrington*" (see Woodfall's edition of Junius, vol. iii. p. 458) he represents his resignation of the office of secretary at war to have taken place because "his present majesty could no longer bear him."—Now, it is obvious from the authentic documents before us, either that Junius, probably with a great part of the nation at large, was grossly mistaken, or harboured against the noble viscount a personal and diabolical enmity. Nothing,

indeed, is more obvious, than that Lord Barrington paid no attention to popularity; and it is equally clear that upon various points he acted with too little discretion, and at least gave cause for suspicion that he was swayed by interested motives. We may particularly mention his abrupt discharge of the two chief clerks from the War-office, Mr. afterwards Sir Philip Francis, and Mr. D'Oyly, and his appointment of Mr. Chamier, a broker from Change Alley, in their stead; his having, through a period of not less than twenty-eight years, and under different and opposite administrations, held the very different posts of lord of the admiralty, secretary at war, chancellor of the exchequer, and treasurer of the navy; and having had extraordinary good success in providing for almost every branch of his family: one brother having been a general officer, with a regiment and chief command at Guadaloupe; a second having been about as high in the navy, with a regiment of marines; a third a judge; and a fourth a bishop. Gratitude and many other excellent feelings of the heart must effectually prevent this last brother from contemplating such a series of facts in the light in which they were viewed at the time, and even from noticing them very prominently on the present occasion: but while we honour the feelings that thus either suppress them or throw them in the back ground, we see reason to account for Lord Barrington's not having been a favourite with the people, and for some small part of the asperity of the sarcastic and indignant satirist who at that time was commander in chief of what was called the people's cause.

"The Life of the Rev. Father
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in God, Jeremy Taylor, D.D., &c. By the Rev. Henry Kaye Bonney, M.A. &c." 8vo. This life is rather instructive by its moral and religious excellence, than attractive by its transitions. Bishop Taylor was one of the first ornaments of the church, as well in piety as in eloquence: and his advance from a low estate to a prelacy on account of personal merit alone is one, among numerous encouragements of a similar kind, to the younger clergy, to employ to the utmost the talents that are committed to them. We have already extracted at some length from this work in a preceding section of our annual volume.

"Memoir of the Life of William Cowper, Esq. Written by himself, and never before published. With an Appendix, containing some of Cowper's religious letters, and other interesting documents, illustrative of the Memoir." 8vo. 4s.

"Memoirs of the most remarkable and interesting Parts of the Life of William Cowper, Esq. Written by himself. To which is added, an original Poem, and a Fragment." 12mo. The study of every scholar must have its sweepings and its rubbish. But what is to be thought of the biographer who can consent to scrape together such broken and condemned relics, not for the purpose of committing them to the flames, as they were intended, but to the press, for which they are totally unfit, and were never designed. And what also must be thought of him, who, to serve, with disreputable gain, his own pocket, rather than the honest fame and genuine character of the man whose life he ventures to bring before the public, drags from the most retired parts of his own escutoir, or that of his bosom-friend, communi-

cations which were never intended to see the light, and which unfold little more than the wreck of a mighty mind sinking under a morbid despondency; and on the verge of alienation? Enough, and more than enough for his just and exalted fame has already been given to the world of the remains of a poet of whom England may well be proud. Even Mr. Hayley's ponderous volumes will bear elision: and the subject has certainly not been benefitted by the later work and addenda of Dr. Johnson. From the refuse which they did not chuse to touch, and which is now strung together in two separate, and trivial volumes, we turn with something more than disgust: as we believe every one must do to whom the name of Cowper is dear, and by whom his memory is cherished.

"Lives of Edward and John Philips, Nephews and Pupils of Milton: including various Particulars of the Literary and Political History of their Times. By William Godwin." 4to. Whatever Mr. Godwin puts his hands to he is always sure to make the most of. His *empty* notion of Political Justice was fabricated into a *solid* quarto. His Life of Chaucer, which might have been told in ten pages, was hammered out to the extent of four full-sized octavoës: and in the work before us, the few scattered incidents containing all we know of the two lads before us, and which, without a figure, might be comprised in a nutshell—are worked up into a massy quarto of four hundred and ten pages. To accomplish, this, however, the juvenile subjects of the pages are first, as in the case of Chaucer, surrounded by a vast and hazy atmosphere of the world without them, while the world

world within them, or that which was strictly their own, is enormously expanded by a romantic intermixture of what was possible with what was actual. Of the infancy of the Philippses the author admits that we know nothing. He *imagines* them to have been taken into the domestic care of their uncle at the age of nine and ten; and he then proceeds to *conceive* "in what light these two lads may be *supposed* to have regarded their uncle at this time,"—and giving full flight to his fancy, has no doubt that "they must have been *familiar* with the loftiness of his spirit, and the *exalted view* he took of all science, of man, and his affairs; of the principles of right conduct, and the genuine characteristics of a devout spirit. They doubtless soon became acquainted with the friendships which he had left behind him in Italy, and the distinction with which he had been regarded in the different courts of that polished country." We, however, have our doubts whether *these two lads* have not something more assigned to them in this passage than their boyish age could well master—especially in their *familiarity with the exalted view of all science* in which Milton indulged. On a few occasions, however, our biographer seems to be unduly sceptical;—but his cautions, like his confidences, serve equally to enlarge the sphere of his performance. Wood asserts, that Edward Philipps married a woman with several children, teaching school in the Strand near the May-pole: living in a poor condition, though a good master; and writing and translating many things, merely to get a bare livelihood:"—and that John Philipps "was a man of loose principles; atheistical; forsakes his wife and

children; makes no provision for them." Godwin readily concedes to this account of Edward Philipps: but thinks it necessary to argue the point concerning what is said of his brother. Yet, on balancing the suggestions of his own mind, he is inclined to think that John Philipps also *may* have been a married man, and that it is possible "he did not live with his wife." But then he liberally intimates that it is also possible he *may* have repented of being a run-away from his family, and have become afterwards a loving husband and indulgent father: facts which Wood *might* not know, as he died before Philipps, and consequently could not record. He then proceeds to the *possible* biography of the next generation. Philipps's sons (*if* they were *sons*, says Mr. Godwin with praiseworthy hesitation) *may* have grown up under their father's eyes;—and *may* have become *musicians*, for John Philipps had musical friends; and *may* have "soothed his paroxysms of the gout;" for the father, who had been a *bon vivant* whenever he had had an opportunity, was afflicted with this complaint. — Notwithstanding all this world of surmising, Mr. Godwin has dug up in his researches, and intermixed with his lighter and more visionary materials, various facts of interest and entertainment: and his association with the religious feelings and doctrines of Milton, who, after all, is the leading character in the drama, *may* prove, and *possibly* has proved, a source of no small advantage to the biographer himself.

"Memoirs of Alessandro Tassoni, author of *La Secchia Rapita*, or *The Rape of the Bucket*, interspersed with occasional Notices of his Literary Contemporaries, and a general

general Outline of his various Works. Also an Appendix, containing biographical sketches, &c. and an inedited poem of Torquato Tasso. With additional notes, and the author's preface. By the late Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. M. R. I. A. &c. edited by Samuel Walker, Esq., M. R. I. A." 8vo. The elegant and accomplished author of this posthumous work is well known to have been ardently attached to the study of Italian literature: and the work before us is a useful and ornamental extension of those which have lately been offered to us on the same subject from the skilful pens of Roscoe, Mathias, and Black. Tassoni was the inventor of the mock-heroic, or that species of playful epic, which, in its fullest perfection, has been offered to the world by Boileau and Pope. The title, indeed, of "The Rape of the Lock," is evidently taken from "La Secchia Rapita," or "The Rape of the Bucket." The story of the latter is even less important, if possible, than that of the former. "The inhabitants of Modena declared war (1325) against the Bolognese, on the refusal of the latter to restore to them some towns which had been detained ever since the time of the emperor Frederic II. (1249.) This is the real subject of Tassoni's poem. But availing himself of a popular tradition, according to which it was believed, that a certain wooden bucket, which is still kept at Modena in the tower of the cathedral called Guirlandina, came from Bologna, and that it had been forcibly taken away by the Modenese, the author feigns that the war was carried on by the Bolognese for the purpose of recovering from the people of Modena a bucket which a party of their troops

had carried away from a draw-well in the city. He treats the subject thus modified, or rather plays with it, in a most enchanting manner, employing occasionally, as it suits his purpose, the embellishment of classic or Gothic machinery. While his sarcastic vein flows freely, we are delighted with the fertility of his fancy, and the brilliancy of his wit. It may be said that the author now borrows the pencil of Correggio, now that of Michael Angelo, and then the burine of Callot." Independently of being a good and lively poet, Tassoni was a man of considerable learning. His *Pensieri Diversi*, published in 1608, under the form of queries, prove him to have been deeply skilled in all the science of his day: and he was in consequence invited, or rather wooed to join in the train of almost all the great and wealthy patrons of Italian Literature, and was a welcome guest at many of the Italian courts. The present memoirs are introduced by a preface written by the author's brother, explanatory of the nature of his work, and giving an epitome of his life. It is drawn up with feeling, but is destitute of simplicity: it has too much art to be elegant, and is rather glittering than polished.

"The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder. Edited by George Frederic Nott, D. D. F. S. A. &c." 2 vols. 4to. This is a truly interesting publication. It is biographical, philological, critical, in connexion with its proposed object of re-editing the works in question. It is full of valuable literature, and spirited remark: and unfolds to us, more than any other work we remember, the polite literature of the age of Henry VIII. and particularly

larly the style and nature of its poetry. Surrey and Wyatt may, indeed, be regarded as the founders of the modern English metre, both iambic and heroic, or deca-syllabic, as well in blank verse as in rhyme. They gave it a real rhythm, or the grace of pause and cadence; animated it with the soul of sentiment, and curtailed it of its Alexandrine, and sometimes more than Alexandrine prolixity,

“ That, like a wounded snake, dragg’d its
slow length along.”

They were contemporaries and friends: they were also connected with the court, and shared in the common fortune of the monarch’s fickle fancy; sometimes basking in the high-noon of favour, and sometimes sinking beneath the weight of Henry’s capricious and tyrannical displeasure. Wyatt probably escaped the block by a malignant fever, which carried him off in 1542, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, the Earl of Surrey writing an epitaph on the occasion; and Surrey himself, arraigned on a charge of high treason, was privately beheaded in the Tower in January, the 19th or 21st, for the day is uncertain; his sanguinary master, ill at the time, expiring on the 27th of the same month.

The character of Surrey is drawn by Dr. Nott with warmth and elegance, and with a commendable steadiness of impartiality. Much of that vague and undefined admiration which attaches to the name of Surrey in the national feeling arises from his chivalrous character, generosity, and love of adventure: but his untimely and unmerited fate must ever excite the deepest sympathy and commiseration. As a high-minded and spirited nobleman,

as a soldier, a scholar, and a poet, and as a liberal patron of letters and arts, he deserves a distinguished place among the worthies of England. It is to the elegant mind of this accomplished writer that we are indebted for the introduction of blank numbers. In the adoption of this structure of verse he may, perhaps, claim originality: for Dr. Nott has ingeniously and plausibly suggested, that his coincidence with the Italian and Spanish poets was accidental and independent; and that he was not indebted to imitation for this form of metre, but attained to it in the course of his poetical experiments by his own unassisted judgment. Warton, who supposes Surrey to have seen Trissino’s *Italia Liberata*, has stumbled on an anachronism, Surrey’s death preceding the appearance of the Italian poem: but a blank Italian version of some part of Virgil had been executed by the cardinal Hippolito de’ Medici; and Boscan the Spanish poet had used blank measure. Yet there is little reason for believing that Surrey was acquainted with either of these, and consequently that he was indebted to any thing but the fertility of his own genius. Specimens are here given of those writers who followed Surrey in the blank heroic, of whom the principal is Sackville Lord Buckhurst, author of the tragedy of *Gorboduc*. The introduction of blank-heroic verse operated with peculiarly happy effects, in so far as it attracted the notice of dramatic writers, and displaced the endless rhyming Alexandrines of the old tragedy. Of this reform Surrey, if not the direct, was, at least, the remote author.

The father of Sir Thomas Wyatt (Sir Henry) was in high esteem for his

wisdom both with Henry VII and Henry VIII. He had been imprisoned by Richard III; and popular tradition tells of a favourite cat which saved him from starving in his dungeon, by bringing him daily a pigeon. This pigeon was thought by vulgar credulity to be sculptured on his tomb, a place more justly merited by the cat; the pigeon, however, was his crest. Sir Thomas Wyatt was a student at Cambridge at the early age of twelve years; but our universities formerly partook more of the nature of schools. He was afterwards in various offices at court, and in embassies abroad; and we find him peculiarly acceptable to Henry VIII. as a sayer of *bons mots* and *repartees*, which he appears to have turned to political account. According to Walpole, indeed, several of the most important revolutions that occurred in the reign of this capricious tyrant, hinge upon this quirking mood. "An apologue of Wyatt's, about curs baiting a butcher's dog, is said to have caused the fall of Wolsey. Again, when Pope Clement delayed the divorce of Henry and Catherine, 'Lord! said Sir Thomas, that a man cannot repent him of his sins without the Pope's leave!' The king heard him, it is said, and determined on the separation from papal authority. When Henry hesitated as to seizing the church-lands, he was encouraged by a *bon mot* of Wyatt: 'Butter, said he, the rooks' nests, and they will not trouble you!' referring to a distribution of the abbey-lands among the nobility."—He was a rival of Percy in his attachment to Anne Boleyn: but his attachment was sentimental, for Wyatt was at this time a married man; and Anne Boleyn was only the mistress of his

poetry. Saunders, indeed, asserts that Wyatt had seduced Anne previous to her marriage with the king; and Henry himself appears to have had some suspicion of it; but upon the whole this seems to have been a mere popish lie; for Anne was a protestant, and Wyatt was a leader of the protestant party; and the king, upon investigation, expressed himself satisfied. He was disgraced, however, and imprisoned on other accounts. His chief enemy was bishop Bonner, who trumped up a charge against him of treasonable correspondence with cardinal Pole; and this story was at length listened to. Wyatt was committed to the Tower, and the king's gratitude ordered him expressly to be confined in a damp, dark, and unwholesome dungeon, as his justice prohibited him, on his trial, from having any legal defender, from cross-examining Bonner's witnesses, and from having any witnesses for himself. He contrived, nevertheless, to influence the judges in his favour, and was acquitted. The king felt some compunction for his hastiness and credulity, again took him into favour, and would probably again, in a short time, have disgraced him, and thrown him into prison, but that, as we have already observed, a malignant fever removed him from court intrigue and versatility of fortune.

As a scholar Wyatt was eminently gifted; not only versed in the learned languages, but a master of the French, Spanish, and Italian. As a diplomatist, he was distinguished by his practical talents for business, his far-sighted and statesman-like views of policy, and his quick discernment of plot and intrigue. His private character was amiable and social. In conversation he was remarkable

remarkable for entertaining his guests with political anecdotes, and had a peculiar talent of telling a story; he had also a vein of wit and a readiness of repartee combined with the softness and urbanity of a high bred gentleman. In poetic merit it is not easy to say whether Wyatt or Surrey have the highest claim. Dr. Nott assigns the palm to the latter. "It is true, says he, that Surrey soon became Wyatt's master in poetic composition; but in the first instance he must have been his scholar." The greatest degree of genius seems to have been with Wyatt, the greatest degree of art and study with Surrey; the former is more vigorous, more various and original; the latter more polished, flowing, and sentimental.

"The Literary and Scientific Pursuits which are encouraged and enforced in the University of Cambridge, briefly described and vindicated, &c. By the Rev. Latham Wainewright, A.M. F.A.S." The sarcastic attack which was made a few years ago on the English universities, by a celebrated band of northern critics, who were at length compelled to acknowledge their ignorance of what for years before had been actually passing in the seat of learning which chiefly fell under their abuse, is still known, we suppose, to every one; as is also the manly and masterly flagellation which was correctly, or rather *correctionally*, applied to the backs of the unlucky critics who brought the rod upon themselves. The question might here have rested; for, notwithstanding a few imperfections that still cling to both these celebrated seats of English learning, the general judgment of the country, and we believe of mankind at

large, has since been more impressed in favour of the plan of education here pursued than antecedently to the birth of the controversy; and has been disposed to regard them as, speaking generally, unrivalled by any other national schools of science whatever. But Mr. Wainewright is not quite satisfied with this general decision; he is for instituting a comparison between the method of education pursued at each of the universities, and for bestowing the palm of superior merit on that to which he has been indebted for his own learning. There is unquestionably an amiable sort of gratitude in the feeling, but we cannot perceive any very high degree of judgment in the manner in which the inquiry is conducted, or of prudence, therefore, in the public communication of his feeling. Both universities might still improve, by taking a lesson from each other. The regulations at Oxford do not exact any knowledge of the mathematics to entitle to a degree. In this respect we highly disapprove of their decision; but the system pursued at Cambridge, according to which classical learning is excluded from all share in the Senate-house examinations, is deserving of much stronger reprehension. What has been the consequence? When the new discipline was first established at Oxford, there was scarcely a sufficient number of persons acquainted with the mathematics in the university to act the part of tutors; and it is still rumoured, that in Cambridge, senior wranglers, when examined for ordination, have more than once been found unable to construe the Greek Testament. The first evil, in consequence of the new discipline, has already gone far to correct itself; the second still requires

requires more attention than has hitherto been paid to it. Whatever is taught in both, however, is rather to be regarded as the fundamental principles for valuable science, than as a complete and comprehensive system of science itself. It forms the base, but in many respects it wants the superstructure. It is in this respect that the English universities are peculiarly distinguished from that of Edinburgh: the latter has no base or fundamental materials whatever that can be compared to the former; but whatever it has, it endeavours to render practically and experimentally useful; and to bring home to the pursuits and the feelings of the day; and the consequence is, that, in the latter school, a little genuine learning is made to cover a vast extent of ground; and the spring that is drunk of, though comparatively puny and superficial, is made the most of.

“The Origin of Pagan Idolatry ascertained from Historical Testimony, and circumstantial Evidence. By G. S. Faber, B.D.” 3 vols. 4to. Our author admits that the most ancient religion of mankind was the pure worship of Jehovah, but contends that at some particular epoch, which he fixes precisely at the age of Nimrod, the primitive faith was purposely abolished from motives of state-policy, and a system wholly different set up in its place. This religion of Nimrod, he conjectures, became the foundation of all the pagan superstitions in the world, being promulgated at Babel, and carried, by the ancestors of all nations, from the spot where the confusion of languages happened, into their most remote settlements. It consisted in the worship of Adam, and his three sons, Cain, Abel, and Seth,

who, according to Mr. Faber, were identified in tradition with Noah and his sons Shem, Ham, and Japhet. The earth was mystically represented, as the consort of the first parent, and the ark as that of the second; whence originated the various divine pairs who gave birth to the triads of the pagan world.—The worship of the seven planets is, in like manner, resolved into the adoration supposed to have been paid to the seven persons who escaped with Noah from the deluge. The numbers of three, seven, and eight are well known to have been held sacred, and are reiterated in the religious rites and dogmas of the ancients. All these forms find their solution, according to Mr. Faber’s system, in the numbers of the Arkite Patriarchs and their wives, differently reckoned. The mystic generation of gods and men, and consequently the whole system, whether classes, orders, genera, species, or varieties of demi-gods and demi-goddesses, is resolved into the egress of Noah from the ark, accompanied with the motley family of animals which had been shut up with him in its common womb. To treat an hypothesis of this kind seriously—to apply to it the rules of logic or the touchstone of grave discussion—would be a pursuit more visionary than the hypothesis itself. These things must not be reasoned after this manner. It is enough to say that Mr. Faber’s conjectures evince a considerable portion of ingenuity, combined with a rich and diversified fancy; and that if he is less classical than Bryant, he is far more orthodox than Sir William Drummond, and quite as near the point contended for as either.

“The Antiquities of Athens measured and delineated, by James Stuart,

Stuart, F.R.S. and Nicholas Revett, painters and architects. Vol. the Fourth." Imperial folio. 7l. 7s. We are glad that this splendid and important work is at length brought to a conclusion. Its history is not a little singular. The first volume was literally edited as early as 1762 by the characters whose names are continued through the whole. The second was brought out in 1788, by Mr. Newton, from Mr. Stuart's papers, after his decease. The third was edited by Mr. Revett alone in 1794; and the present, after an interval of twenty years, making a period of not less than sixty-five years in the whole, owes its birth to the zeal and industry of Mr. Joseph Woods. The former volumes have made the general intention of the work so well known, that it is only necessary to notice, that it comprises views, with details of the parts, of the ancient buildings examined and delineated by Messrs. Stuart and Revett when in Greece. Of these details the accuracy has never been called in question; and from an example or two here given, it is probable that the ancient artists occasionally deviated from the strict pattern of their subject: so that extreme precision in measuring one part might not necessarily put us into exact possession of another part of the same building. The preface includes a biographical memoir of the author, which is satisfactorily drawn up. The antiquities of Pola follow; then the sculptures of the Parthenon at Athens, of which Mr. Stuart formerly gave only so much as was necessary to exhibit the different dresses and ornaments of the figures. After these, we meet with certain detached subjects, partly revisions, partly omissions, of the Athenian

edifices, or sections of them; and lastly, antiquities found in various places in Greece, closely connected with the spirit and intention of such a work. The whole is derived from Mr. Stuart's papers; and the greater part had been intended, or actually prepared, for the press, by himself.

"Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire whether it be expedient that the Collection of Marbles mentioned in the Earl of Elgin's Petition, presented to the House of Commons on the 15th of February last, should be purchased on behalf of the Public; and if so, what Price it may be reasonable to allow for the same. Printed for the House of Commons, April, 1816." This work is closely connected with the preceding: for it relates to the purchase and actual possession by the British public of many of the most curious and accomplished original productions of Athens, of which the preceding work only gives us drawings. We enter not into the question whether Lord Elgin was morally correct in his mode of obtaining these precious relics from the barbarians into whose tasteless hands they had fallen by mere chance; we see no sufficient proofs of unpardonable influence made use of on the occasion; and we cannot, therefore, with some writers, implicate Parliament in the guilt of a lawless purchase. The expediency of the purchase, and the value of the materials were submitted as a question to the most experienced artists in the kingdom, and the following was the result of their examination, as modestly and elegantly given in the words of the Committee themselves. "Although in all matters of taste there is room for great variety,

riety, and latitude of opinion, there will be found upon this branch of the subject much more uniformity and agreement than could have been expected. The testimony of several of the most eminent artists in the kingdom, who have been examined, rates these marbles in the very first class of ancient art, some placing them above, and others a little below the Apollo Belvidere, the Laocoon, and the Torso of the Belvidere. They speak of them with admiration and enthusiasm; and notwithstanding the manifold injuries of time and weather, and those mutilations which they have sustained from fortuitous or designed injuries of neglect or mischief, they consider them as amongst the finest models, and the most exquisite monuments of antiquity. The general current of this portion of the evidence makes no doubt of referring the date of these works to the original building of the Parthenon, and to the designs of Phidias, the dawn of every thing which adorned and ennobled Greece. With this estimation of the excellence of these works, it is natural to conclude that they are recommended by the same authorities as highly fit and admirably adapted to form a school of study, to improve our national taste for the fine arts, and to diffuse a more perfect knowledge of them throughout this kingdom." The Report fixes the price to be paid for them at 35,000*l.*—being somewhat less than half what Lord Elgin stated himself to have expended upon the occasion; but we have not heard that his lordship has been dissatisfied with his bargain: we say his bargain, for it is well known that Parliament approved the report, and confirmed the purchase.

1816.

"Researches into the History of Playing Cards, with Illustrations of the Origin of Printing and Engraving on Wood. By Samuel Weller Singer." This expensive book, the price of which is four guineas, contains various excellent engravings, upon which the author himself seems chiefly to value it, and not a few amusing and interesting, as well as curious and little-known historical anecdotes. It is drawn up partly from Bullet's "*Recherches sur les Cartes à jouer.*" the numerous papers upon the present subject in the *Archæologia*, M. Brietkopf's valuable Essay, Mr. Strutt's justly celebrated "*Sports and Pastimes,*" and other works more remotely connected with the subject. Spain appears to have employed cards first of all the nations of Europe; our author traces them there as early as 1267; in Italy in 1299; in Germany in 1300; and in France not till 1341. He supposes the Spaniards derived them from the Saracens; and these from the Egyptians who, he conjectures, learned the use of them from the Persians, Chinese, or some other eastern state. Warton ascribes their origin to the Arabians; and Strutt ascribes their introduction into Europe to the Crusades. There can be no doubt that they are of oriental invention.

In adverting to the Poetry of the year, the first remark that strikes us is the biblical, or theological, or devotional character or pretensions, of a more than ordinary portion of it. It may be sufficient, in proof of this, to mention the following:—Mr. Charles Smith's "*Mosiad*;" or Israel delivered, in six cantos, with notes, dedicated to "the great and respectable body of dissenters in England." Mr. Bellamy's "*Jonah*"

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Seatonian Prize-Poem. Mr. Smedley's "Jonah." "Henry and Acas-to, a moral (it should have been rather a religious) tale, by the Rev. Brian Hill." Mr. Wordsworth's effusions on the Battle of Waterloo, from which we have already copied. Lord Byron's "Hebrew Melodies," set to music by Mr. Braham. Mr. More's "Sacred Songs," in like manner set to music by Sir John Stephenson. And lastly, the "Carmen Nuptiale, or Lay of the Laureate," by Mr. Southey. To write successfully upon a subject, three things are indispensably necessary—we must be well acquainted with it; we must feel it deeply and honestly; and we must be familiarly versed in its dialect or technology. There is scarcely an instance in which all these pure requisites have concurred in the above attempts: and hence it is difficult to point to any one that completely answers its purpose. Upon the whole, Mr. Wordsworth has been most successful; and in our opinion, Lord Byron and Mr. More least so. The poetry, perhaps, of these two is the smoothest, and most polished of any; there is also in some instances sufficient fire and sufficient feeling—but we cannot construe it into feeling of the right kind. Their devotional ardour and devotional penitence are still *amorous* ditties, and little or nothing more. The diction is good, but it

is not the style or diction of piety;—it is the nomenclature of Helicon rather than of Zion;—worldly fervour rather than heavenly unction. In various instances the pieces have appeared to us to be only vamped and altered for the purpose, and the change of a few words will throw them back into common love-songs and canzonettes.

The principal poems besides are, Miss Holford's "Margaret of Anjou," from which we have copied pretty largely. Mr. Southey's "Waterloo," from which we have also copied. Mr. Wilson's "City of the Plague." Another poem, and of considerable merit, by Mr. Smedley, entitled "Prescience." Mr. Coleridge's "Christabel;" and an anonymous volume, entitled "Leaves," exhibiting more elegance than genius.

The drama that has chiefly attracted attention entitled "Bertram" has had its day, and we believe, has nearly reached its evening.

The principal romances, tales, and novels, are, "The Antiquary," by the recondite author of Waverley and Guy Mannering; but with less interest than either of these. "Mountain Bay," a metrical romance. "Headlong Hall." "Tales of my Landlord;" one of the most popular of the whole. "Cottagers of the Lake;" and "St. Clyde."

FOREIGN LITERATURE,

FOR THE YEAR 1816.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Containing a Glance at the chief Productions and Labours of Germany, Switzerland, Russia, France, America, and the East.

IT will be a matter of no small surprise to many, that to the present hour the Bible has never yet been translated into the Russian tongue; and it will be matter of no small gratification to all who rightly estimate the importance of the scriptures, to learn, that this extraordinary deficiency is now in a train of removal, through the direct interference, and at the express command, of the Emperor himself. The Bible, throughout this vast extent of the European continent, where read at all, has commonly been in Latin, or in a Slavonian version of as early a date as the ninth century, the language of which is far more discrepant from modern Russian than Wickliff's translation is from the English version in present use. The Holy Synod to which the emperor expressed his wishes upon this subject instantaneously adopted the imperial recommendation; and it was resolved accordingly that the Scriptures should be translated into the

Russian language, under the superintendence of the Spiritual Academy; that the translation should be revised by a committee of the most learned of the clergy, and afterwards published by the Russian Bible Society, in two columns, Slavonian and Russian. In our opinion, however, it would be better in modern Russian alone; as an unnecessary expense, as well as an unnecessary bulk, would hereby be spared. We are also glad to find that a translation of the Scriptures into the Calmuc dialect has been commenced, at the express charge of the British and Foreign Bible Society, by an actual publication of the Gospel of St Matthew, constituting the first book that was ever printed in that tongue. In the north of Europe, where Christianity has *flourished* (or should we rather say *existed*?) for so many centuries; where so much bitterness, and strife, and fury, and bloody warfare have been enkindled in support of particular

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cular creeds and confessions, it is wonderful to see how little the book is known or has had an opportunity of being known, to the multitudes who have been thus taught to fight in behalf of doctrines and hypotheses which have been referred to its sacred pages. It is stated in the first Report of the Prussian Bible Society, that, among eighteen thousand German, seven thousand eight hundred Polish, and seven thousand Lithuanian families in Lithuania, not a single Bible was to be found; while in Sweden, before the establishment of the National Bible Society, it appears, upon an impartial census, that not one out of eight of the poor classes had a copy of the scriptures; and consequently that not less than four hundred thousand families were without this inestimable treasure. We rejoice, however, to have an opportunity of adding, that this want is likely to exist but for a short time longer.

We mentioned in a late Register, that it gave us pleasure to perceive as strong a desire on the part of the catholics of the continent to read the Bible for themselves in their respective tongues, as on that of the different branches of protestants; and we are happy to find that in many parts this laudable disposition is encouraged, instead of being repressed, by the catholic priesthood. This is particularly the case throughout Switzerland, and the kingdom of Würtemberg. In the former country copies of the Scripture circulated in German, French, Italian, and Romanese, have been received with equal avidity by catholics and protestants; and at Munich the active exertions of the catholic professor, M. Van Ess, of whom we have formerly had occasion to speak in terms of high respect, have power-

fully cooperated with the recommendations of the late king of Würtemberg, and especially of her majesty the queen, in producing a like effect. We trace a similar unanimity upon this subject among the catholics and protestants of the East; and perceive that even at Gen the Bible is now in free circulation under the eye of the Inquisition itself. Among the more important translations, of the commencement or progress of which we have received notice since our last Register, we may mention a version of the New Testament in the language of Moldavia, a dialect of the Rumanian or modern Greek, for the inhabitants of that country and of Wallachia, published, like that in the Calmuc dialect, in Russia, under the patronage of the Emperor;—preparations for a new version of the New Testament, and indeed a completion of St. Luke's gospel in the Tartar dialect, under the care of the Missionaries at Astrachan, who have removed to this town from Karasu; and a finished translation of the New Testament in the Samogitian dialect, for the use of tribes which were not converted to the Christian religion before the fifteenth century, and which, like the people of Russia, have never hitherto had a version of the Scriptures in their vernacular tongue. This translation has been made by the catholic bishop of Samogitia, who had resolved to print a thousand copies of it at Wilna, at his own expense. The impression has since been extended by the liberality of the committee at St. Petersburg to five thousand copies; and it appears by the Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that this parent institution has also assisted the same object by a grant of 250*l.* The Arabic Bible appears to circulate

circulate freely among Mahometan and other orientalists, especially in Western Africa; and Mr. Nylander, a protestant clergyman established at Yongroo, has commenced a translation into the Bullom tongue, the Bulloms being a very numerous people on the western coast of Africa. The gospel of St. Matthew has been already completed in this tongue; the version is undertaken by the liberality and at the expense of the parent British Institution. Even the Chinese translation appears to have had considerable success; and in many places, and especially at Java, to be sought for with avidity, and read by Chinese parents to their families.

It is pleasing also to see, that not only in the United States of America, but from the West Indies to Labrador, a similar desire appears prevalent for the Scriptures in a vernacular dress. The Eskimaux are now in actual possession of the four Gospels in their own tongue; and will soon, also, possess the remainder of the New Testament, as the Acts of the Apostles, and the first Epistle to the Corinthians, are actually translated, and preparations are making for proceeding rapidly with the rest. Christophe and Pétion have equally patronized a circulation of the Bible in St. Domingo; the former especially requesting an edition with the French and English in parallel columns. Copies of the Bible in any language were, till of late, very rare in the south-western states of the American Union, and on the first distribution of an impression at New Orleans, we are told, that "a large crowd, of some hundreds of people, of all colours and ranks, was formed before the house, and became literally clamorous to have a *Book*; a word which

was often vociferated in French by fifty voices at once. Such an assembly, never before witnessed, presented to the beholder many affecting scenes: the young and the old, the rich and the poor, as if alike conscious of their wants, pressed forward with outstretched hands to receive the invaluable gift."

Before we quit the American continent, we must observe, that a very powerful effort has of late been made, and that too with considerable effect, especially in New York, to unite various communions of Christians into one catholic body, by a joint association at the sacramental table. Accident first led to this attempt by rendering it expedient that two congregations, of somewhat different persuasions, should, for a time, alternately make use of the same church: Dr. Mason was the regular minister to one of the churches; and he was so delighted with the peculiar union hereby produced, that in a very masterly and popular work, entitled "*A Plea for Sacramental Communion on Catholic Principles*," he has endeavoured to promote the same feeling and the same conduct through the Christian church and Christian world at large. His two leading points are the following:—

1. "They who have a right to sacramental union any where, have a right to it every where."
2. "No qualification for such communion may, by the law of Christ, be exacted from any individual, other than visible Christianity." The idea is pleasing in theory, but to carry the question to the extent there contemplated, the service must be drawn up, or performed on principles so extremely broad and generalized, as to lose all peculiar character whatever, especially those which are most essential, and which

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in the opinion of the most honest in their profession, ought not to be relinquished, or even modified, on any account, at any time or in any manner whatever.

"Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indien. Ein beitrage, &c." "On the Language and Science of India. An attempt towards understanding the doctrines of the earliest ages. By Frederic Schlegel." Heidelberg. 8vo. We have already seen that Mr. Faber resolves all the principles of ancient mythology into the deification of Adam and his three sons; of Noah and his three sons; a combination of these two sources; and a variety of other divinizations ramifying from them. Mr. Schlegel, in the present work, resolves the whole into the doctrine of emanation, or the efflux of every living substance, sentient or insentient, from the essence of the great eternal Fountain of life. This, he contends, in connection with its associate principle of a transmigration of the soul, to have been the most ancient system of the east, with the exception of the patriarchal faith; and is to be found as a fundamental point in the Institutes of Menu, a work, which, in its pre-

sent form, appears to be at least as ancient as the oldest pieces of European literature, and which, at the same time, contains fragments of a still more remote antiquity. From India he derives the mythologies of all other countries; the system of emanation gradually degenerating into astrological superstition, and giving rise to the atrocious rites of the worshippers of nature, and, subsequently, to the doctrine of two principles, which, at a still later period, resolved itself into pantheism.

"L'Egypte sur les Pharaons, &c." "Egypt under the Pharaohs, or Inquiries respecting the Geography, Religion, Languages, Writings, and History of Egypt, previously to the Invasion of Cambyzes. By M. Champollion, Jun." 2 vols. 8vo. Paris. The writer is well known, as a disciple and able coadjutor of M. de Sacy, especially in Coptic literature. He throws great light upon the subject of which he treats. As it is, the essay is highly important to the biblical critic, and might have been rendered much more so, if the author had exhibited less infidelity, and more regard for sacred history.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprising a brief Notice of various Publications in France, Germany, Transylvania, Switzerland, and Italy.

"**H**ISTOIRE de l'Anatomie, &c." "A History of Anatomy. By Thomas Lanth, M.D. Professor of Anatomy at Strasburg, Physician to the Civil Hospital, &c." Vol. I. 4to. pp. 606. This is, or rather will be, when completed, a valuable work. The author's plan is comprehensive, and he appears well qualified for his design. It is undertaken, he informs us, "in order to fill up a chasm which exists with respect to anatomy, in the history of human knowledge. Gœticke and Portal have written the history of anatomists, but not that of anatomy. Lassas limits himself to an indication of the discoveries which have been made in this science; and the historians of medicine and surgery, Schulze, Ledera, Freind, Dujardin, Peyrilke, and Sprengel, necessarily confined themselves to general views, when they made the history of anatomy a part of their plan." There is too much reason for this remark: and in order to supply the alleged deficiency the present work is divided into six books, constituting so many distinct eras into which the author thinks the history of anatomy will readily resolve itself. These eras comprehend respectively the anatomy of the Egyptians, of the Greek philosophers of the

sect of Asclepiades, of the school of Alexandria, that of Galen, and that of Italy; which last is made wide enough to comprise the anatomy of all the moderns, and will include, besides a part of the present volume, the whole of that which is to follow; and which we suppose is to embrace the anatomical history and practice of our own country, for the volume before us does not enter upon them. Each of these epochs is subdivided into two parts; of which the first offers the history of the science itself, and the second the biography of the anatomists referred to, with an account of their works. We shall return to this production when completed: and in the mean time we wish M. Lanth the success he deserves.

"De l'Education Physique de l'Homme, &c." "The Physical Education of Man. By M. Friedlander, M.D. &c." Paris. 8vo. A sensible and judicious treatise on a very important subject, the treatment of mankind in a state of tender infancy. The advice here given runs through the whole term of gestation: it is founded in reason, and, we may add, in nature; and consequently recommends ease of dress to the pregnant mother and the infant child, maternal suckling, and maternal attention as well as suckling.

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"Neue Sammlung, &c." "New Collection of Medical Memoirs, &c." Leipsic. We are glad to see this useful work resumed. The twenty-fourth volume closed its first series in 1807; and it has been discontinued till last year. It consists of original memoirs, chiefly of a practical nature; and of well-selected translations from foreign publications.

"Degli Innessi Animalì, &c." "A Memoir on the Process of Animal Graftings. By J. Baronio." 4to. Milan. This volume contains the results of the author's experiments on sheep for the purpose of proving that certain parts of an organ, suddenly removed, will, upon re-application, grow again to the organ from which it has been separated, or may, by insertion, become an integral part of another organ. The author does not appear to be acquainted with Mr. J. Hunter's experiments upon the same subject, many of which are far more curious, and carried to a more extraordinary extent.

"Osservazioni sopra alcuni Animali, &c." "Observations on various Animals of the Adriatic Sea. By Stephanus Andrea Renier, M.D., &c." This will be a costly and magnificent work, but at present is merely in its commencement. It will consist of plates and letter-press in large folio: the former to be given both in Latin and Italian, fronting each other; the latter to be executed under the immediate eye of the author in natural colours on vellum; accompanied with outline figures in black, containing numeral references. It will appear in numbers, about two guineas each, to comprise six plates.

"Mémorial sur les Chevaux Arabes, &c." "Memoir on Arabian Horses. By the Chevalier Chatelain,

Superior Officer of Artillery, &c." The author lays down principles for selecting the most distinguished breeds of horses, in order to improve those of his own country; and offers his opinion on the best mode of forming studs. For the finest specimens, he turns to Arabia, and strenuously exhorts an extensive importation into France.

"Concordance, &c." "Agreement of the three Systems of Tournefort, Linnéus, and Jussieu, by the foliary system, applied to the Plants which grow indigenously around Paris. By Lewis Lefébvre." The writer speaks in high praise of himself and his supposed discoveries. In a course of lectures delivered at the Athénæum at Paris he attempted to shew, and he here says successfully and satisfactorily to the audience, that a peculiar form of leaf is always accompanied with a peculiar corol. Upon this principle, he has constructed what he denominates a new system, which embraces the leading points of those of Tournefort, who attended chiefly to the former, and of Linnéus, who, in his higher divisions, attended solely to the latter, and thus connects the two in the bonds of close harmony. The subject is in its infancy, and requires much further examination.

"Saulle de la Suisse, &c." "The Willows of Switzerland. By N. C. Seringe, Institutor of the College of Berne.

"Essai d'une Monographie, &c." "Essay towards a Monography of the Willows of Switzerland." By the same. The author has paid particular attention to this branch of botany; and the above works contain the fullest account of the different species and varieties of the genus *Salix* that has yet been communicated to the world. The first

first is published in numbers, and is a direct *hortus siccus* on folio pages with letter-press explanations.

We may here observe that a very excellent botanical garden has of late been planned and laid out by Count Haller of Hallerho, in the park of his residence at Fiezegyhoe in Transylvania. It is intended to comprize various curious exotics, but especially to contain specimens of every plant that grows indigenously in the province of Transylvania.

"Examen des Principes, &c." "Examination of the Principles most conducive to the advancement of Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce in France. By L. D. B." 2 vols. 8vo. The anonymous writer takes an extensive survey of the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce of his own country, and compares them with those of others, especially with those of England. He points out the defects of the former, and writes with a considerable spirit of candour and liberality, as well as with judgment, and a practical knowledge of his subject. But his style is too diffuse, and he has intermixed a variety of extraneous materials with those which properly belong to him.

We have received the second volume of the "Annales de Chimie et de Physique;" "Annals of Chemistry and Physics:" which is one of the most valuable scientific miscellanies of the present day. It is published in monthly numbers: the editors are MM. Gay-Lussac and Arago, who paid a visit to this country a few months since; and its chief supporters, besides the editors, are MM. Berthollet, Biot, Bouillon-Lagrange, Chaptal, Chevreul, D'Arcet, Deyeux, Dulong, Hassenfratz, Laugier, Monge, Prieur, Se-

guin, Thenard, and Vauquelin. We have not space even to give a list of all the articles which the present volume contains: among the principal, we may mention M. Amperé's natural classification of simple bodies, of which we hope to give somewhat of a detailed account in our Retrospect for next year. Note on the Oil of Olefant Gas, by MM. Robiquet and Colin; Note on the Variations of Carbonic Acid Gas in the Atmosphere in Winter and Summer, by M. Theodore de Saussure; Extract from a Memoir of M. Dulong on the Combinations of Phosphorus with Oxygen; Extract of a Memoir on the Possibility of making fresh-water Molluscæ live in salt-water, and marine Molluscæ in fresh-water, by M. F. S. Bendant; on the Intestinal Gas of Man in a state of Health, by M. Majendie.

"Cosmologie, &c." "Cosmology; or a general Description of the Earth, considered in its astronomical, physical, historical, political, and civil Relations. By C. A. Walchenaer, Member of the French Institute." 8vo. Cosmology is here used in a new sense, and we have in some degree been taken in by the sense into which it is very unnecessarily impressed — which is neither more nor less than what other people call *Geography*. "I purpose (says the author) to comprize in a single volume, and in a limited number of pages, the more elementary notions and the more important facts relative to *Geography*: to show the connexion which subsists between this science and the other branches of human knowledge, what it may borrow from each, and what it ought to give back in return. I have uniformly endeavoured to make my definitions the result of my descriptions,

tions, and of the exposition of facts; and thus to reduce the various objects, which compose the immense domain of the science, into one compact and consistent whole: so that by suppressing the titles of the chapters, the reader may consider the work as a single discourse. I have accordingly entitled it *Cosmology, or a Discourse on the Universe*." Instead of the usual divisions of the globe into four quarters, we here find it resolved into *three worlds*—the *ancient*, comprising Europe, Asia, and Africa; the *new world*, comprising North and South America; and the *maritime world*, consisting of Notasia, Polynesia, and Australia. The author is an industrious, and apparently a correct writer; but his style is tedious, and his novelties are often needless.

"*Conchiologia Fossil 'Sub-appenina, con Osservazioni, &c.'*"

"*Fossile sub Appennine Conchiology: with Geological Observations on the Appenines and the surrounding Soil.* By G. Brocchi." Milan. 2 vols. 4to. The chief object of this work is to describe the fossil shells that are found in the clay and gravel, of which the hills that skirt the base of the Appenines are composed, and to compare them with their prototypes now existing either in the adjoining or more distant seas. The author takes a general view of the structure of the Appenines, and offers a minute account of the physical constitution of the sub-Appennine hills themselves; pointing out their extent, the materials of which they are composed,

and the order in which these materials are distributed. He also describes the vast collections of fossil bones that are found in different parts of Italy; and enters into some very interesting details on the formation of the great plain of Lombardy, and the alluvial depositions of the Po. We can only add, that the work appears to possess great value and merit.

"*Attractions des Montagnes, &c.*" "*On the Attraction of Mountains, and their Influence on Plumb-lines, determined by astronomical and geodisical Experiments.* By the Baron de Zach." 2 vols. 8vo. The remarks here offered upon a subject that still demands minute attention, and additional experiments, are powerfully entitled to attention. Baron Zach is well known in the scientific world as an astronomer, and author of several works on the practical parts of the mathematical science.

"*Traité de Physique, &c.*" "*A Treatise on Natural Philosophy, experimental and mathematical.* By J. B. Biot." 4 vols. 8vo. with 21 folding plates. The work of a man in every respect qualified to write upon the comprehensive subject he has selected, and who treats it in a masterly and comprehensive manner. Its survey descends to the latest discoveries, and comprises a neat explanation of the phenomena respecting the polarization of light. M. Biot, in his chapter on Optics, does ample justice to Sir Isaac Newton.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing a glance at various Productions and Publications of France, Germany, Turkey, Spain, the Greek Colonies, and America.

"**H**ISTOIRE de l'Empire Ottoman, &c." "History of the Ottoman empire from its foundation to the peace of Yassi in 1792. With documents and a map of the empire. By M. de Salaberry," 4 vols. 8vo. The author has already required a distinguished name in the literary world, by various notices of oriental manuscripts belonging to the library of the Louvre, and by several admirable pieces of oriental biography, derived from unprinted materials in the *Biographie Universelle*. The work before us will sustain the character he has justly acquired. Select and discriminative, rather than minute and diffuse, he dwells chiefly on the leading features of events, the prominent incidents of Turkish history; and these he relates with perspicuous and picturesque narration. We recommend a translation of this work into our own tongue.

"*Mémoires historiques, &c.*" "Historical Memoirs of the Revolution in Spain: by the author of "The Congress of Vienna." 8vo. M. de Pradt was of late one of the most active diplomatists of the day: but the scene has changed, and he is now become one of the most

active writers of the day. We have already noticed two of his publications which have reached an English dress; his account of his Embassy to Warsaw, and of the measures pursued in the Congress at Vienna: whether he may ever attempt to resume the duties of the church in which he formerly held the very reverend dignity of archbishop of Mechlin, time alone must determine. This, however, is a line in which we should not readily wish him, God speed. He seems better calculated to describe the passing scenes of this world than the unchanging scenes of another; and we have no doubt that in the former pursuit he feels more in his own element. M. de Pradt affects in the present, as in his former publications, to have been privy to all the secret springs and movements of the wonderful operations to which Spain was a year or two ago called upon to submit: and he pretends to some scruples of conscience upon the score of unbosoming himself. This, at least is a work of supererogation: for after having settled, like a skilful casuist, the question in the way most agreeable to his own feelings, and profitable to his own interest,

interest, there seems to be nothing of first-rate importance that he has to communicate; for as to *green-bag* disclosures he copies much more from the tracts already published by M. de Cevallos, and M. Escoiquiz, than from any private documents preserved in his own *port-feuille*, or confidential information treasured up in his own cranium. With most courtier-like deference, the cause of the revolution is completely shifted from the royal family of Spain to the shoulders of Don Manuel Godoy, whose biographical portrait he draws at full length. But though there is not much that is novel or original in the present work, the incidents are well put together, and tessellated with incidental information that has not been so fully or satisfactorily communicated before. Spain it seems manifested something of a spirit of resistance to Buona, arte's tyranny, when in 1816 the latter was marching against Prussia to punish it for its tone of defiance. "I received this document, said Buonaparte, frequently afterwards (alluding to the remonstrance of the court of Spain) on the field of battle at Jena, and I vowed, on the spot, that the Spanish government should repent it." From this moment he resolved to involve the reigning families of Spain and Portugal in one common fate. The seal of this was the treaty of Fontainebleau, by which curious piece of diplomacy he undertook to parcel out Portugal between the Prince of Peace, and one of the Spanish princes: while the king of Spain was to be dazzled with the splendid title of "Emperor of both Americas." By a secret article, however, it was agreed that a body of 28,000 French troops

should enter Spain, as though to assist in carrying the first of these objects into execution, and to pass with a body of Spaniards into Portugal: while a further corps of 40,000 French was to be assembled at Bayonne, with leave to enter Spain, and march through its heart in aid of the first army, if the English should threaten to assist the Portuguese; and under this consummate piece of treachery he laid the first foundation for seizing on Spain as well as Portugal.

"Histoire de Christine, &c." "History of Christina, Queen of Sweden: with an historical sketch of Sweden, from the earliest period to the death of Gustavus Adolphus the Great, father of the Queen. By J. P. Catteau-Calville, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, &c." 2 vols, 8vo. This work is primarily divided as follows: Historical Sketch of Sweden from an early period to the death of Gustavus Adolphus in 1632: Life of Christina from her birth in 1626 till she became of age according to the law of Sweden; viz. in 1644. Her reign from 1644 to 1654, the time of her abdication. Her life as a private individual from 1654 to 1689, the year of her death. The writer, who has several times appeared already before the public, has guided his pen with considerable impartiality, but with no great pretensions to dexterity, or even perspicuity of arrangement. His style, however, is free from affectation; and the work upon the whole has a fair claim to the attention of the public.

"Histoire Critique de l'établissement des colonies Grecques, &c." "Critical history of the establishment of the Greek colonies. By M. Raoul-Rochette," 4 vols, 8vo. The

The author was fortunate enough to obtain by means of the present work the prize offered in the class of history and ancient literature by the National Institute in 1813. There is a great deal of learned research, some judgment, and much erroneous opinion contained in this historical inquiry. Unlike the preceding work, it overloads us with methodical arrangement, and begins so far back as with an investigation into the origin of the Pelasgi, to which not less than the whole of the first volume is devoted, consisting of five books, and thirty-four chapters. The whole is told in too prolix a manner, with little animation or elegance of style. If the work were re-written and condensed into half its size, it would acquire double its value.

"Aperçu des Etats Unis, &c."

"A view of the United States in the beginning of the nineteenth century, from 1800 to 1810; with statistical tables. By the Chevalier Felix de Beaujeur, formerly member of the Tribunate." 8vo. The author is well qualified for the present undertaking. The earlier part of his life was devoted to commercial transactions; he was a French consul at Salonica, published a valuable work on the commerce of Greece in 1790, which was well received both in France and England, and soon manufactured into an English uniform; and after having had a seat in the Tribunate, he obtained an official appointment to the United States, where he passed a sufficient number of years to enable him to acquire a considerable knowledge of the country. His residence gave him an opportunity of forming numerous trans-atlantic friend-

ships, and of imbibing the political notions of the people; and he is consequently an admirer of the American country and character. His book is divided into five chapters, treating respectively of the climate and physical aspect of the United States. Of their political situation. Of their foreign commerce, particularly with France and England, which occupies two chapters. Of their foreign policy in general. The work is in many parts entertaining; and the appendix, which consists of a succession of tables of the trade, population, revenue, and national resources of America, is more than entertaining; it is highly useful and instructive.

"Reise, &c." "Journey to the Glaciers of the Canton of Berne, made in the summer of 1812: with a map of the Glaciers." This journey discovers great perseverance and intrepidity. It was undertaken in 1811, by four brothers of the name of Meyer, of Switzerland, accompanied by a friend of the name of Thilo, a physician. The chief object was to verify several principal projections in the great map in relief of Switzerland, constructed under the direction of their father, M. Rodolph Meyer. They ascended, not without danger, the summit of the *Virgin's Pic*, which till then had been deemed inaccessible. After which they were emboldened to venture on a still more perilous attempt, and at length, vanquishing all the difficulties before them, reached the summit of *Finster Aarhorn*, the *Pick of the Black Aar*: the highest point of the whole range, with the exception of *Mont Blanc*; and which presents obstacles so formidable, that the hardest adventurers

turers have hitherto declined all attempts.

"*Memoires Secrets, &c.*" "*Secret Memoirs, and re-published Correspondence of Cardinal Dubois, Prime-minister under the regency of the Duke of Orleans: collected, arranged, and enlarged, by a sketch of the peace of Utrecht, and various historical notices.* By M. L. de Swelinges, Knight of the Order of St. Louis," 2 vols, 8vo. A publication of considerable interest, though rather a miscellany of letters than a connected narrative, giving a home insight into the character of one of the unblushing and unprincipled, but at the same time most shrewd and artful diplomatists of the beginning of the last century; and, in connexion with his history, affording an illustration of several obscure transactions of the same period.

"*Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richlieu, &c.*" "*History of the Administration of Cardinal Richelieu.* By A. Jay," 2 vols, 8vo. Forming a complete contrast to the preceding; by giving a narrative of one of the greatest and wisest ministers that France ever possessed, in the form also of a cardinal, and to whom France was indebted for the era of her highest glory, and most splendid improvements, drawn up with little method, or cast of plan; and with occasional bursts of extravagant encomiums, rather than a chastised and polished elegance of style. M. Jay appeared not long since as a leading speaker among the French representatives; but he has no pretensions to be regarded as a leading writer.

"*Ueber Staatsverfassung, &c.*" "*Considerations on the Constitution of a State: by J. C. Betareus.*" This work is dedicated to Count

Hardenberg, and is said to be circulated under his patronage. The author shows a comprehensive mind, and is alive to the momentous events that have marked the existing era. His views are in many respects just, and what is more, practical.

"*Catechisme d'Economie Politique, &c.*" "*A Catechism of Political Economy, or familiar instructions, showing the manner in which wealth is produced, distributed, and consumed; a work founded on facts, and useful to all the different classes, as pointing out the advantages which each individual may derive from his situation and his talents.* By Jean Baptista Say." 8vo. The author is well known as a political economist; and the title gives a fair estimate, as well as a clear notion of the work itself.

"*L'Angleterre, vue à Londres, &c.*" "*England, or a Peep at London, and the country around.* By M. Le Mareschal-de-camp Pillet, Chevalier de St. Louis." This is one of the most barefaced attacks upon the character of our own country, by a man who from a residence amongst us as a prisoner of war on his parole of honour, must have known that he was telling and fabricating falsehoods, that has ever issued from the French press. Its violence and extravagance, however, destroy itself. It is not in the power of Frenchmen, however jealous they may be of English glory and prosperity, to bring themselves to believe, as this recreant chevalier asserts, that 150,000 of their countrymen perished in tortures on board our prison-ships during the last two wars; that 30,000 died of hunger in the course of five months, and that
hundreds

Hundreds were daily poisoned by the badness of their diet ; that our ladies of fashion are peculiarly dexterous at shop-lifting, a crime which applies to English women generally ; that it is customary for ladies to retire after dinner to tipple brandy in their drawing-rooms ; that every woman of rank or fashion gets drunk every night of her life, under pretence of keeping the wind out of her stomach ; and that a spirit

of libertinism and licentious intrigue pervades the whole sex, young as well as old. These, and other calumnies of a still blacker kind, if possible, may be circulated throughout France, and may be read, and read too with avidity ; but they will not, and cannot be credited, notwithstanding the high sanction and authority of the present Maréchal-de-camp, and chevalier of the order of St. Louis.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing an Account of various Publications in France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, the Danish Isles, and the Mauritius.

"STORIA del pontificato di Pio Papa VII. gloriosamente regnante, &c." "History of the Pontificate of Pope Pius VII. still reigning gloriously; from his exaltation to his auspicious restoration to the Holy See." Alvisopoli, Venice.—This work is at present only in its commencement; when completed it will occupy six octavo volumes, one of which is to be published monthly. The subject offers sufficient scope and materials for a very interesting production; but we are afraid it will be hurried on with ruinous rapidity. The first volume, however, the only one which has yet appeared, and for which a sufficient time has been allowed for its mature birth, is drawn up with care, caution, and perspicuity.

"Africa Christiana." "Christian Africa." Brescia. This work, when completed, will form three large quarto volumes. It issues from the office of the Typographic Society of Brescia, and is understood to be patronized by the reigning Pope, of whom a striking and elegant portrait is prefixed. Of Christian Africa, or those parts of this quarter of the world which have been, or still are in possession

of the Christian religion, more information is capable of being derived from the library, and official documents of the Vatican, than from any other quarter whatever; perhaps from all other quarters put together. If the editor has really obtained the sanction and confidence of his Holiness, the work before us stands a very fair chance of being highly important and interesting. We are at present in great ignorance of the extent to which various kingdoms of Africa were christianized during the middle ages; the means by which they became converted, and the causes that have produced their renegation. It is singular that the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, instead of having promoted the great cause of Christian conversion, should have been the season, if not the operative source, of its decline.

"Aus Meinem Leben, Dichtung und Wahrheit. Von Goethe." "Goethe's Sketch of his own Life, Poetry, and Opinions." Tübingen. 8vo. Truly interesting and entertaining, but as diffuse as Boswell's Life of Johnson. Three volumes are already published, the last of which breaks off abruptly as the writer

was

was playing at a chance game for marriages, and drew the same lot three times in succession. Whether this determined his future fate he has not yet told us. From the tale of these three volumes, however, we may calculate something of the general latitude and longitude of the whole design, if it be persevered in, as we still hope it will, on the same comprehensive plan. For the third volume just brings the autobiographer to man's estate, and contains the history of one novel, two or three plays, and sundry odds and ends of verse and prose. About forty years more of his life remain to be given; and as his works do not fill less than fifteen thick octavo volumes, these data will enable us to form a rough calculation of the proportion which the residue must bear to the present initiatory fragment.

"*Histoire Abrégée de la Littérature Romaine, &c.*" Abridged History of Roman Literature; by R. Schöell, *Conseiller de Cour* to the king of Prussia, attached to his legation at Paris." 8vo. 4 vols. The author is well known in consequence of his previous abridged History of Greek Literature, which has been well received, and upon the whole was deserving of popularity. The present work is at least of equal merit, and comprises a subject on which the author is more at home than on his preceding attempt. He has however availed himself, and with great propriety, to a very considerable extent, of Schaaf's *Encyclopædia of Classical Archaeology*, and with equal judgment, has requested the assistance of a friend, a native of France, he himself being a foreigner, to correct and give a finish to his style. To the work are prefixed two in-

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troductory dissertations; the one treats of the primæval colonists of Italy, whom he resolves into a nomade-population of Gaelic and Cimbric graziers entering Italy by land on the north; and a Greek population of pirates and fugitives, settled in the sea-ports of the south. The other dissertation treats on the origin of the Latin language; of the pristine state of which he offers several curious documents. The history of Roman literature embraces a period of twelve centuries; viz. from the foundation of the city to the fall of the western empire. It is here divided into five periods: I. The five centuries terminating with the first Punic war. II. From the close of the first Punic war to the death of Sylla. III. The Augustan age. IV. The silver age, terminating with the Antonines. V. The decline and fall of Latin literature. Its revival among the moderns, not as a vernacular, but as a learned language, forms no part of the author's plan. In some respects the work is too much subdivided, and the subjects unnecessarily disjointed: still the mass of useful and curious information collected, is considerable; often well-condensed and well-proportioned, extensively derived, and judiciously selected.

"*De la Rareté, &c.*" "On the rarity and price of Roman Medals; or a collection containing the rare and unpublished devices of the medals of gold, silver, and bronze, that were struck during the periods of the Roman commonwealth, and under the emperors. By E. T. Mionnet, Knight of the Legion of Honour, and first Assistant in the Cabinet of Antiques in the King's Library." 8vo. The Roman medals are here divided into three

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classes :

classes: of which the first contains the *ases*; the second the Family medals; and the third the Imperial medals. The arrangement is in general chronological; but the order of time is not so strictly followed as Eckhel would have recommended; to whom, however, the author is under great obligations. He observes that the original *as* weighed twelve Roman ounces, and continued of that standard till the first Punic war: after which, reductions became so frequent, that by the time of Pompey, it had sunk to the forty-eighth part of its primitive weight. M. Mionnet has already deserved well of the antiquary, by his treatise on Greek medals; the present, however, is a more perfect performance. He had fewer difficulties indeed to conquer, but he has accomplished his task with a more masterly hand.

"*Antiquarische Reise, &c.*" "*Antiquarian Travels in the Island of Fionia. By R. Nyerup.*" 8vo. Copenhagen. The Island of Fyen, or Fionia, forming a part of the insular kingdom of Denmark, has often been visited for its natural curiosities; it possesses also, at Odensee its capital, two extensive and valuable libraries, besides other objects of attraction. One of the most singular remains of antiquity is the "Giant's Hall near Roedholm; it is an architectural relic of nine masses of stone, two ells and a half high, and nearly five broad, from east to west, approached by an avenue twelve ells in length, closed by a gate. The discovery was made long ago by a workman; and from its containing various specimens and fragments of human bones, ancient knives, flints, &c. appears to have been a family

tomb, calculated for nine or ten persons.

The Armenian academy established at Venice, in the Island of St. Lazarus, has discovered a manuscript, complete, of the *Chronicles of Eusebius of Cesarea*. It is a translation in the Armenian tongue, and is of the fifth century. The Academy proposes to publish the Armenian text with a Latin translation facing it.

M. Barthelemi Huet de Forberville has lately published at the Mauritius a work of immense labour and indefatigable research, entitled "*The Great Dictionary of Madagascar*," in two parts. The first contains the *Madecasse* before the French; and the second the French before the *Madecasse*. It contains a reference to all publications on that extensive island, from Flaccourt down to the present times; describes also, in separate essays, the ancient and modern manners of the inhabitants; the colonization and natural history of the island. A grammar of the two idioms spoken in the north and south is also introduced as a preparatory dissertation. Such a work has been long wanted, and cannot fail of being useful.

The ancient literature of Germany has of late been as deeply ransacked, and as widely brought into notice as that of our own country. The chief pioneers in this department are M. M. Hagen and Büsching: to the first of whom we are indebted for the "*Nordische, Helden, Romana, Uebersetzt*," and various other works; and to both conjointly, for the "*Literarischer grundriss zur geschichte der Deutschen Poesie*." M. Bouterweck is also treading closely in the same path.

His

His volume on the history of "German Poetry and Eloquence," forms only part of an extensive examination into the literature of ancient and modern Europe. It may be consulted with great advantage for the facts it contains, and the learning and classical taste it has congregated: but the author's remarks are sometimes too refined and minute.

"De Danorum Rebus gestis, Secul. III. et IV." "On the acts of the Danes during the third and fourth centuries: a Danish poem in Anglo-Saxon, preserved in the Cottonian library in the British Museum; edited by G. J. Thorkelin." Copenhagen. A Danish edition of *Beowulf*, an Anglo-Saxon epopea of forty-three, or rather of forty-four sagas, or cantos, preserved as above stated, and now first published in a foreign country by the meritorious assiduity of the learned editor. An extensive account of this poem is to be found

in Mr. Sharon Turner's fourth chapter of his sixth book of the *History of the Anglo-Saxons*. As an ancient document, powerfully illustrative of the customs and manners of the people and times it embraces, this poem is well worth studying.

"Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle donne, &c." "On the conduct and manners of women, a poem by Francesco Barberino." 8vo. Rome. Here again we trace a spirit for ancient research. F. Barberino was contemporary with Dante, but his senior by a twelvemonth: he was also intimately acquainted with Boccaccio. He was esteemed as a politician, a man of learning, and a poet. His poems, however, have been nearly forgotten; and the present, which is rather an antiquarian curiosity than a literary trophy, is edited from a plain copy preserved in the Vatican library.

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